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THE

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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

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NOTE ON THE KUKI-CHIN LANGUAGES.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D., AND G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D.

Prefatory Remarks.

THE territory within which these languages are spoken extends from the Naga Hills in the north to Sandoway in the south. Their western frontier is, broadly speaking, the hills extending from Sylhet in the north, through Hill Tipperah, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the Arakan Hill Tracts, and the Arakan Yomas. Towards the east they do not extend much farther than the Kubô and Myitthâ valleys. Most of the tribes seem to have passed the Lushai or Chin Hills on their way to their present homes, where they have settled in relatively recent times. In Manipur, however, the Meitheis have resided for a considerable period, at least since the eighth century.

In the north the Kuki-Chin languages show an affinity to the Nâgâ Group, while in the south they gradually become more like Burmese. The whole group is more closely connected with Burmese than with Tibetan.

In the vocabulary there is a great abundance of apparent synonyms. The same idea is seemingly often rendered in more than one way. The reason is that these languages, like so many other uncultivated forms of speech, are only able to give expression to the most concrete ideas, every abstract notion being difficult to express. Thus, in Lai, there are words to denote the different ideas of coming along, coming down, coming up, *etc.*, but apparently no word which means simply "to come." In the same way we find that the ideas of relationship or parts of the body are never conceived in the abstract, but always attached to some person. They speak of "my father," "thy father," *etc.*, but "a father" in the abstract, who is not the father of a special person, is an unconceivable idea.[1] In the same way every action must be put in relation to a person or thing as subject. The words denoting an action, which correspond to the verbs in Aryan languages, are themselves verbal nouns, and the person whose action is spoken of is, in most of the Kuki-Chin languages, indicated by means of a possessive pronoun prefixed to the verb. Thus, instead of "I go," we find "my going." This is one of the most characteristic features of these languages. In the extreme south, in Khami, and in the north, in Meithei, this principle seems to be unknown.

There is no grammatical gender, and only the natural gender of animate beings is distinguished.

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[1] [This is exactly true also of the Andamanese Languages which have developed a special grammatical form for "——'s father.'—ED.]

The adjectives are all verbs. They often take the form of relative participles, and their place is generally after, but often also before, the noun they qualify. Noun and adjective form a kind of compound, and case suffixes and postpositions are added to the last member of this group of words. All relations are denoted by means of postpositions and suffixes. On the other hand, **qualifying words**, such as genitives and possessive pronouns, are prefixed. This is also the case with the generic particles added to the numerals in order to indicate the kind of things which are counted. These generic prefixes are wanting in Meithei.

With regard to **pronouns** there is no relative, its place being supplied by a relative participle. The demonstrative pronoun is often used as a kind of correlative. The indefinite pronouns are usually formed from the interrogatives by adding some particle denoting indefiniteness.

The whole conjugation of **the verbs** show that there is no formal distinction between verb and noun.

The root is combined with postpositions, in the same way as a noun, in order to denote different relations. There is often no difference between the present and the past time, and the various **suffixes** which denote the past are certainly all originally independent words. In some cases the signification of these suffixes can still be traced as meaning "completeness" or some such idea. Similarly, the future seems to be formed by means of a postposition meaning "for" or something of the sort. The same postposition is often used after ordinary nouns. The future is generally also used as an infinitive of purpose. There are no verbal suffixes common to all languages of the group, and often the same tense in the same dialect may be formed by means of different postpositions. This is quite natural, considering that the verbs are really nouns and that the verbal suffixes are postpositions.

The negative particle is suffixed to the verb. It precedes, however, the ordinary tense suffixes or postpositions. It is probably originally a verb, and the negative voice a compound. One of the negative particles which occur, *mâk*, in Râṅgkhôl and connected dialects, seems to be identical with Lushêi *mâk*, to divorce, give up. In the south, in Khyang the negative verb is in some dialects, formed by prefixing a particle, as in Burmese.

Meithei, the chief language of Manipur, in many respects differs from the other languages of the group. It has, to a great extent, influenced the other dialects of the Manipur Valley. It seems to have branched off from the original stock at a very early period. All the other languages appear to belong to **the Chin stock**, though some of them have had a more independent development. With regard to some of the true Chin languages we know that they are **polytonic**; but we are not informed whether this is the case with the whole group.

Some dialects belonging to this group are still only known by name, and the following classification is therefore, in some points, only conjectural. It starts from Meithei in the north, and ends with those dialects which form the connecting link with Burmese.

The Linguistic Survey of India does not extend to Burma, and all the information regarding the dialects spoken in that province has been compiled from *Gazetteers*, the *Reports* of previous Censuses, and such *Grammars* as were available. The information given regarding the languages of Assam and Bengal is based on the records of the Survey.

REVISED REARRANGEMENT OF THE KUKI-CHIN GROUP.

I. — Meithei or Manipurî.

The principal language of Manipur. **Also spoken in the Cachar Plains, Sylhet, Hill Tipperah, Dacca, and Mymensingh.**

II. — Northern Chin Dialects.

1. **Thâdo.** — In Manipur called **Khongzâi**; in South Cachar also called **Sairang.** The dialect is spoken in different parts of the Manipur State, especially in the south. It is also spoken in six villages in the Kanhow jurisdiction of the Northern Chin Hills. Almost identical dialects are spoken in the Nâga Hills, South Cachar, and Sylhet.

Note. — **Jangshên.**—Spoken in North Cachar. Probably identical with Thâdo. **Katlang, Khlangam, Kotang, Shikshinshum,** and **Shingsol** are said to be different forms of Jangshên. They are probably only tribal names.

2. **Soktê.** — Spoken in the northernmost part of the Chin Hills. Includes the Kanhow and Yo tribes. Probably closely akin to Thâdo and Siyin.

3. **Siyin.** — Spoken to the south of Soktê in the villages round Fort White.

4. **Râltê.** — Spoken in the Lushai Hills and the Cachar Plains.

5. **Paitê.** — Spoken by individuals in several Lushêi villages in the Lushai Hills.

Note. — The two last dialects are a link between the Northern and Central Chin dialects.

III. — Central Chin Dialects.

1. **Shunkla or Tashôn.** — Probably more than one dialect. Spoken to the south of the Siyins. Comprises the Tawyans, Kweshins, Whenos, and Yahows.

(a) *Yahow* or *Zahao.* — Spoken in the western part of the territory of the Tashôns, and in the Lushai Hills to the west and south of Langvel.

2. **Lushêi or Dulien.** — The *lingua franca* of the Lushai Hills. Also spoken by a few individuals in the south-west corner of the Cachar Plains. It seems to possess great vitality and is said to have entirely superseded dialects such as Vangche and Kolrhing.

(a) *Ngentê.* — A dialect of Lushêi spoken in the southern part of the Hills.

3. **Lai or Baungshe.** — Under this name are comprised several tribes of the Chin Hills to the south of the Tashôns. The chief are the Hakas, Tlantlangs, Yokwas, Thettas, and Kapis. The most eastern is the Shonshe of Gangaw.

(a) *Tlantlang.* — This tribe is to the south and west of the Tashôns, bordering the Lushai Hills. An offshoot of Tlantlang is

(b) *Lakher.* — Spoken in the Lungleh subdivision of the Lushai Hills.

Note. — Most of the tribes known as Shendus and Pois are Tlantlangs.

4. **Banjôgi.** — Spoken by a small tribe in the Chakma and Boh Mong Chief's Circles in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

5. **Pankhu.** — Spoken in the same locality as Banjôgi. Seems to have been originally almost identical with that dialect, but has been influenced by some Old Kuki form of speech.

IV. — Old Kuki Dialects.

1. **Rângkhôl.** — Spoken in Hill Tipperah, North Cachar, and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

2. **Bêtê.** — Spoken in North Cachar and the Cachar Plains.

3. **Hallâm.** — Spoken in Hill Tipperah and Sylhet. It is probably identical with Khelma and Sakâjâib.

4. **Langrong.** — Spoken in Hill Tipperah, and in the Cachar Plains to the South and East of the Sadr sub-division. It is also spoken in Kamalganj, Sylhet.

5. **Aimol.** — Spoken in the hills in and round the valley of Manipur. Also spoken in the valley at Aimol.

6. **Chiru.** — Spoken in the hills to the north of the valley of Manipur. Also spoken by a small migratory tribe in the valley.

7. **Koirên or Koireng.** — Spoken in eight villages in the hills to the north of the valley of Manipur, and by a migratory tribe in the valley.

8. **Kôm.** — Spoken in Manipur, chiefly in the hills bordering the west-side of the valley.

Note. — All these dialects are closely connected. Kôm in some respects resembles the Nâgâ languages.

9. **Cha[2] or Kyau.** — Spoken in one village in Arakan, on the banks of the Koladyne river. This dialect, which is so widely separated in locality, possesses important points of resemblance with the preceding forms of speech.

10. **Mhâr.** — Spoken in several Lushêi villages in the Lushai Hills. Is a link between Old Kuki and Lushêi.

11. **Pûrûm.** — Spoken in the hills in and round the valley of Manipur. Also spoken in the valley at Pûrûm, to the west of Aimol. It is largely influenced by Meitheï.

12. **Anâl.** — Spoken in the hills in the south-east of the Manipur State.

13. **Hiroi-Lamgâng.** — Spoken to the south of Anâl.

Note. — The two last dialects are so largely influenced by Meithei, that they, in many respects, differ from the other Old Kuki dialects. In some respects, like **Kôm**, they agree with the Nâgâ dialects.

V. — Southern Chin Dialects.

1 **Chinme.** — Spoken on the sources of the eastern Môn. Said to be a connecting link between Lai and the dialects of the southern tribes.

2. **Welaung.** — Spoken on the headwaters of the Myitthâ River. There are said to be two dialects.

3. **Chinbôk.** — To the south of Welaung, from the Maw River down to Sawchaung. There are said to be three dialects.

4. **Yindu.** — Spoken in the valley of the Salinchaung and the northern end of the Môn Valley. Said to be related to Chinbôk. Some of the tribes known as Shendus on the Arakan frontier are probably Yindus.

5. **Chinbôn.** — Spoken in the southern end of the Môn Valley, and across the Yomas into the valley of the Pichaung.

6. **Taungtha.** — Spoken in the villages round Wethet. The name means "sons of the hills," and is used to denote various hill tribes.

7. **Khyang or Shö.** — Spoken on both sides of the Arakan Yomas.

8. **Khami, or, incorrectly, Kumi or Khweymi.** — Spoken on the Koladyne River in Arakan, and the upper part of the Sangu River in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Note. — These two dialects Khyang and Khami comprise several sub-dialects, and gradually approach Burmese. They may be considered as transitional forms of speech.

[2] [For the sound of *aw* in 'awful'; for which *ò* is usually employed in this *Journal*. — ED.]

Note. — The following dialects are provisionally classed under the Southern Chin sub-group on the authority of the last Burmese Census Report. We know nothing about them :—

9. **Anu.**
10. **Daignet.**
11. **Kun.**
12. **Pallaing.**
13. **Sak or That.**

Note. — **Mru,** which has hitherto been classed as belonging to the Kuki-Chin group, turns out, on examination, to be more closely connected with the Burma Group.

Note. — **Arakanese,** which in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is known as Maghî, of course belongs to the Burmese Group.

Note. — Finally, note that there is no such thing as a "**Kuki**" **language.** "Kuki" is the name given to a congeries of tribes speaking a number of different dialects. Similarly "**Shendu**" does not connote any one language, but does connote a number of very different tribes.

THE MAHABHARATA QUESTION.[1]

BY J. KIRSTE.

WHEN, five years ago, Dahlmann brought forward his revolutionary hypothesis on the *Mahâbhârata*, he found very few adherents, and he therefore tried to refute his critics in a new work published last year.[2] But as neither he, nor any of his adversaries who again took up the gauntlet, were able to produce new facts, the debate seems at present to have reached a dead point. It may be useful, therefore, to sum up the main points which have been cleared up by the discussion.

I. — Recensions.

In an article of the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (Vol. XIV. p. 60) it is asked by Winternitz: — "Which *Mahâbhârata* shall serve us as a basis for our inquiries regarding the origin of the epic?" Now, it is true that there is a great number of manuscripts which differ from each other in such a way that Pratâpa Candra Râya held it impossible to prepare an edition satisfying both the North and the South of India (Holtzmann, *Das Mahâbhârata*, Vol. III. p. 33); but on the other hand it must not be forgotten that the two principal editions, that of Calcutta, 1834-39, and that of Bombay, 1862, 1863, go back to a common and well fixed recension notwithstanding their being published in widely distant places and at different times (Holtzmann, *l. c.*, p. 9). Moreover, the Madras edition, 1855-60, which is printed in Telugu characters, is nearly identical with the Calcutta one — as has been pointed out by Ludwig (*J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 380), — although it is based on manuscripts independent from those utilised for the two others. Hence it follows that this 'Vulgata' or Northern Recension,[3] as it is called, represents an uniform tradition, which extends all over India, and the wording of which is, moreover, warranted by several commentaries, a point not to be neglected in Indian works. Should we not be authorised, then, to make this text the basis of our disquisitions? For that purpose it would be highly advisable to prepare a critical edition of this recension together with the commentaries.

There is yet another point which might be settled by such an undertaking. The two principal editions do not agree in what concerns the number and the length of the *adhyâyas*, and the same is

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[1] Reprinted, with additions, from the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XIV. (1900), pp. 214-224.

[2] *Genesis des Mahâbhârata*, Berlin, 1899.

[3] According to Pratâpa Candra Râya South-Indian manuscripts have also been collated for the Calcutta edition (Holtzmann, *l. c.*, p. 3).

the case with regard to the *adhyâyas* given by the *parvasaṁgraha* and the *nâgarî*-recension examined, by Burnell (Aindra school, p. 77). Respecting the number of chapters, the Vulgata stands between the *parvasaṁgraha* and the last mentioned recension, as will be seen by the following synopsis :—

Book.	Parvasaṁgraha.	Calcutta ed.	Nâgarî-rec
I.	227	234	250
II.	78	79	111
III.	269	314	306
IV.	67	72	77
V.	186	197	200
VI.	117	124	118
VII.	170	203	198
VIII.	69	96	119
IX.	59	66	65
X.	18	18	26
XI.	27	27	18
XII.	339	367	364
XIII.	146	168	252
XIV.	103	92	105
XV.	42	39	46
	1,917	2,096	2,255

The most interesting item of this table is furnished by the comparison of the figures relating to the XIVth book. Here the Vulgata is short of 11 chapters with respect to the *parvasaṁgraha*,[4] whereas a South-Indian manuscript gives 115 chapters to the same book, a circumstance mentioned by Pandit V. S. Islâmpurkar in his edition of the *Parâśara Smṛti* (Vol. I., Part I., Pref. p. 8; *cf.* Barth, *Journ. d. Sav.*, 1897, p. 19). There are found in this work a number of quotations drawn from the *Mahâbhârata* which the learned editor was unable to trace in the printed editions, and for that reason he feels compelled to agree with Burnell, in whose opinion the Northern recension, which alone has been published, is the shorter one (*ibidem*, Part II., pp. 5, 9).

It is to be regretted that the South-Indian manuscripts have as yet not been thoroughly examined. Burnell gives only the number of chapters of a Grantha recension, but his figures, *viz.*, 248, 120, 302, representing respectively the number of *adhyâyas* of the first, second and third book, do not agree with those found by Winternitz (*Ind. Ant.*, 1898, p. 124) in another Grantha manuscript, *viz.*, 218, 72, 269; the last of which is identical with that of the *Parvasaṁgraha* of the Northern recension. Moreover, we are not informed by Burnell, whether his figures are real ones or simply found in the *Parvasaṁgraha*. These discrepancies, assuredly, do not strengthen the hypothesis of an uniform tradition in the South.

The only *parvan* of the Southern recension to which a little more attention has been paid, is the *Âdiparvan*, and it is certainly noteworthy that Burnell (Aindra school, p. 79) agrees with Winternitz in stating that the Southern form of this book is shorter than the text furnished by the printed editions. But are we justified in drawing inferences from this fact, as has been done by Winternitz?

[4] In a South-Indian manuscript, examined by Winternitz (*l. c.*), the same book numbers only 78 chapters.

If the episode of Sûrya, Râhu and Aruṇa is missing there and in Kṣêmêndra's *Bhâratamañjarî*, which professes to be an abstract of the great poem, are we authorised in looking at this passage as an interpolation? Yet that has been supposed by Winternitz (*Ind. Ant.*, 1898, p. 128). Moreover, it appears to me that his conclusion is not quite correct from a formal standpoint. His words are:—"If the story could be proved to occur in all MSS. representing the Northern recension, we should be justified in concluding that the branching off of the Southern recension took place after the time of Kṣêmêndra." Now, if the Southern recension represents the original form, must we not suppose the Northern recension to have branched off? In a similar way the legend of Gaṇêśa has been stated by Winternitz to be a later insertion (*ib.*, p. 80; *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 632), but he has been refuted by Bühler, and I cannot but agree with the latter, inasmuch as such an hypothesis is in formal contradiction to the fact, ascertained beyond a doubt by Bühler, of the epic having been settled in its main features many centuries before Kṣêmêndra's time. All conclusions of this kind are necessarily premature, for we do not know, if there ever existed an uniform Southern recension: nay I am afraid that it may turn out to be true with respect to Southern MSS., what has been said by Kosegarten[5] with respect to the MSS. of the *Pañcatantra*: *quot codices, tot textus.*

II. — Uniformity.

Next to the disquisition regarding the recensions comes the question, in what way the *Mahâbhârata*, or to speak more correctly, the *śatasâhasrî saṁhitâ*, has originated. Dahlmann has tried to prove its uniformity, and his view has met with the approval of scholars like Barth (*l. c.*, pp. 8, 52) and Jacobi (*Gott. Gel. A.*, 1896, p. 67). Therefore I surmise we may accept it, but with the restriction, as has been pointed out by Jacobi (*l. c.*, p. 74), that we can only speak of uniformity of the *diaskeuasis*, whereas Holtzmann, and in some measure also Dahlmann, hold it possible that a single man created the whole epic by the power of his imagination. By the poem itself (I. 62, 40; 50. XVIII. 5, 48) we are informed that Vyâsa — perhaps this name represents a committee of redaction — finished it in three years,[6] and this statement as well as the fact that there are contradictions and repetitions in the poem agrees very well with the hypothesis of a *diaskeuasis* executed by several men who stored up in a gigantic cyclopædia all the materials which suited their purpose. Are there not repetitions and contradictions too in the *Shâhnâme*, notwithstanding its being composed by a single man? (Nöldeke, *Das iran. Nationalepos*, pp. 168, 170). Therefore I am unable to agree with Winternitz, who styles the epic *saṁhitâ* a carelessly made compilation (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, XIV., p. 67).[7]

It has been shown by Dahlmann, that the epic and the didactic element of the *Mahâbhârata* penetrate each other in such a way that it is impossible to separate them and to take the one for the older. On the other hand his assertions that the ethic-moral principles of the poem agree with the ordinances of the *dharmaśâstra*, nay that the plot has been invented in illustration of those ordinances, have been justly controverted by Winternitz, who shows that the rules for the *niyoga* are not identical in both works (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, pp. 720 *sqq.*).

From this state of things Winternitz has drawn the conclusion (*l., c.* p. 732) that the Brâhmans, for the sake of personal advantages, threw the old tradition into the form in which we now find the narrative in our MSS. But it is exceedingly improbable that Indian scholars should have been able to falsify popular songs, which moreover were, supposing this theory to be true, in accordance with the law-books. In my opinion the *diaskeuasts* altered nothing, save that they turned the Prâkrit wording into Sanskrit (Barth, *l. c.*, p. 48). It is the European standpoint which induces so many scholars to look upon the epic element as the older and the didactic as the younger one. But in the Indian fables too the didactic portions overgrow the narrative, and it is well known that Firdausî, in his *Shâhnâme*,

[5] See his edition, Bonn, 1848, p. vi.

[6] See Ludwig, *Das Mahâbhârata. als Epos, etc.* Prag, 1896, p. 25.

[7] When Vuk Karašić collected the popular songs of the Servians, he published very often different recensions of the same song side by side. See, *e. g.*, my translation of Omer and Meyra in the *Magazin f. d. Lit. d. In. u. Ausl.* 1888, No. 19.

has made use of many a '*nîtiśâstra*' (Nöldeke, *l. c.*, p. 180), so that we are justified in calling his 'epos' either a *kâvya* or a *smṛti*, unless we prefer to give it both titles, inasmuch as the first term refers more to the form and the second more to the contents. What then of Bâṇa's and Subandhu's calling the *Mahâbhârata* a *kâvya* (Cartellieri, *Vienna Or. Journ.*, XIII., pp. 57 *sqq.*)? Does it follow from that statement, as Winternitz argues, that the *Mahâbhârata* was the great national poem of India before the didactic elements were added to it? I think we must be careful in applying our precise European definitions to literary works of India; thus the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purâṇa* is styled by Alberuni *Viṣṇudharma* (Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 382) and in the *Parâśara-Smṛti* it is quoted simply as a *Dharma* (ed. Islâmpurkar, Vol. I., part ii., pref. p. 7); and the *Mahâbhârata* itself is often called the fifth *Veda*, a name which points to the fact that some people looked upon it as a sectarian book.

III. — The Pâṇḍava-saga.

There has been much discussion about the curious fact that the five brothers, who occupy such a prominent position in the epic, are, in opposition to every Indian law, represented as married to one woman. Dahlmann tried at first to explain this polyandry as a mere invention by the author for the sake of illustrating the doctrine of the undivided family. But as no one was willing to follow him in this explanation, he combined it, in his second work, with another proposed long ago by Lassen, *viz.*, the five brothers represent as many members of a political federation [8] Unfortunately there is not a single historical fact in support of such a view, and Dahlmann himself makes use of the same argument (*Genesis d. Mhbhr.*, pp. 177 *sqq.*) to refute the hypothesis, according to which the polyandric marriage of Draupadî was a real historical event. As in the last case ethnological coincidences prove nothing,[9] so in the first the lack of historical evidence is not made up by the 'Five Tribes' of the *Veda*. Now, if, on the one hand, the story of Draupadî has not been invented by the author, and, on the other, if it is not a historical event, we are compelled to acknowledge in it a poetical license. Polyandry was, it is true, against Indian custom, but it existed among many of their neighbours, and therefore was familiar to the Indians. This is also the way in which Jacobi looks upon the 'vexed question' (*G. G. A.*, 1899, pp. 884 *sqq.*), and in adopting this standpoint we escape the necessity of supposing with Holtzmann (*D. Mhbhr.*, I., pp. 30 *sq.*) and Winternitz (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 752; *W. Z. K. M.*, XIV., p. 68) that the Brâhmans invented legends to justify a real polyandric marriage. What authorises us, *e. g.*, to take the *Pañcendropâkhyâna* for a younger rationalistic supplement? I cannot but agree with Barth (*J. d. Sav.*, 1897, p. 45) that we go astray, at least in the present state of the *Mahâbhârata* question, if we try to find out chronological stratifications in the published text.[10] The *śatasâhasrî saṁhitâ* bears a striking likeness to a mosaic work composed of innumerable little stones. If we wish to get an idea of its technic, we must above all examine, how many kinds of stones of the same size or the same colour have been made use of; but during this inquiry the age or provenance of the stones will be of little, if any, value to us.

But let us return to our subject.

It is a most characteristic feature of the Indian mind to represent one personage under different aspects (*avatâra*, *jâtaka*), and the five brothers might very well turn out to be personifications of as many qualities of a single hero:— his righteousness is personified by Yudhiṣṭhira, his strength by Bhîma, his skill by Arjuna, his beauty and vanity by Nakula and Sahadeva. Moreover, the story of Indra's *tejas*, which quits him, — as it is told in the *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, — reminds one of the Iranian legend of the *hvarenô*, the majesty, which quits Yima in consequence of his sin. Further, it is very curious that instead of *aśvin* the vedic word *nâsatya*[11] is here used,

[8] On the other hand, Lillie in his work *Buddhism in Christendom* (London, 1887) suggests that "in reality the five sons (*i. e.*, the Pâṇḍavas) were one man."

[9] *Cf.* Franke, *Lit. C. Bl.*, 1900, p. 1016.

[10] I expressed this conviction some time ago. See my article on the *Khodâî-nâme*, *W. Z. K. M.*, 1896, p. 325.

[11] In the Veda *nâsatya* seems to be a single person, out of which the 'twin brothers' may very easily evolve. Could *aśvin* not signify a centaur?

which corresponds to the avestic *náonhaithya*, the demon of vanity, and that, precisely in virtue of this fault, Nakula and Sahadeva do not reach the *svarga*. Is there not a common origin? The principal hero, who gains the bride and whom Draupadî prefers above all — a preference for which she is punished in the end — is Arjuna; and for this reason, *his* son is the true heir. Finally I may mention that in the *Mujmil-at-Tavarîkh* the five brothers are begotten long after Pâṇḍu's death by 'inhabitants of the atmosphere' (*sâkinân i harâ*), which points to their being individuals without fixed lineage. In fact the 'god' *Dharma* is but an imaginary personality.

To sum up, the Pâṇḍava are true Indians, and there is no reason to assume that the pivot of their great national epos was modelled on the customs of a foreign people.

IV. — Date.

Regarding the date of the *diaskeuasis*, we can only look for internal evidence in the epic itself. An often quoted passage of the *Vanaparvan* proves, as has been pointed out by Barth (*l. c.*, p. 42), that Dahlmann is wrong in placing the compilation before Buddha. Besides that the *Mahâbhârata* itself professes to be written down, and nothing written has been found which goes back to a time before the third century B. C. (Barth, *l. c.*, p. 39). Hopkins (*A. J. Ph.*, 1898, p. 22; *cf.* Jacobi, *G. G. N.*, 1896, p. 55) also accepts this as the higher limit. On the other hand the signs for the liquid vowels are said to have been invented either by Nâgârjuna or by Sarvavaman,[12] who lived in the second century A. D., and it would have been well-nigh impossible to write down a Sanskrit text without them. Of course, it does not follow from this circumstance that the poem did not exist orally in its Sanskrit garb before that latter period; on the contrary several reasons seem to prove that this was really the case.

First, Bühler has shown that the *śatasâhasrî saṁhitâ* existed *ca.* 500 A. D.,[13] but that its compilation in all probability was to be pushed back by four to five centuries and perhaps even further (*Indian Studies*, 1892, p. 27). Jacobi holds now the same view (*G. G. A.*, 1899, p. 882). Then, Weber has long ago (*I. St.*, XIII., p. 357) alleged a passage of Dio Chrysostomus, in which this author mentions the Indian Homer, and this quotation goes back to the second century B. C. To the same epoch point two facts brought to light by Kielhorn (*J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 18 *sq.*) and d'Oldenburg (*R. H. R.*, 1898, p. 343). The first is that the epic Sanskrit, as well as the Pâli of the *Jâtaka* have much in common with the language used by Patañjali in his *Mahâbhâṣya*, a work composed in all probability in the second century B. C.; the second is that the *bisastainyopâkhyâna* of the XIIIth book, ch. 93 and 94, occurs in the Pâli and the Sanskrit *Jâtaka*-collection with many coincidences of detail, and is represented on the Stûpa of Bharhut, which has been constructed *ca.* 150 B. C. Finally it may be worth recording that Aśvaghoṣa mentions in the *Buddhacarita*[14] several epic personages, that in the *Lalitavistara* the Pâṇḍava are spoken of as belonging to *one* family, and that in the inscription of Pulumâyi, which dates before 150 A. D., Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Nahuṣa and Janamêjaya are alluded to (Lévi, *Rev. Cr.*, 1893, Vol. I., p. 281). Although Aśvaghoṣa lived in the first century A. D., he drew of course from older sources, and the same may be supposed of the authors of the *Lalitavistara* and the inscription.

We come, then, to the conclusion that a committee of rhapsodists collected in the second century B. C. the most popular songs into one large work, translating them at the same time into Sanskrit. This work was handed down orally till the second century A. D. and then written down.

Now the question arises, if we know of an event, which could possibly induce the bards to gather together the "*disjecta membra*" of the tradition of the past. I think there was one. As long as India proper was under the sway of kings favourable to the Buddhists, we can hardly imagine the

[12] Professor Hörnle has kindly drawn my attention to this point.

[13] This was also the opinion of Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 187).

[14] And in the *Vajrasûcî*, but it is doubtful, whether this work is of the same author.

'*súta*' storing up legends which, to say the least, did not hold the shaven followers of the '*Tathâgata*' in high esteem. But this tendency came to a sudden standstill, when *Pusyamitra* in 180 B. C. killed the last of the Maurya kings and, to strengthen his usurped power, favoured as much as he could the Brâhmans, the natural enemies of the Buddhist monks. Those in their turn collected all legends of visnuitic and śivaitic stamp, which showed the 'true national creed' of India, and perhaps chose the Sanskrit form in opposition to the popular preaching of the Śâkya prince.

Be that as it may, the first thing to be done in this field of Indian literature seems to me to be a new critical edition of the 'Vulgata' together with all available commentaries. During more than 2,000 years the *Mahâbhârata* was shaped and sung in this form all over India, and, I surmise, we can do no better than to make it the standard and touchstone of all further researches.

LETTERS FROM PORTUGUESE CAPTIVES IN CANTON, WRITTEN IN 1534 AND 1536.

BY DONALD FERGUSON.

(Continued from Vol. XXX. p. 491.)

[f. 104] D Copy of a letter that came from China; which letter was written by Christovão Vieyra and Vasco Calvo, captives there, who were of the company of the ambassadors that Fernão Perez took in the year 1520.[26]

IN the year **1520, on the 23rd of January,** we set out for the king of China.[27] In May we were with the king in **Nanquim**: thence he commanded us to go forward to the city of **Piquim**, in order to give us dispatch there. On the 2nd of August letters were sent to **Cantão** regarding what had passed with the king so far: the letters reached **Jorge Botelho** and **Diogo Calvo**, who were in the island[28] where trade is carried on. However, I do not again write of that, because the time requires brevity and little verbiage. In February the king entered Piquim and was ill three months; he died,[29] and the day following [they said] that we must go to Cantão with the present, that the new king would come, that they should go to him to the other city, that he would send us the reply to Cantão. We left **Pequim** on the 22nd of May, and arrived on the 22nd of September at Cantão; because the guide came leisurely according to his own will. The cause of the present's not being accepted is this.

When **Fernão Perez** arrived at the port of China, he ordered the interpreters to write letters to the effect that there had come a captain-major and had brought an ambassador to the king of China. The interpreters [f. 104v] wrote these according to the custom of the country, thus: "A çaptain-major and an ambassador have come to the land of China by command of **the king of the Firingis**[30] with tribute. They have come to beg, according to custom, for a seal[31] from the lord of the world,

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[26] This heading (by whom I know not) contains several errors. In the first place, there are two distinct letters and not one. In the next place, Vasco Calvo was not one of the ambassador's company, but came with his brother Diogo Calvo in 1521. In the third place, Fernão Peres de Andrade took only one ambassador, Thomé Pires. And, lastly, it was in 1517, and not 1520, that Fernão Peres arrived in China.

[27] For previous events, see Introduction. This letter begins so abruptly, that it is evident that the writer must, in a previous communication, or in a portion of this one that has been lost, have described the doings of the embassy down to January 1520.

[28] The Ilha da Veniaga or Tamão. (See Introduction.)

[29] In the original, after the word *falleçeo*, the copyist has made nonsense of what follows by leaving out some words. I have made the best sense I could of the jumble.

[30] Franks. (See *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Firinghee.')

[31] Barros says (Dec. III., VI. i.) :— "This seal, which that emperor gives to all the kings and princes that make themselves his vassals, is of his device, and with it they sign themselves in all letters and writings, in demonstration of their being his subjects. (*Cf.* f. 110.)

the son of God, in order to yield obedience to him." According to custom, for this letter we were received on land. This is the substance of the letter that they wrote, without giving an explanation of it to Fernão Perez, nor his being at any time aware of it: only the interpreters said that the letter had been well done according to custom and as they had comprehended the substance of it.

In the city of Pinquim [*sic*] within the palace of the king the letter of our lord the king was opened, and there was found therein the reverse of what the interpreters had written. It therefore appeared to them all that we had entered the country of China deceitfully, in order to spy out the land, and that it was a piece of deception that the letter to the king was written differently from the other letters. The king thereupon commanded that we should come no more to his palace to do reverence, and soldiers and a guard were placed over us. The custom with ambassadors in Piquim is to place them in certain houses with large enclosures, and there they are shut in on the first day of the moon; and on the fifteenth day of the moon they go to the king's palace, some on foot, and some on jades with halters of straw; and proceed to measure their length five times before a wall of the king's palace all in order with both knees on the ground and head and face flat on the earth. Thus they remain until they are commanded to rise. Five times do they do this at this wall.[32] Thence they return and re-enter the locked enclosures. It was to this reverence that they commanded that we should come no more.

The interpreters were asked why they had written a false letter [f. 105] and one not conformable to that of our lord the king. They said, that they had written it according to the custom of China; that the letter of our lord the king came closed and sealed, so that it could not be read nor opened; that it had to be given into the king's hands; that we were from a far country, and did not know the custom of China, which was great; that in future we should know it; that they were not to blame, as they had written the letter according to custom. The mandarins were not satisfied with the reply. They were asked each one whence they came; and as soon as the king died they were imprisoned and the young men their servants.

The king arrived at a town that is two leagues from the city of Pim [*sic*] in January of the year 1521. He remained to pass judgment on a relative of his who had risen against him;[33] and commanded him to be burnt after being hanged. There he took up the business of our answer; because there had been brought to him three letters[34] against the Portuguese, — one from two mandarins in Piquim, another from the mandarins of Cantão, and another from the Malays, the substances of which were as follows, *viz.*:—

"The mandarins who went to the Island of Trade to receive the customs dues by order of the mandarins of Cantão beg to inform the king, that, when they had gone in such a year and day to collect the customs dues, there came Firingi folk with many arms and bombards, powerful people, and did not pay the dues according to custom; and they are constructing fortresses; and they have also heard say that these people had taken Malaca and plundered it and killed many people. That the king ought not to receive their present; and if he wished to receive them that they should say upon what kingdoms the kingdom of the Firingis bordered; and that he would command them that he was not willing [f. 105v] to receive them."

The letter of the mandarins of Cantão said, that the Firingis would not pay the dues, and they took dues from the Siamese and seized them and boarded their junks and placed guards in them, and would not allow them to carry on trade or to pay dues, and had a fortress made of stone covered with tiles and surrounded with artillery, and inside many arms; and that they stole dogs[35] and ate them roasted; and that they had come to Cantão by force, and that they carried bombards in quantities, reconnoitring the rivers; that they fired off bombards in front of the city and in other prohibited places.

[32] Barros describes this ceremony more fully (Dec. III., VI. i.).

[33] The Prince of Ning. (See Introduction.)

[34] *Cf.* Barros, Dec. III., VI. i.

[35] On this see footnote in Introduction.

The Malays said, that the ambassador of the king of Portugal who was in the country of China had not come in truth, that he had come falsely to the land of China in order to deceive, and that we went to spy out the lands, and that soon we should come upon them ; and that as we had set up a stone[36] on the land and had a house we should soon have the country for our own ; that thus we had done in Malaca and in other parts ; that we were robbers.

A chief mandarin said, that we had asked him by letter for a residence or houses in Cantão ; that, as we were Firingis, it seemed to him very bad, that in place of obedience we asked him for a residence in the country. Another mandarin said, that in the year 1520 in the Island of Trade the Firingis knocked off his cap and gave him blows and seized him when he was going to collect the customs dues by order of the mandarins of Cantão.

To these things the king replied, that "these people do not know our [f. 106] customs ; gradually they will get to know them." He said that he would give the answer in the city of Pequim. (He soon entered it, and the same day fell ill. Three months later he died without having given any answer.) With this reply that the king gave the grandees w... not much pleased ; and the king soon sent word to Cantão, that the fortress that the Portuguese had made should be demolished, and likewise the whole town ; that he desired no trade with any nation ; that if anyone came he was to be ordered to return. And immediately they set out on the road to Cantão that they might inquire into what had been told them, if it were true or not. The mandarins of Cantão did this only in order to plunder ; they prepared armed fleets, and by deceiving them they captured by force those who came and plundered them.[37]

As soon as we arrived at Cantão they brought us before the **pochacy**,[38] and he ordered us to be taken to certain jail-houses that are in the store-houses of food-stuffs,[39] and **Thome Pirez** did not wish to enter them, and the jailers put us into certain houses in which we were thirty and three days, and thence they took Thome Pirez with six persons to the prison of the *pochaçy*[40] which they call **libanco**,[41] and me with four persons to the prison of the **tomeçi**[42] where we were imprisoned ten months. All the goods remained in the power of Thome Pirez. They treated us like free people ; we were closely watched in places separate from the prisoners. During this time the **amelcaçe**[43] who was then there ordered Thome Pirez and all the company to be called. In like manner they summoned the Malays. He said that the king ordered that our lord the king should deliver up to the Malays the country of Malaca which he had taken from them. Thome Pirez replied that he had not come for that purpose, nor was it meet for him to discuss such a question; that it would be evident from the letter that [f. 106v]he had brought that he knew nothing of anything else. He asked what force there was in Malaca ; that he knew that there were three hundred Portuguese men there, and in **Couchim** a few more. He replied that Malaca had four thousand men of arms on sea and on land, who were now combined and then scattered ; and that in **Ceilão**[44] there was a varying number. With these questions he kept us on our knees for four hours ; and when he had tired himself out he sent each one back to the prison in which he was kept.

On the **14th of August 1522** the *pochaçi*[45] put fetters on the hands of Tome Pirez, and on those of the company fetters, and irons on their feet, the fetters riveted on their wrists, and they took from us all the property that we had. Thus with chains on our necks and through the midst of the city

[36] This apparently refers to the stone erected by Jorge Alvares in 1514, as mentioned in the Introduction.

[37] See f. 121.

[38] Read *pochãcy*.

[39] The original has "*alleoqoeĩs* (?) *dos mantimentos*." I am not certain of my reading of the first word ; but in any case it is evidently a copyist's error. Sr. Lopes suggests *allmazẽs* (*almazens*, *armazens*), and this I have adopted. The word may, however, represent *allogeações* (*alojaçoes*), which would have much the same meaning.

[40] Read *pochãçy*.

[41] I cannot explain this word. Chin. *pan koo* means "to look to and take care of" (Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 635).

[42] See Introd.

[43] See Introd.

[44] Apparently an error for *Cochim*.

[45] Read *pochãçi*.

they took us to the house of the **anchuçi.**[46] There they knocked off our fetters and put on us other stronger chains, on our legs riveted fetters and chains on our necks ; and from there they sent us to this prison. At the entrance to the prison **Antonio d'Almeida** died from the heavy fetters that we bore, our arms swollen, and our legs cut by the tight chains. This, with a decision that two days afterwards they would kill us. Before it was night they put others once more on Thome Pirez and conducted him alone barefoot and without a cap amid the hootings of boys to the prison of the **Cancheufu**[47] in order to see the goods that they had taken from us which had to be described ; and the **mandarin** clerks who were present wrote down ten and stole three hundred.[48] The *pochāçy* and *anchuçi* proceeded to say to **a mandarin named Ceuhi** that, since the Portuguese had entered the Island and because he was of opinion regarding us that we had come to spy out the country and that we were robbers, we should at once die. The *ceuhi* replied :—" You want to put an end to all these, who are on an embassy ; it may be true or false. Order their [f. 107] fetters to be struck off immediately. I shall write to the king ; and it shall be done according to his wish." On the following day they struck off our fetters, which if we had borne a day longer we should all have died ; and they brought Thome Pirez back once more to this prison.

The goods that they took from us were twenty quintals of rhubarb, one thousand five hundred or six hundred rich pieces of silk, a matter of four thousand silk handkerchiefs which the Chinese call **xopas**[49] **of Naquim**,[50] and many fans, and also three *arrobas* of musk in powder, three thousand and odd cods of musk,[51] four thousand five hundred taels of silver and seventy or eighty taels of gold and other pieces of silver, and all the clothes, pieces of value, both Portuguese and those of China, the *putchuk*[52] of Jorge Botelho, incense, benjamin, tortoise-shells, also pepper and other trifles. These were delivered into the factory of the Cancheufo as the property of robbers. The present of our lord the king which he sent to the king of China is in the factory of the **pochuncy.** The substance of the pieces and how many and of what kind I do not remember well : however, the sum is over one thousand five hundred ; because they carried off the inventory with other papers of importance and the chests of clothes which they took and put with the goods.[53]

From the ship of Diogo Calvo there remained the following persons :— Vasco Calvo, Estevão Fernandez the clerk, Agostinho Fernandez the master, Simão Luis the steward, João d'Alanquer, João Fernandez, Diogo da Ilha of the master, and sailors Antonio Alvarez and four lads — João Fernandez a Guzarati, Pedro a Javanese of the master, Gaspar of Estevão Fernandez, Gonçalo of Vasco Calvo ; and because they were known in Cantão and said that they belonged to the embassy they escaped ; the others were all seized and put into this prison. Some of them died of hunger and some were strangled. Simão the interpreter and the Balante Alli were imprisoned ; and Alli died here in this prison : they struck him on the head with a mallet, and so they killed him ; [f. 107v] Simão Baralante who was in the Chāchefu died of beatings ; — having already ropes on their necks ; with seven hundred who died thus.[54] The Portuguese, and the goods and cannon that they had with them, all were plundered, except it was for the king. The supply of ship's fittings that Vasco Calvo had, all was plundered by the **conconçepaçi**[55] who went to Pequim, so that nothing was left.

Bertholameu Soarez who was in Patane, Lopo de Goes in Syon,[56] **Vicente**[57] **Alvarez a servant of Simão d'Andrade, and the Father Mergulhão who was in Syon,** came in the year **1521** ; and Diogo Calvo being in the port of trade the fleet of the Chinese attacked them, because

[46] Read *anchaçi*.
[47] Kwangchau-fu, the Chinese name of Canton.
[48] The orig. adds "*assi lalões,*" which I cannot explain.
[49] Chinese *sheu-pa*, handkerchief.
[50] Read Nāquim.
[51] Orig., *papos dalmiscere*. See *New Eng. Dict.*, *s. v.* 'Cod' : and *cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 168 ; Gonzalez de Mendoza, *Hist. de la China*, Hak. Soc. trans., I. p. 16.
[52] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* 'Putchock.'
[53] *Cf.* Barros, Dec. III., VI. ii.
[54] I have made the best sense I could of the original of the foregoing passage. I think *alli* [? for 'Ali] must be here a proper name, and not the Portuguese adverb of place. I am not sure if *balante* and *baralante* refer to the same person. The word *balante* means "bleating," and was applied by the Portuguese to a negro tribe in West Africa.
[55] See Introd.
[56] Siam.
[57] Barros, in quoting from this passage (Dec. III., VI. ii), calls this man *Vasco* Alvares.

the junks kept coming, today one, tomorrow another, from Syon, and they were captured by them through their deceit when fighting. They were carried to **Nanto,** and their slaves and many goods all stolen and themselves wounded. The Father Mergulhão died fighting. They were taken to the prisons at Cantão in irons and fetters : here they were strangled, after carrying boards, [stating] that they should die as sea robbers. They accused them of wishing to rise with their chains on, this not being so, all the time that **Martim Affonso** came ; and through not seeing the other Portuguese whom they brought from the ships, they all died.[58]

The five junks that remained in the port of trade in the year **1521,** four of the king of Malaca's and one of the king of Patane's, *viz.*, one of **Francisco Rodriguez's,** another of **Jorge Alvarez's,** and two others ; and as soon as Diogo Calvo left they were all plundered by the people of the fleet, while they were in full view of Diogo Calvo.[59] The greater part was taken by the **anchiançi** and the **ampochi**[60] and captains and **pro**[61] of Nanto and part of the fleet, and the king had a great part; and from here they withdrew and stole much, and it was seized by the king as the property of robbers. The junks were divided: [f. 108] those of Francisco Rodriguez and Jorge Alvarez were given to the **capas,**[62] and in them those of the king of Patane went to the Malays and another to the Siamese ; of the other I know nothing. All was considered as the property of robbers. From the great amount of goods that the mandarins had from these junks, they ordered that not a Portuguese should escape, so that no one should give an account of these goods that had been plundered.

In the same year there came from Patane other junks in which came Bertholameu Soarez from **Syam,** and another in which came Lopo de Goes. The Portuguese, as I have already said, were craftily taken by them by force and they came to Nanto, and likewise on account of false messages the people went on shore, and they captured them, because they came separately, today one, tomorrow another, until finally all were taken prisoners. In the same junks they speedily cut off the heads of the captains, masters, pilots, and merchants because they had goods. The rest of the riffraff they carried off to prison, in which, they say, there died above one thousand five hundred persons, besides the heads of the killed, which were a great quantity. In order to plunder them they accused them of bringing Portuguese by land to these prisons in Cantão. Many of them were strangled or died of blows and of hunger in the prisons, so that of all this great number of people, who in all would be two thousand, there escaped only sixty rascals whom they released, and some fifty women and children, of whom the half afterwards died : these went to Siam.

A Siamese named Chãcoantão,[63] a brother of his and three other Siamese were beheaded in the square and their bodies truncated, because they said that they had brought Portuguese on shore by false stories which they had reported to them. As soon as the mandarins had the greater part of the goods in their hands and the lesser for the king they were not wanting in eagerness [f. 108v] to kill them. The mandarins said that these might escape who were well-known persons, that these Siamese would write letters against the mandarins regarding the goods that they had taken from them, and that it would fare ill with the mandarins ; that it would be better to put an end to the whole matter, so that nothing should be known of such a thing. They ordered that no stranger should be received in China ; and by this affair of these goods and that of the five junks the mandarins were very rich. These who stole have not been in Cantão for a long time ; they were sent to other provinces according to their customs ; now most have gone from the kingdom.

In the year 1521[64] **Martim Affonso de Melo** came on a visit with five ships and a junk from Malaca. **The people that remained here are as follows,** *viz.*, from the ship of Diogo de Mello : — those who died in the ships : Manoel Chamarro, João Quoresma, Vasco Gil, Rodrigo Alvarez, João Vaz, Lopo Gonçalvez, João Soarez, Pero Bouno, Alvaro Perdigão, Manoel Alvarez, João Pinto, João

58 The meaning of the original is somewhat obscure. 59 See Introd., and *cf. infra*, f. 123. 60 See Introd.
61 A mistake for *pio*. See Introd. 62 Unless this be an error for *capados*, eunuchs, I cannot explain it.
63 Changkwantung? 64 An error for 1522.

Carrasco, Bastião Gonçalvez, men of arms, a cleric, João de Peral master, Bras Gonçalvez master's mate, Francisco Pires a sailor, Alvaro Annes gunner, Affonse Annes bombardier, João Affonso sawyer. These sixty[65] died in the ship. Diogo de Melo captain, Duarte Lopez, Diogo Carreiro: these being wounded and having been collected in the junks, while going forward, because they cried out owing to their wounds and fetters, they cut their heads off in the same junks. Duarte Pestana the barber, Benadito a sailor, Domingos Gil a grummet,[66] Roque a grummet, Pero do Toyal a grummet, João Gonçalvez bombardier, Joanne a slave: these nine[67] were taken to the prison of the **tōcēcy.** Pero Annes pilot, Bertholameu Fernandez mason, João de Matos, Antonio Medina, Joanne a Moluccan, these grummets, Domingos Fernandez, Jorge Diaz, Fernão Liarão, men of arms: these were brought to this prison of the *anchũçy*, where I now am.[68]

[f. 109] **People of the ship of Pero Homem** — those who died in the ship: — Pero Homem, Gaspar Rodriguez, Martim Affonso steward, Francisco d'Andrade, Diogo Martinz, Antonio Alvarez — these six men of arms; Pantalião Diaz master, João Luis master's mate, Bras Martinz, Pero Annes, Antonio Estevez — these three sailors; Alvaro, Pero, Joanne, Manoel a black — these five[69] grummets; Luis Pirez carpenter and the barber Vasco Rodriguez, Jorge Diaz cooper: all these sixteen persons were killed in the ship; João da Sylveira, Domingos Serrão, Martinho Francisco do Mogadouro, Francisco Ribeiro Magalhães, Jorge Rodriguez — these six[70] were brought to the prison of the **tomeçy**, and four grummets, *viz.*, Pina and Francisco, Manuel a Malabar, Diogo a Caffre, and Andre Carvalho pilot; Antonio Fernandez a sailor, Francisco and Antonio grummets, and Matheus Diaz, Francisco Monteiro, Afonso Martinz, Marcos, Tome Fernandez tiler, Sisto Luis gunner — these ten were brought to this prison. The women whom they captured in these ships were taken to other prisons and sold. After they had been put in the prison of the **tomaçi** all died of hunger and cold: there remained only four Portuguese men and one **Caffre,** who died in this prison in which we are. There died six and remained eighteen, both those in this prison and those in the prison of the *tomeçi.*

On the day of St. Nicholas[71] in the year **1522** they put boards on them with the sentence that they should die and be truncated as robbers: the sentences said: "Petty sea robbers sent by the great robber falsely; they come to spy out our country; let them die truncated as robbers." A report was sent to the king according to the information of the mandarins, and the king confirmed the sentence. On the 23rd of September **1523** these twenty-three persons were each one cut in pieces, *viz.*, heads, legs, arms, and their private members placed in their mouths, the trunk of the body being divided into two pieces round the belly. In the streets of Cantão, outside the walls, in the suburbs, through the [f. 109v] principal streets they were put to death, at distances of one crossbow shot from another, that all might see them, both those of Cantão and those of the environs, in order to give them to understand that they thought nothing of the Portuguese, so that the people might not talk about Portuguese.[72]

Thus our ships were captured through the two captains' not agreeing, and so all in the ships were taken, they were all killed, and their heads and private members were carried on the backs of the Portuguese in front of the mandarins of Canton with the playing of musical instruments and rejoicings, were exhibited suspended in the streets, and were then thrown into the dunghills. And from henceforward it was resolved not to allow any more Portuguese into the country nor other strangers.

The Malays who had gone to Piquim received answer that they were to go to Cantão, and that here they would send them the dispatch; and it came, to the effect that they should give them a

[65] *Sic.*

[66] A ship's apprentice or young sailor. (See Jal, *Gloss. Nauf.*, *s. v.* 'Grumete'; Smyth, *Sailor's Word-Book*, *s. v.* 'Gromete.')

[67] *Sic*; but only seven are enumerated.

[68] *Cf.* Vasco Calvo's letter *infra*, f. 131.

[69] Only four are named.

[70] Five only seem to be named.

[71] The 6th of December.

[72] *Cf.* Vasco Calvo's letter *infra*, f. 134v.

letter for our lord the king in order that Malaca might be delivered up to them, the tenor of which is this, according to the translation *de verbo ad verbum* of another that the mandarins wrote in Chinese, that it might be made from it, of which they wrote three of this tenor, which was to be conveyed to our lord the king, to the governor, and the other to the captain of Malaca: —

"Quenhiçi and Ohiçi[73] mandarins heard say that the forces of the Firingis had seized **Malaca**. They wrote a letter to the king of China of how it had been seized and plundered and much people killed; and the king wrote to the mandarins of Cantão that a council should be held regarding this. After this letter there came another from the king of Malaca which **Tuão Mafame**[74] the ambassador brought, which was given to the king of China, which reported in the following manner: — 'The Firingi robbers with great boldness came to Malaca with many men and took the country and destroyed it and killed much people and plundered them and captivated others, and the rest of the people that remain are under the [f. 110] authority of the Firingis, on account of which the king who was of Malaca has a sad heart oppressed with great fear. He took the seal of the king of China and fled to **Bentão**, where he is; and my brothers and relations fled to other countries. The ambassador of the king of Portugal who is in the country of China is false: he does not come in truth but comes to deceive the country of China. In order that the king of China may show favor to the king of Malaca with heart oppressed he sends a present and begs for help and men in order that his country may be restored to him.' This letter was given to Libo,[75] who is the bearer of this." Libo reported that the country of the Firingis must be a small affair bordering on the sea; for since the world was made there had never come to the country of China an ambassador from such a country. The country of Malaca has the **fom**[76] and seal of China and of submission to it. Libo departed and delivered the letter to the king. The dispatch: —

"The king of China sends a letter to the grandees of Cantão that they receive no ambassador from Portugal. The letter of the king of Portugal has been burnt. The ambassador and his company have already been questioned as to how Malaca was taken. Do not let him go. Send a letter to the king of Portugal that he may know it, and his mandarins that they may know it at once, and may deliver Malaca to the said king of Malaca, as the king of Malaca delivered up Malaca and the people, just as they took them from the king of Malaca, and as the king of Malaca delivered them up. They might let the ambassador go; and if Malaca was not delivered up to the said king another council must be held."

This letter came from the king of China to the **tutão** and **comqom** and **choupim** of **Cantão**, who sent it to the **çenhituçi**, the **pochançi** and the **anchaçi**, who hold the seal, to the **haytao** and **pio**, and to the other mandarins, that they summon **Tuão Healie**[77] the ambassador of the king of Malaca, and that he be questioned. He told the mandarins that much people of the Firingis had taken from him his country Malaca; that this was the truth. The mandarins held a council, and ordered that the ambassador of the king of Portugal should write a truthful letter, and that it should be given to **Tuão** [f. 110v] **Alemançet**[78] the ambassador of the king of Malaca, who should take it to Malaca and thence go to the king of Portugal, that he might deliver up and return to him his country and people into his power, just as they had taken them from him, and also to Tuão Mefamet; and that then they should order the ambassador of the king of Portugal to go as soon as there should come a letter from the king of Malaca to the king of China, that they had delivered up to him his country and his people; and if the king of Portugal should not deliver up the country of Malaca to his king, and no letter should come to the country of China of the surrender, that they should not allow the ambassador to go, and another council must be held. Being in this prison, the mandarins sent a letter in Chinese that it might be done into Portuguese, of which three were made; one for our lord the king, another for the governor, and another for the captain of Malaca, and they were given into the hands of the *anchaçi* on the first day of October of the year 1522.

[73] Kwan-hea sz' and Wû-hea sz'? [74] Tuan Muhammad. [75] Lipû
[76] Chinese *fung*, to seal; also, an act of appointment to a dependency. [77] Tuan Ali. [78] Tuan Ali Muhammad.

The mandarins ordered the ambassador from Malaca to take these letters and convey them to Malaca, and that when his country had been delivered up to him he should come back with a message. The ambassador was unwilling, saying that with those letters they would cut off his head in Malaca; that they should give him leave to buy a small junk, as he wished to send half of his people to find out about his king, because they did not know where he was, since the women that they took in the two ships said, one that he was dead, the other not; and that they might bring a letter if they could send it. The small junk left by leave with fifteen Malays and as many Chinese on the last day of May **1523.** It arrived at **Patane,** and there took in some Malays and a Bengali eunuch, and returned with a message from the king of Malacca, and reached Cantão on the fifth day of September. The Chinese who went in the junk all remained in Patane, as they did not wish to return to China. The letter of the ambassador said in substance as follows:—

"The king of Malaca is in **Bintão** surrounded by the Firingis, poor, deserted, looking from morning till night for help [f. 111] from his lord the king of China; and if he will not give it that he will write to the kings his vassals[79] to help him with men, and that he send some provision of food to his ambassador and things similar to these." The letter also said, that, the junk being loaded at Patane, the Portuguese had notice of it, and that they came upon it to seize it; that they put to sea with a storm, without any more merchandise and provisions, and that they would certainly die of hunger at sea."

On receipt of this letter the mandarins entered Cantão, and there proceeded to dispatch them once more, saying that both the ambassadors, *viz.*, Tuão Mafamet and **Cojacão,**[80] and their company were to go to Bintão, the junk being already ready; and that if they did not wish to go they would not give them provisions. They replied that they could not go, that they might kill them and do what they pleased; that the Firingis had taken everything there; that they could go to no place where they would not seize them. The interpreter also said to the **tutuão** who came from Patane, that he had had news that in the present year there were to come one hundred Portuguese sail: for which speech they gave him twenty lashes for daring to speak of such a thing. The ambassador left in the year **1524.** I heard say to some merchants here, that in order to avoid the coast of Patane they made the islands of **Borne** in bad weather, and that the junk was wrecked and they were captivated. I do not know if this was true.

In the ship of Diogo Calvo there came a Christian Chinese, with his wife, named Pedro: this man when he saw the rout returned to **Foym,**[81] of which he was a native. There he lay hidden; and he took the opportunity, when he had got security from the mandarins, to say that he would tell them the force that the Portuguese had in Malaca and in Cochim: that he knew it all; that he knew how to make gunpowder, bombards and galleys. He said that in Malaca there were three hundred Portuguese men, that in Cochim there were none; and he commenced in Cantão to build two galleys. He made two; and when quite finished they were shown to the great mandarins. They found that they were very lop-sided, [f. 111v] that they were useless, that they had caused a great waste of wood. They ordered that no more should be made, discontinued the work of the galleys, and set to making **gelfas**[82] at Nanto. They found that he knew something of gunpowder and bombards, and, sent him to the king. He gave the latter information regarding Malaca, and was made a noble, with a picul of rice as maintenance. They say that he made bombards in Pequim because the king there makes war for war's sake. This may be so, as they told me thus of this Pedro's making bombards in Pequim. On account of this information the Chinese hold the Portuguese in little esteem, as they say that they do not know how to fight on land, — that they are like fishes, which when you take them out of the water or the sea straightway die. This information well suited the wish of the king and the grandees, who had heard otherwise, for which reason they took council regarding Tome Pirez, as to how they might entrap him in order to bring him to Cantão.

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[79] That is, the Rajas of Patani, Pahang, *etc.*

[80] Khojah Khân?

[81] From the statement *infra* (f. 118v) regarding the situation of this place, it is evident that Fûhiun on the east coast of Lintin Bay is meant.

[82] *Gelfa* or *gelva*, translated "shallop" in the Hak. Soc. ed. of the *Comment. of Alboq.* III. p. 19. See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 276, *s. v.* 'Gallevat.'

The people that remained in the company of Tome Pirez were: — Duarte Fernandez a servant of Dom Felipe, Francisco de Budoya a servant of the lady commander, and Christovão d'Almeida a servant of Christovão de Tavora, Pedro de Freitas and Jorge Alvarez, **I Christovão Vieira** and twelve servant lads, with five **juribassos.**[83] Of all this company there are left only I Christovão, a **Persian** from Ormuz, and a lad of mine from Goa. Those of us who remain alive at present are:— **Vasco Calvo,** a lad of his whom they call Gonçalo, and, as I have said, we three who are left of the company of Thome Pirez. These by saying that they belonged to the embassy escaped, and they put them with us here in this prison. We came in thirteen persons; and, as I have said, there have died Duarte Fernandez (when we went to Pequim he died in the hills, being already sick), Francisco de Bedois[84] (when we came from Pequim he died on the road), also three or four lads in this prison by reason of the heavy fetters as I have said above, Christovão d'Almeida, also Jorge Alvarez, both Portuguese (the scrivener of the prison being fuddled with wine killed him with lashes, and he died in six days[85]). The interpreters in Pequim were taken prisoners and killed, and their servants [f. 112] given as slaves to the mandarins for belonging to traitors. The head *juribasso* died of sickness, the other four were beheaded in Pequim for having gone out of the country and brought Portuguese to China. Pero de Freitas in this prison and Tome Pirez died here of sickness in the year **1524** in May. So that of all this company at present there are only two here, as I have said above.

The names that we bore:— Tome Pirez, "captain-major." When Fernão Perez came to China he said that there had come an ambassador and captain-major: they supposed that it was all one name, and put down "ambassador captain-major." They withdrew the name of "ambassador," because they said that it was a false embassy: we are now proving it to be true. The mandarins consider what is past to have been badly done, and do not hold this as an argument against our release. At any rate, "captain-major" remained; and they imagine that it was his name. **Me they call "Tristão do Pina,"** because Tristão de Pina remained here as scrivener: he was removed, and I was left in his place and name, because of being already so written in the books of the mandarins, and thus they call me. **Vasco Calvo they call "Cellamem,"**[86] Gonçalo his lad "the dog," Christovão "Christovão," Antonio "Antonio," and those that died I forbear to write down, all of whom had their names altered, because they could not be written down, nor have the Chinese letters that can be written, as they are letters of the devil;[87] and moreover they could not be rectified, as they were already dispersed throughout many letters and in many houses; and if they had done differently the sum total would have appeared in it exactly the same. The women of the interpreters as also those of Tome Pirez that were left in this city in the present year were sold as the property of traitors; they remained here dispersed throughout Cantão.

The country of China is divided into fifteen provinces. Those that adjoin the sea are **Quantão, Foquiem, Chequeam, Namquy, Xantão, and Pequy:** these, although they border on the sea, also extend inland all round. **Quancy, Honão, Cuycheu, He[f. 112v]cheuẽ, Cheamçy, and Sançy** confine, with **Pequim,** upon these provinces that are in the midst: — **Queançy, Vinão, Honão.**[88] Of these fifteen **Nãoquim and Pequim** are the chief of the whole

[83] Interpreters. (See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.*; Yule's earliest instance is dated 1603.)

[84] Bedoia? (Spelt Budoya above.)

[85] The original is very confused, and I am uncertain of the sense.

[86] I cannot explain this word: it may represent some Chinese name.

[87] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 185:—"The *Chinas* have no certain Letters in their Writing, for all that they write is by Characters. Their lines are not over thwart as in the Writings of all other Nations, but are written up and downe."

[88] The fifteen provinces enumerated are the following:—Kwangtung, Fûkien, Chehkiang, Nanking, Shantung, Peking, Kwanghsî, Yünnan, Kweichau, Szechwan, Shenhsî, Shanhsî, Kianghsî, Hûnan, and Honan. (In the Kanghsî reign, 1662-1722, the country was divided into eighteen provinces, some of the old ones being divided, and names being altered in a few cases.) Compare with this list those given by Gonzalez de Mendoza in his *Hist. de la China*, bk. I. chaps vii. and viii., some of the names in which are scarcely identifiable. (The editor of the Hak. Soc. ed. does not seem to have noticed that the name "Saxij," which occurs at the end of the first list in the English translation, is an interpolation, to supply the accidental omission of "Cãton" in the original.) Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, in the fifth chapter of his *Tractado da China* (1569-70), enumerates only thirteen provinces, but gives the names fairly accurately. The list given by Barros (Dec. III., II. vii.), though the earliest published, is the most correct.

country. Over all Pequim is the capital where the king by law resides. **Nanquim** lies in 28 or 29 degrees, Pequim in 38 to 39. From Cantão to **Foquẽ** the coast runs along north-east and south-west a little more or less. From **Foquem** to Piquim the coast runs straight north and south. The coast winds about, which they say is a very safe one, and having many cities and towns near the sea on rivers. All these fifteen provinces are under one king. The advantage of this country[89] lies in its rivers all of which descend to the sea. No one sails the sea from north to south; it is prohibited by the king, in order that the country may not become known.[90] Where we went was all rivers. They have boats and ships broad below without number, there are so many. I am certain that I must have seen thirty thousand including great and small.[91] They require little water. Certainly there are rivers for galleys suitable for every kind of rowing foist for war. Close to the sea the country has no wood, nor at thirty leagues from the sea: I mean that on the coast from north to south the land is all low, all provisions are carried, and on the rivers the wood comes down in rafts from inland, and it is towed from more than one hundred leagues round **Pequym** because the province in which the king resides has no wood nor stone nor bricks:[92] all is carried from Nanquim in large boats. If Nãoquim did not supply it with its provisions, or other provinces, Pequym would not be able to sustain itself, because there are people without number and the land does not produce rice, because it is cold and has few food-products. The king resides in this province, which is situated at the extremity of his country, because he is at war with some **peoples called Tazas**,[93] and if the king did not remain there they would invade the country, because this same Pequim belonged to these Tazas, with other provinces.

In this country some fifteen leagues from the gulf of **Cauchim**,[94] from fifteen to twenty leagues inland from **Haynão**, here commences a mountain range: this range is called [f. 113] **Miuylem or Moulem**,[95] and runs eastward and ends in Foquem, and divides Foquem from **Chiquião**. These mountain ranges are very high, without trees; they are lofty and very rugged, so that these ranges divide three provinces. On the sea **Cançy** borders on the country of **Cauchi** and Cantão and then Foquem. These three provinces stand by themselves. Of the others Cantão and Foquem border on the sea and reach as far as the mountain range. **Cançim** lies between Cantão and the range as far as Canchim:[96] it does not border on the sea of Canchim.[96] The whole of this line of mountains which divides these three provinces from the other twelve has only two roads very steep and difficult. One is from this city to the north: by this one is served the province of Cançi and Cantão and part of Foquem. The other is there above Foquem, with roads cut through the rock in many parts[97] like that which goes to Santa Maria da Penna,[98] and on the other side there will be a like descent. In these lofty and steep ranges rise rivulets which afterwards here below form rivers that go flowing down to the sea; and anyone that

[89] The orig. has *serra*, mountain range, a copyist's blunder for *terra* evidently.

[90] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 190; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. p. 94.

[91] *Cf.* Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. p. 149.

[92] This statement is incorrect. (See Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, I. p. 89.)

[93] Barros, in quoting this statement from Christovão Vieyra's letter, says (Dec. III., VI. i.) that the emperor resided in Peking "because of its being on the frontier of the Tartars, whom they call Tâtas or Tancas (as we have already said [in Dec. III., II. vii.]), with whom he is continually at war." (See also Galeotto Pereira in Purchas, *Pilg.* pp. 205, 207; Gaspar da Cruz in *ib.* p. 170; Mendoza, Hak. Soc. ed. pp. 9, 28, 77, 85, 90.)

[94] That is, Cochinchina. See Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* 'Cochin-China;' Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas. *Pilg.* III. p. 167; and Galeotto Pereira in same, p. 205.

[95] Meiling, the "Plum Pass," by which nearly all intercourse between the northern and southern provinces was carried on. The name is applied locally to the Yunling range. (See *Mid. King.* I. pp. 12, 37, 39, 113, 159, 174.)

[96] *Sic*, for Cauchim.

[97] *Cf. Mid. King.* I. p. 174.

[98] This is the famous monastery at Cintra in Portugal, immortalized by Byron in *Childe Harold*, canto I. verses xix.-xx., under the title of "Our Lady's House of Woe," the poet being under the mistaken impression that it derived its name from *pena*, punishment, whereas it is from *penha*, rock, cliff. (In his note on the name, and the one correcting the error, Byron has jumbled up Spanish and Portuguese in a ridiculous way.) The spelling *penna* in the text is an antiquated form of Spanish *peña*. — I owe the reference to *Childe Harold* to Sr. David Lopes of Lisbon, to whom I am indebted for much kind help. It is a remarkable coincidence that, according to Sir John Barrow (*Travels in China*, p. 597), Lord Macartney should, when crossing the Meiling Pass, have been reminded, like Christovão Vieyra, of the Cintra rocks.

comes from Cantão thither is in the middle portion of the road always towed with hooks, sometimes through only a span of water. There is another similar one from the range to other provinces.

This mountain range has on the Cantão side a city, and on the other side another:[99] the range lies in the middle; from one to the other there will be some six or seven leagues.[100] As regards the range, it is a steep and very difficult country. It is a great thoroughfare, because the whole country of the twelve provinces passes through here; those who wish to come to **Quiençy** and to Cantão in one day pass along this road on mules or asses. The water of the rivulets that runs from these ranges both from one extremity and the other to the foot of these ranges on both sides unites and begins to form rivers having in places two spans of water, and the boats go grating on the pebbles; this in many places for some eight to [f. 113v] ten leagues downwards from the range, and in some places it is deep.[1] From this range to Cantão all the merchandise that comes and goes is by this river; all the mandarins who come and go do so by this river. By land there is a road paved with stones (?),[2] and there are some rivers on the way that they cross; however by it they go but little, because there are robbers all along the road and on the rivers. As I have said, the roads of the country are not safe. All the traffic and journeys in the country of China are by rivers, because the whole of China is intersected by rivers, so that one cannot go two leagues by land without crossing twenty rivers: this is throughout the whole country, and there is only one province that has no rivers.[3]

All the craft of Cantão[4] in which the people and merchandise go to the mountain range and to other parts of these two provinces, *viz.*, Cantão and **Queançy**, all is made in the city of Cantão close to the sea in places surrounded by rivers of fresh water and by mountains; because from Cantão right up to the mountain range there is not a single tree from which a single boat can be made. In **Cançi** which is far from here, they build some large boats for merchandise, but not many: all the manufacture is in these outskirts of Cantão and around **Tançião.**[5] If these boats of Cantão were destroyed, help could not come from other provinces, because they have no roads by land. So that, whoever should be master of the district of Cantão, all the advantage is on the border of the sea and twelve, fifteen, twenty miles inland: all this is divided up by rivers where every kind of boat can go. This is the most suitable race and country of any in the whole world to be subjugated, and the whole aim lies in this district of Cantao. Certainly it is a greater honor than the government of India: further on it will be seen that it is more than can be described. If our lord the king had the real truth and information as to what it is so much time would not pass.

[f. 114] **This province of Cantão** is one of the best in China, from which the king receives much revenue, because there are rice and food-stuffs incalculable, and all the wares of the whole country come to be shipped here by reason of the sea-port and of the articles of merchandise that come from other kingdoms to Cantão; and all passes into the interior of the country of China, from which the king receives many dues and the mandarins large bribes. The merchants live more honestly than in the other provinces which have no trade. No province in China has trade with strangers except this of Cantão: that which others may have on the borders is a small affair, because foreign folk do not enter the country of China, nor do any go out of China. This sea trade has made this province of great importance, and without trade it would remain dependent on the agriculturists like the

[99] The city on the Kwangtung side of the pass is Nanhiung; that on the Kianghsi side is Nanngan. (See *Mid. King*. I. pp. 113, 159, 174.)

[100] According to Williams (*Mid. King*. I. p. 159) the road between Nanhiung and Nanngan is twenty-four miles in length.

[1] *Cf.* Barrow, *op. cit.* p. 542.

[2] The orig. has "*em recados de p^{as}*." which is unintelligible. Sr. Lopes suggests *enrocado de pedras*, which I have adopted, though I am not quite satisfied with it.

[3] An error: there is no riverless province.

[4] It must be observed that the Portuguese Cantão represents both the province of Kwangtung and the city of Kwangchau-fû.

[5] I think this should be Tancão, and that the place referred to is Tungkwan on the Tungkiang or East River. (See *infra*, ff. 119v, 121v.)

others. However the port of the whole of the country of China is Cantão; Foquem has but little trade, and strangers do not go there. Trade cannot be carried on in any other province except in Cantão, because it is thereby more suited than others for trade with strangers.

This province has thirteen cities and seven **chenos**,[6] which are large cities that do not bear the name of cities; it has one hundred walled towns besides other walled places. All the best lies along the sea as far as Aynão on rivers which may be entered by vessels that are rowed; and those that are distant from the sea lie between rivers into which also all kinds of row-boats can go. Of the cities and towns that lie on rivers which cannot be navigated except by towing no account need be taken at the first; because when the greater obeys the lesser does not rebel. As I have said, there is under the sun nothing so prepared as this, and with people without number, and thickly populated on those borders where there are rivers (and where there are none it is not so populous, not by a fifth), of every sort of craftsman of every mechanical office, I mean carpenters, caulkers, smiths, stone-masons, tilers, sawyers, carvers: in fine that there is a superabundance [f. 114v] of the things that are necessary for the service of the king and of his fortresses,[7] and from hence may be taken every year four or five thousand men without causing any lack in the country.

The custom of this country of China is, that every man who administers **justice** cannot belong to that province; for instance, a person of Cantão cannot hold an office of justice in Cantão; and they are interchanged, so that those of one province govern another: he cannot be a judge where he is a native.[8] This is vested in the literates; and every literate when he obtains a degree begins in petty posts, and thence goes on rising to higher ones, without their knowing when they are to be moved; and here they are quietly settled, when a letter comes and without his knowledge he is moved from here three hundred leagues. These changes are made in Pequim: this takes place throughout the whole country, and each one goes on being promoted. Hence it comes that no judge in China does equity, because he does not think of the good of the district, but only of stealing, because he is not a native of it, and does not know when he may be transferred to another province. Hence it comes that they form no alliances and are of no service where they govern nor have any love for the people: they do nothing but rob, kill, whip and put to torture the people. The people are worse treated by these mandarins than is the devil in hell: hence it comes that the people have no love for the king and for the mandarins, and every day they go on rising and becoming robbers. Because the people who are robbed have no vineyards nor any source of food it is necessary that they become robbers. Of these risings there are a thousand. In places where there are no rivers many people rise; those that are between rivers where they can be caught remain quiet; but all are desirous of every change, because they are placed in the lowest depth of subjection. It is much greater than I have said.

The mandarin nobles although they are mandarins hold no post of justice. Of these there are many; they are mandarins of their own residences, [f. 115] and have a salary from the king; while they hold office they go to fight wherever they are sent. These for any fault whatsoever are straightway beaten and tortured like any other person of the common people. However they go on advancing in names, and according to the name so is the maintenance. These do not go out of the district of their birth, because they do not administer justice. Sometimes they have charge of places of men of arms; however, wherever they are, they understand very little of justice, except in places with populations of people of their own control.

The arms[9] of the country of China are short swords of iron with a handle of wood, and a bandoleer of *esparto* cord. This is for the men of arms; the mandarins have of the same fashion but finer according as they have authority. Their spears are canes, the iron heads

[6] Chin. *chên*, now = a market town.

[7] *Cf.* the letter of Diogo Calvo in the Introduction.

[8] *Cf.* Gal. Pereira in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 202. Couto (Dec. VII., I. iii.), in referring to the appointment as viceroy of India in 1554 of D. Pedro Mascarenhas, describes this custom of the Chinese, and highly commends it.

[9] *Cf.* Mendoza, I., III. chap. v.

being spikes and hooks; pieces of wood, head-pieces or helmets of tin of Flanders foil for the sake of the heat. Before the Portuguese came they had no bombards, only some made after the manner of the pots of Monte Mór,[10] a vain affair. None of the people may carry arms except they do it under pain of death. The men of arms may not carry them at home when they have done their duty, the mandarins give them to them so long as they serve under them: when this is finished they are collected at the house of the mandarin. They have wooden cross-bows.

The capital punishment[11] in the country of China. — The most cruel is putting one on the cross, where they take from him three thousand slices while he is alive,[12] and afterwards open him and take out his pluck for the hangman to eat, and cut all in pieces and give it to the dogs that stand waiting for it. They give them[13] this[14] to eat in the case of captains of robbers, for whom they have a liking.[15] The second is cutting off the head, the private members being cut off and put in the mouth, and the body divided into seven pieces. The third is cutting off the head at the back of the neck. The fourth is strangling. Those that are liable to less than death become men of arms of China in perpetuity to son, grandson and great-grandson, that is, one that belongs to Cantão they transfer to another province very [f. 115v] far off, and nevermore does he return to his own; there they serve as men of arms. These are the men of arms of China. From this they rise to be mandarin knights, of those whom I have mentioned above ten thousand, some banished in their life-time for a term of years, and those who have been banished they transfer to various provinces to serve in the houses of the mandarins and sweep and carry water, split wood, and to fulfil every other service of this kind, and to serve in works of the king and other services. The **tortures**[16] are to fasten boot-trees for stretching buskins one between the feet and two outside with cords, with which they torture their ankle-bones, and with mallets they strike the boot-trees, and sometimes break their ankle-bones and sometimes the shin-bones of their legs, and they die in a day or two. And there is also the similar one with pieces of wood between the fingers and toes: these suffer pain but do not run risk of their lives; they are, however, beaten on the legs, buttocks and the calves of the legs, and on the soles of the feet, and are given blows on the ankles. From these beatings many without number die; and all great and small are tortured. They hold very strongly to custom, and the people are ill-used, and no one writes a letter against the mandarin because he is of the gentry. The whip is a large dry split cane of the thickness of a finger and of the breadth of the palm of the hand, and they put it in soak that it may hurt the more.[17]

Every person that has **lands**. — The whole country of China is divided up into lots; they call each lot[18] **quintei**:[19] it will be sowing land of four *alqueires*[20] of rice. Every husbandman is obliged to pay from this land of his a certain quantity of rice. Now they sow, then they do not; now today they have good seasons, then bad ones. When the seasons are not favorable they become poor, and sell their children in order to pay: if this is not sufficient, they sell the properties themselves. They are obliged, every person that has this acreage of land, to give certain persons for the service of the mandarins, or for each person twenty *crusados*. They

[10] There are two small towns of this name in Portugal, — Monte Mór o Novo and Monte Mór o Velho. To the former, doubtless, are to be credited the pots so contemptuously referred to by the writer, since the country around Evora is famed for its pottery. (I am indebted for this information to Sr. David Lopes.)

[11] *Cf.* Mendoza, I., III. chap. xii; Gaspar da Cruz, chap. xx.; *Mid. King.* I. p. 511 ff.

[12] This is the well-known *ling chih*, or slicing punishment. See *Mid. King.* I. pp. 512, 514.

[13] That is, the hangmen.

[14] The pluck.

[15] Wells Williams says (*Mid. King.* I. p. 514):—"It is not uncommon for him [the executioner] to cut out the gall-bladder of notorious robbers and sell it, to be eaten as a specific for courage."

[16] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 189; Mendoza, I. III. Chap. x; *Mid. King.* I. p. 507.

[17] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz, in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 188; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. p. 120.

[18] The orig. has *paros*, which is unintelligible, unless it be a copyist's error for *parts*.

[19] Chin. *kêng ti* or *kàng te* = plowed land.

[20] An *alqueire*, as a dry measure = 13 litres.

are obliged to supply all furniture of colored tables, chairs, beds, ewers and other trifles for the houses of the mandarins. [f. 116] Those who have not lands are obliged each one to give certain persons; and, if he have no person, money; and, if he have no person or money, he in person has to serve and eat at his own cost and fee the person he serves. Besides these duties they are liable for the following.

Throughout the whole country of China there are now rivers, now dry land. On the high roads from stage to stage there are houses ready, with each one its mandarin clerk, where they have rice, meat, fish, fowls and every other sort of food and preparation of the kitchen; and boats with kitchens, tables, chairs and beds. They have also beasts ready, rowers for the service of the mandarins and every other person who travels by the rivers, that is, every mandarin or other person whom the king sends or the mandarins who in connection with their government carry letters; for which purpose they give them much, — if they go by land, horses; if by sea, boats, beds, and every necessary.[21] Indeed[22] the persons are already furnished for these houses. The persons of the districts are obliged to give this for a certain time, now some, now others: for this reason, they have nothing left that they do not spend; and if anyone refuses he is immediately imprisoned and everything is sold, and he dies in prison. No one refuses what the mandarin demands, but with head to the ground and face on the earth listens to and regards the mandarin[23] like another lightning-flash.[24] Hence it is that the people come to be poor; moreover for any cause whatever they are at once beaten and put in prison, and the least penalty is seven *quintals* of rice and two or three *maces* (?)[25] of silver to them, and of these they pay five hundred and a thousand taels,[26] whence I verily believe that the fines that are exacted for the king from the persons that are imprisoned is a very large sum of silver, and I am certain that in the prisons of Cantão there are constantly as many as four thousand men imprisoned and many women. And every day they imprison many and release fewer; and they die in the prisons of hunger like vermin.[27] Hence the people come to have a hatred of the mandarins, and desire changes in order to obtain liberty.

[f. 116v] **The cities, towns and walled villages of the country of Chin.**[28] — All the walls are broad built on the surface of the ground: the walls have no foundations; they stand on the earth. The face of the outer part is of stone from the ground to half-way up the wall; the rest of brick. Some are all of stone. I mean the outer face; inside they are of mud. At the gateways they make great arches and great gates, and above the gates sentry-boxes of wood. From these mud-walls they remove the earth for the mud-walls.[29] The villages and walls[30] lie within walls and ditches. Those that I saw were all on the surface of the ground: they have no other fortresses. The cities, towns and villages that have walls open their gates at sunrise and shut them at sunset.[31] They intrust the keys to the mandarin who has charge of them: at night he receives them, and in the morning every gate has a person who guards it with ten or

[21] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 185; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. p. 103.

[22] The orig. has *jabe*, which may possibly be an error for *ja bẽ*.

[23] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 187; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. p. 142.

[24] The orig. has "*como outro relãpando*," the last word being apparently an error for *relãpado*, an ancient form of *relampago*.

[25] The orig. has "*dous tres e mo*," which would mean "two, three and a half." As this is not intelligible I suggest that the "*e*" is an interpolation, and that "*mo*" should be "*ms*," for *maçes*, *mazes*, or *mases*. (*Cf.* Mendoza, Hak. Soc. ed. I. p. 82; and Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. pp. 175, 178.)

[26] The orig. has *tates*, an evident error for *taes*.

[27] *Cf.* Gal. Pereira in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 203; Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 189.

[28] *Cf.* Gal. Pereira in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 200; Gaspar da Cruz in same, pp. 170, 172; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. pp. 24, 26; *Mid. King.* I. p. 728.

[29] If the orig. is correct, the only sense I can make of this is, that the earth was dug out to form ditches and used for filling in the walls. (*Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 171.)

[30] The words "*e muros*" in the orig. may be an interpolation of the copyist's.

[31] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 173; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. p. 180.

twelve persons; at night all watch vigilantly, as they are afraid of the natives. All the houses are protected by timber on wooden props; the walls of a few are of mats, but in most cases of canes and mud with clay with a facing of lime, and generally floored with small planks. Thus they are all a very flimsy affair; and for the most part the whole family lives within one door, and all have one surname. Each family[32] has a family name by which they are known: in addition to this they have their names, Mirandas[33] or any other cognomen. Besides this patronymic (?)[34] they have their own names. The oldest person of this family has the names, in order to give an account of how many there are; and no person can go twenty miles out of the village where he dwells without a letter from the mandarins: if he is found without it he is imprisoned as a robber; because all the roads are full of spies. For this letter they give something: the letter declares what person he is and his age and all for which he is given leave.

With respect to the **courts of justice** that there are in this city of Cantão, [f. 117] the first is the **Cancheufu**,[35] which is the court of the city. This has twelve or thirteen mandarins and one hundred clerks: every mandarin lives in the court where he is a mandarin. The court of the **pochançi** has some twenty mandarins petty and great, clerks, **chimchaes**,[36] messengers, and other persons, with clerks: in all there are more than two hundred. The court of the **anchaçy** has as many other great and petty mandarins, clerks, and other persons. The court of the **toçi** has six or seven mandarins and many clerks. The **cehi** is one who has charge of the men of arms and of the salt: he has many clerks; and the **cuchi** who has charge of all the affairs of justice is one who has many clerks. The court of the **tutão** and the **choypi** and the great and lesser **congom** and of the **tiqos**.[37] Besides these there are some fifteen or twenty whom I do not name. There is no doubt that all the mandarins of this city of Cantão must have over seven or eight thousand servants all employed at the expense of the people. I do not speak of other great courts of the mandarins who keep sheep,[38] who have no charges, so that they may be reckoned as houses of men of the people. Take note that every house of those of the mandarins has terraces and freestone for the purpose of being able in each one to erect a tower, and here there is cut stone in blocks enough to build anew a Babylon. I pass over their houses of prayer and the streets which are so much carved as to defy description. Then as regards wood, one of these houses has enough to timber a fortress with ten towers. These houses have **teiçães**[39] of strong gates within, all with houses and stables. Each of these houses covers enough ground to form a handsome town. The house of the **aytao** also is very large, and has great, strong, beautiful gates, and the wall at the hinges stands on the surface. Of all those of Cantão this is the abundance of the mandarins; and every day some go and others come, so that in every three years and more all have gone and others come. Since I have been in this city many crews have been changed.

As I have said of the much stone, so also of the much craft, that there is [f. 117v] in this province of Cantão,[40]— not one of war, all of peace, — of such a number of royal galleys and foists and brigantines, all with gunwales[41] and beaks and masted in the manner of galleys. If

[32] The writer here several times uses the word *parenteira*, for *parentela*. (For a similar use of the word see D. Lopes's *Textos em Aljamía Portuguesa*, p. 135, l. 11.)

[33] I cannot explain the use of this name in this connection. Perhaps the copyist has blundered.

[34] The orig. has "*aboanha*," which I cannot explain, unless it be connected with *avo*, grandfather.

[35] Kwangchau-fû = "the city district of Canton, with the surrounding country; also the magistrate who presides over it." (Mor., *Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 503.)

[36] See Introd.

[37] Regarding the various officials mentioned see Introd.

[38] Orig. "*que teem ovelhas.*" I cannot explain this, and suspect some error of the copyist's. Perhaps we should read "*que são velhos*" = "who are old."

[39] I cannot explain this word, which appears to be a copyist's blunder. Sr. Lopes suggests *traçôes* = forms.

[40] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 178.

[41] I am not certain if this is the exact meaning of *postiça* here. (*Cf.* Jal, *Gloss. Naut.*, *s. vv.* 'Posticcio,' 'Postiza,' *etc.*)

into each one be put a deck and its knees[42] they become galleys and foists and brigantines; and at first they would do instead of those of **Cŏchi**. There are also oars and rowers without number. Of these boats the best and newest should be taken, and all the rest burned. At leisure royal galleys can be built, and all the other rowing craft. These draw less water than ours, and can thus serve as well as ours in these rivers. For the sea I do not know how safe they would be; so that it would be needful to make a beginning with these, because they are very necesssary, until others were made, for. it the affair proceeds as projected, there can be made here in a month ten or twelve rowing boats, because workmen and wood are in plenty, and especially when they see good payment. These boats are of much importancė, because all the strength is in the rivers.

This country of China is great, and its **commerce** is between certain provinces of it and others. Cantão has **iron,** which there is not in the whole of the rest of the country of China,[43] according to what I am informed. From here it goes inland to the other side of the mountain range; and the rest lies in the vicinity of this city of Cantão. From this they manufacture pots, nails, Chinese arms and everything else of iron. They have also **cordage, thread** and **silk,** and **cotton cloths.** By reason of trade all goods come here, because this is the port whither foreigners come for this trade of goods from the provinces to Cantão and from Cantão to the interior, and the people are more numerous than in the other provinces. All the goods that were coming to Cantão before this war broke out should be kept until it is seen how things turn out. The [f. 118] country inland has many, without a possibility of their being wasted, because they would manufacture them according to the wishes of the Portuguese: I mean silks and **porcelains.**

This country cannot be sustained without trade. Goods do not come here now, nor are there here goods and traders as were wont, nor the fifth part, because all were destroyed on account of the Portuguese. This city, because of foreigners' not coming and because goods do not come from the other provinces, is at present poor. A good trade cannot be done until those from above come here when they learn that foreigners have arrived, and trade has once more to be negotiated. Every day I think that the province of Cantão is going to revolt; and the whole country inland is bound to do likewise, because the whole is fustigated after one manner. When things have been settled in one way or another the country will carry on trade, whilst the land will not yield such large revenues, which is a thing not to be desired. The whole country is cultivated; and the goods that the foreigners bring are very necessary in the country, especially in order to effect a sale of the local ones. The country inland has many and good articles of merchandise, many kinds of silks that have not yet come to Cantão, because they are anxious that they should not be rivalled, and because of its being forbidden by the king that good wares and those of value should be sold to foreigners, only things of barter; there is also much **rhubarb.** I now leave this subject and turn to that which is of more importance.

In Cantão they have not been forming **fleets** as they used to do formerly. It must now be sixteen years[44] since certain Chinese **rose in junks and turned robbers,** and Cantão armed against them. Those of Cantão were defeated; and the mandarins [f. 118v] of Cantão made an agreement with them that they would pardon them and that they would give them land where they might live, with the condition that when other robbers should appear on the sea they should go and fight with them, and whatever they got in plunder should be theirs, excepting the women and things for the king. They gave **a settlement to these robbers,** some of them in **Nanto,** some of them in **Foym,**[45] some of them in **Aynameha**[46] and in other villages that lie between Nanto

[42] Here, again, I am doubtful as to this being the correct rendering of *liames.*

[43] This is incorrect Iron is abundant in various provinces of China. (See *Mid. King.* I. pp. 95-96; and *cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 173.)

[44] That would be in 1518. I have no confirmatory account of the events described by the writer.

[45] Doubtless Fûhiun, on the east coast of Lintin Bay. (See *supra*, f. 111.)

[46] Anunghoy near the Bocca Tigris. (See *infra*, f. 129).

and Cantão: these all had junks. All the junks of Cantão were of these robbers of whom I have spoken. By the capture in the year 1521 of the junks that remained at the island[47] they became rich, and by the booty of **Syão** and Patane; and through the conquest of the two ships in the year 1522 they became so arrogant that it seemed to them that now no one could come whom they could not defeat. Wherefore in the year 1523 they prepared a fleet of one hundred junks watching for Portuguese: half of them lay in front of Nanto, and the other half at sea among the islands watching. At the end of August a hurricane burst upon them which lasted a day and a night, which dashed in pieces all the principal ones that were at sea so that not one escaped. The other half that was before Nanto put into the river and took refuge in Anyameha, which is a safe port; if a! had been at sea all would have perished. There are no other junks, nor had they any other force than there was in these men, of whom there is not one, and the rest have gone because they did not pay them. In the year 1524 they equipped a fleet of salt junks which they took by force; and until the year 1528 they prepared fleets. The junks went on decreasing until they left off doing this, and of the junks that escaped to Aynameha there is not one, —all were defeated by robbers who after these appeared on the sea, who now live on land with the security that they have given them: they must have some seven [f. 119] or eight junks. Now there are no others except it be those of these men. If they go without victuals they do not equip fleets, nor have they junks of which they would wish to form them. There is now no other strength than that which lies in the walls of Cantão.

In this fleet that the Chinese prepared to watch for ours there was not one man of arms of the soldiers of China: all were people from those villages and junks taken by force and weak and low people and the majority children. Nevertheless every one of them is better than four men of arms: it is a mere mockery to talk of men of arms of this country of China.[48] In this fleet that they sent to Nanto are some captains, it appearing to them that they could capture Portuguese as in the year 1522. If this gentry had a taste of the Portuguese sword they would soon fraternize with the Portuguese, because the most are people of floating possessions,[49] and with little or no root in the soil. This people of Cantão is very weak in comparison with the people of the interior, who are strong. In this Cantão, — I mean in the district of Cantão and throughout the province, — because it is a region distant from the rivers, they quickly rise. They attack villages, and kill much people: this happens every day in many places, and they cannot do them any harm, and they send for men to the province of Cançy which lies to the west of Cantão. They call these **Langãs or Langueãs**:[50] these are of a somewhat better bearing: nevertheless the whole is a trumpery affair. The Chinese say that if the Portuguese should land they would summon many of these men; and they cannot come except by river, so that if a hundred came it would profit nothing, because when the river was freed from their craft and our vessels were clear and began to proceed under bombards there is nothing that would appear within ten leagues. These Chinese of Cantão when they go to fight with people who have risen never [f. 119v] kill like robbers. They surprise these abodes of robbers and kill an immense number therein, and bring their heads and many others as prisoners: they say that they are robbers, and there is no more need of proof. They kill them all in a cruel manner. This they do every day. The people is so docile and fearful that they dare not speak. It is like this throughout the whole country of China, and it is much worse than I have said; wherefore all the people long for a revolt and for the coming of the Portuguese. So much for Cantão.

[47] That is, the Island of Trade. (See Introd.)

[48] *Cf.* Fa. Ricci in Hak. Soc. *Mendoza*, Introd. p. lxxx.

[49] Orig. *bona boya*. The writer is probably making a punning allusion to the large *floating* (literally) population of China.

[50] The writer seems to refer to some of the Laos (Shân) tribes inhabiting Kwanghsî, and to have attached to them the name of the Dragon River, Lung-kiang.

The island of Aynão has one city[51] and fourteen towns.[52] It lies within sight of the country of China. It has a good port,[53] but has no timber,[54] and for this reason has no boats. When any people of **Luchim**[55] rise in junks and go to these parts to commit robberies they ask for help from Cantão: they are a very weak lot. On the land of China facing Aynão as far as Cantão along the sea there are four cities and many towns along the whole sea-shore and on rivers.[56] Into several ships can enter and into all large rowing boats can enter. Navigation is carried on at all seasons. Along this coast there are many fertile islands that form a shelter from every wind. This is the capital of the province; and it must contain two-thirds of the province. If Cantão be entered by the **Tomqº**[57] all this will be surrendered when the capital has surrendered and been captured. This Aynão has many jades;[58] and it has coconuts and areca, which all the rest of the country of China has not.[59] In Cantão there is a trade in this areca and coconuts, as also in seed-pearl in great plenty, which all the rest of the country of China has not.[60] As I have said, it has jades which the Chinese call horses: of these they bring numbers to this province, and many can be had hence for a small price.

This Cantão has some two hundred of these **horses**. The petty mandarins who cannot afford an **andor**[61] have a horse; [f. 120] the mandarins of war also have each one his. These jades are small, and are only pacers; in the hands of the Portuguese they could be utilized equipped with short stirrups and spurs. These Chinese use a halter[62] and no bridle. Cantão has more than twenty or thirty working saddlers; persons who make stirrups are many. The people are without number; and anyone when he gains ten reals a day for a living praises God: after this sort are all the workmen of China. Thus, as I have said, these with those of Aynão can be utilized for the country. One of these horses is worth here from three to ten taels of silver. Not a person, so they affirm, do you see going nor can go on horseback, — I mean through the city.

The tutão, compim and comquõ are three persons who have charge of this province of Cantão and **Cançy**: these are the head-men; they reside in a city called **Vcheu**,[63] which lies at the border of both those provinces. This city belongs to **Queançy**. They reside there most of the time, because they carry on war there, and from there they govern both. Sometimes they come to Cantão, and stay two or three months, now one, now another; and sometimes two years pass without anyone's coming. In this province of **Quĕcy** a very large part is perpetually in a state of insurrection, without their being able to remedy it. This is the cause why they stay there the most of the time. This city lies to the west of Cantão a matter of thirty leagues by river, because there are no roads by land and the country is all intersected by rivers. They go there in five days travelling post-haste with many people for towing, and come in three, going night and day. The water flows from there to Cantão. This road has a large city on the border of the river which is called **Cheuquymfu**.[64] The whole of this river can be navigated by every kind of rowing craft. Along this road there are villages without number; and on any [f. 120v] occasion of war in Cantão these are set in commotion and send people. Let our fleet go up the river, and I warrant that no one will come; and anyone who should come in force must disembark in front of this city near the town of this suburb or half

[51] Kiungchau-fû. (See Vasco Calvo's letter *infra*, f. 128.)

[52] Williams (*Mid. King.* I. p. 175) says there are *thirteen* district towns in Hainan.

[53] Hoihau.

[54] This is an error: the interior is well wooded.

[55] A copyist's error, I think, for *Cuchim* or *Cauchim* = Cochinchina.

[56] See Vasco Calvo's letter *infra*, f. 128.

[57] By this contraction is apparently meant Tungkwan on the Tungkiang or East River, at the entrance to which is the First Bar. (See *supra*, f. 113v, and *infra*, f. 121v.)

[58] Orig. *sendeyros*. (*Cf.* f. 104v *supra*.) All the horses of China, including those of Hainan, are very small. (*Cf. Mid. King.* I. p. 323.)

[59] This is correct. See *Mid. King.* I. p. 175.

[60] A mistake, which is repeated by Vasco Calvo *infra*, f. 131v.

[61] Sedan-chair. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* 'Andor.'

[62] Or whip.

[63] Wuchau-fû in Kwanghsi, at the junction of the Kwai-kiang and Lung-kiang.

[64] Shauking-fû, regarding which see *Mid. King.* I. p. 173.

a league up this river northwards. In fine, no one could come who would not be seized, and especially as all navigate in the day and not at night, because the rivers in places are shallow and in places are stony; and if they came they would all lie at our mercy, even though they brought more **Lanquas**[65] than I have said.

Cantão has mandarins besides these,[66] — the *cheuhi* and the *pochãçy* and *amchaçy* and *tcçy*, whom they call **camcy**, who reside permanently in this city. The *ceuhy* comes every year. The latter is afraid of nobody; all are afraid of him. He comes in order to dispatch all cases and to see what mandarin does evil. If the mandarin that does evil is a petty one he at once deprives him of his ears, and gives information of this to the king; if the mandarin is a higher one he writes to the king regarding his crime. Thence comes the order that he be no longer a mandarin; because the king gives entire credit to him, as also to the *tutão* and the *comquão*. The *campym* I do not describe, who has charge of war. The *tutão* commands in everything. If any letter is to be written let it be to the *ecuhi*,[67] because he comes each year and knows nothing of the robberies that have been committed on the Portuguese. These are only expedients according as they may serve. They also make presents to them in the case of every dispatch, without taking into account the *tutão* nor any mandarin.

[f. 121] **Martim Afonso de Melo came in the year 1522.** At the entrance of the port he did well.[68] Of his entry and of some people that were killed there by artillery the news came to Cantão; they said also that he had written a letter, which, they said, was well-spoken. The mandarins who had plundered the goods the previous year were angry at his coming, and began to make a disturbance: they asked the *cuhy* what he thought, — whether they should carry on trade or not. The *ceuhy* said, that trade should be carried on as before. They replied that it should not; that they were afraid that with this trade there would come some harm later on; that they would lay hands on some place. The *ceuhy* answered them nothing, and they departed in ill humor. They asked the same of the *aytao*, who has charge of the sea and of foreigners; he replied in like manner. These two mandarins who asked were, one the *chãcy* and the other the *anchaçy*, who were the head-men of Cantão. These ordered the *oytao* to go and fight the Portuguese. This *aytao* was newly come, and did not know of the past. He said that he could not, and pretended to be ill. They then sent there the *tiquos*, who has charge of foreigners under the *aytao*: I do not know what he did there. These two mandarins, *viz.*, the *pochancy* and the *anchacy*, they say that they bribed the *pio* of Nanto and the *pachain* of the fleet that they should strive to capture some ship and exert themselves so that peace should not be made: this took place secretly. It happened that by ill-luck and by the captains' having a poor opinion of the Chinese and not having their artillery loaded or ready, and as each captain fired on his own account, and **Diogo de Melo** having been first wounded by a stone-shot so that he was stunned; and they say that all the people betook themselves under the castle of the ships on account of the shower of stones. Thus they captured **Pedro Homem**: being ready for the fight, no one came to his help, and he was killed by showers of stones and blows. The boatswain, boatswain's mate and several sailors fought; but the other people did not come to their assistance and the junks were lofty. Finally, when they were captured in the ship of Diogo de Mello, three hundred Chinese leaped into it to plunder it. After the people had been taken to the junks they set fire to the powder magazine; the ship was burned, and all the Chinese perished, not one escaping. News of this came to the *aytao*, of how two ships had been captured and the others had gone. He at once set out, and came accompanied by pipers. He wrote that those people that had perished in the fire had been killed by the Portuguese. He wrote to the *tutão*, and the *tutão* to the king; and there came the sentence that I have already mentioned. The *aytao* with this victory, and with the bribe that the two mandarins

[65] See note *supra* regarding *lengās*.

[66] Regarding these officials see Introd.

[67] Read *ceuhi*.

[68] Or, "He made a good entrance into the port."

gave to him and to the *tutão* that he should permit more Portuguese to come to China, these two continued enemies of the Portuguese, and others who were rich.

Martim Afonso came by order to China with an embassy to ask for a fortress ; if they would not grant it, to try if he might build it with workmen whom he had already brought by land and by sea. It does not appear to me that he came with good orders. The Chinese will not give a fortress to any foreign person throughout the whole world, how much more to us who they think have come to spy out their country. **Tome Pirez** asked for [f. 121v] a house in Cantão and in the island. All the advice of the king is that we have come to ask him for his country ; because the country of China lies under a strange custom by itself, in that it does not suffer a foreigner in the country under pain of death, except it is a submissive embassy,[69] how much more give them a house for trade. They do not like populous places to be created, in order that they may not lay hands on anything ; and they order them to be made in evil places, uninhabited and unhealthy, because they are very jealous of their country. So that by no means in the world will they give it, except it be by force ; and if a house had to be erected in the Island of Trade it should be secretly made strong. There would be found lime and stone, masons and tiles and other needful things, and workmen. This will be difficult with permission ; how much more so secretly, since in that island, to make houses of straw, before they are finished half the people are dead. If he ordered that some kind of **cartigo**[70] or strong house should be built, which could not be done, at once war would be on hand, and provisions stopped by land, and on land sickness is bad. I do not know how much they might suffer : so that the matter was not well arranged.

Martim Affonso de Mello brought three hundred men. This was a very small body to carry out the enterprise ; and I believe that all the people would have died of hunger and sickness, there being in the end no result. With a greater force of two or three hundred men Nanto might be captured, or a town that is much better, called **Jancangem**,[71] which stands on an island surrounded by the sea, with a port and of great height, which lies to the west of Nanto seven or eight leagues. It stands on the water's edge, walled round, with a large population, close to the sea. This could be soon taken, without anybody's being killed ; and from there one could run up their rivers and destroy their craft, and put the Chinese to straits; for from this island to the gates of Cantão it is very fertile, cultivated with rice, and having flesh and all kinds of fish : it is capable of sufficing for twenty thousand men, and cheap. With less trouble and more ease and without loss of life it could be done, than commencing anew the country, which has so many cities and towns and villages bordering on the water ; there is no need to kill the people, though it has to be done by force of some kind : when the Chinese see that the Portuguese have taken possession of the fortified place, they are all bound to begin to rise.

Going from Nanto to Cantão there lies in the middle of the river almost adjoining the bar of **Tãcoã**[72] a large town also[73] on an island that is called **Aynãcha**. It has cut stone in the houses, streets and churches, and in the jetty, of which could be made a [f. 122] fortress like that of Goa. It has a port safe from all the winds, all the bottom of mud, a very safe port ; the main force of the junks was here. This fortress lies above Cantão. Nanto dominates this town of which I speak and another that is called **Xuntaeim**.[74] From here one could stop provisions and place Cantão in extremity, and it would capitulate in any way that the captain pleased. I repeat, that to capture Cantão *en bloc*[75] with a force of two or three thousand men is better:

[69] *Cf.* Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg*. p. 197 ; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), pp. 46, 94.

[70] I cannot explain this word.

[71] I am uncertain as to the identification of this island town.

[72] Tungkwan. (See *supra*, ff. 113v, 119v.)

[73] The orig. has "*ou tres*" ("or three"), which is nonsense. I think we should read "*outrosi*."

[74] Shuntak?

[75] The orig. has "*de peça*," which I have ventured to render as above, though I am very doubtful as to the meaning.

I say two or three thousand, not because with less the object would not be attained, only that it is a big affair, and there are the charges of places, for which Portuguese are needful. Six thousand would not suffice to conquer with less than I have said and attain the end ; because the Chinese would at once rise against the city with the help of the Portuguese.

Moreover with the craft that the Portuguese bring and those that shall be made here out of their **paraos** in our fashion there will be enough to clear all the rivers. The rivers cleared, the mandarins will have to surrender perforce, or will have to flee and leave the city ; then Cantão and its environs will at once be in our hands. This can be done by captains who shall bring a force of seven hundred to a thousand men ; and there must remain with him the craft and large rowing boats and all the Portuguese people and Malabars ; and if he find any ships he shall send them to Conchim divested of the Chinese officers that he shall find in them, because ten million will come. And if the governor will put matters in train for next year Cantão will soon be in his hands with the whole province ; and he can leave therein a fortress, and in suitable places leave Portuguese people and Malabars, and can return with all his fleet laden with Chinese, — carpenters, masons, smiths, tilers, sawyers, and of every other trade, with their wives, to be left at those fortresses ; for he can carry away in his fleet in junks from the country ten thousand men without causing a scarcity, and every year four thousand could leave without making a difference. This is the marvellous reason why for each Portuguese a hundred Chinese can be taken for the fortresses.

Cantão has within it a flat mount close to the wall on the north side on which stands a house that has five stories.[76] Within the slopes of this mount are six or seven churches which have enough cut stone to build in ten days a town with walls and houses; and the churches are without number; stays, beams, doors. From here one could dominate the city. Another might be built on the edge of the water in the middle of the town where the mandarins disembark, which could be erected in five days, because there is cut stone [f. 122v] in the streets and courts of justice sufficient to build a large walled city with towers. Another in the church that stands on the river.[77] Just as there are stone and timber and lime in abundance, so there are workmen for this and servants. Nowhere in the whole world are there so many, and they are good servants : for a small wage for food a hundred thousand will come. And out of their *paraos* can be made galleys, foists, brigantines ; of some can be made galliasses with few ribs, because the rivers do not require the strength that the sea does. So that all these things require more time ; and if written orders should be sent to engage in the work the country is prepared for everything. God grant that these Chinese may be fools enough to lose the country : because up to the present they have had no dominion, but little by little they have gone on taking the land from their neighbours ; and for this reason the kingdom is great, because the Chinese are full of much cowardice, and hence they come to be presumptuous, arrogant, cruel ; and because up to the present, being a cowardly people, they have managed without arms and without any practice of war, and have always gone on getting the land from their neighbours, and not by force but by stratagems and deceptions; and they imagine that no one can do them harm. They call every foreigner a savage; and their country they call the kingdom of God. Whoever shall come now, let it be a captain with a fleet of ten to fifteen sail. The first thing will be to destroy the fleet if they should have one, which I believe they have not ; let it be by fire and blood and cruel fear for this day, without sparing the life of a single person, every junk being burnt, and no one being taken prisoner, in order not to waste the provisions, because at all times a hundred Chinese will be found for one Portuguese. And this done, Nanto must be cleared, and at once they will have a fortress and provisions if they wish, because it will at

[76] This is the still extant five-storied tower on Kwanyinshan [illegible] the northern gate of Canton. It is referred to by Gaspar da Cruz. (See Purchas, *Pilg.* III p. 172.)

[77] See Vasco Calvo's letter *infra*, f 127.

once be in their power; and then with the whole fleet attack Aynãcha, which lies at the bar of Tãcoam, as I have already said above having a good port. Here the ships, which cannot enter the river, will be anchored, and whatever craft they may have will be burnt; and after it has been taken if it seem good the town can be burnt, in order to terrify the Chinese. Before this has been done let a letter be sent by a Caffre black boy; and let it be sent in this manner:—

"I (then the title of the person who shall come) beg to inform the *cuhi* and the *çãci* of Cantão that so many years ago our lord the king sent a letter to the king of China and a present by Tome Pirez, who was received by the grandees and others who bear office. He was given a house in Cantão; and from there was summoned by the king of China. He went, and he saw him in Nãquỹ. Thence he ordered him to Pequim in order there to give him dispatch, saying that there was the place for giving dispatches. We have heard nothing more of him. In the year so-and-so there came a ship in search of him; it paid its dues and payments, but they armed against [f. 123] it to capture it. And in the year so-and-so there came in search of him five junks laden with goods; and the mandarins armed against them in order to plunder them. Doing no evil on land or giving any offence, because the junks came separately from the sea, they retired to other ships, and left the junks in port laden with many goods, quite full, without taking anything out of them. And in the year so-and-so there came five ships with an ambassador to the king of China; and the mandarins of Nãto prepared one hundred[78] junks of robbers to entrap two of the ships by means of false messages of peace. They captured the two ships; and the three that remained did not know how that the ambassador of our lord the king had been put in chains, and his company, and all their property and clothes taken, and without food in the prisons, like the property of robbers; the embassy having been thus received by the grandees, and the present that came for the king kept, without wishing to send away the ambassador. This is not justice, but it is the justice of three thievish mandarins, namely, the *ampochim*, the *anhançi* and the *lentocim*, and the *pio* of Nanto, who for the robberies they have committed deserve all to die. Because the king of China may not know of it, this has been brought to my notice; and I have come here, and very early tomorrow I shall be in Cantão to see the city where such justice is done. Let the ambassador be sent to me before I arrive in Cantão. When he shall have been delivered over to me then we shall speak of what is to be overlooked and what are to be the consequences of that which has passed. And if you do not desire this let the blame rest with you who receive ambassadors and presents, and in order to plunder them put them in prison. This is written on such a day of the moon."

When the letter has been written and sent to ask for liberty on land for all, then enter the river with all the rowing boats; and if the answer is delayed, if it seem good, let fire[79] be put to the town, and burn all the craft that will be of no use for service of war, and all the people that do not obey the ban shall be killed. It they are deprived of provisions for three days they will all die of hunger. The city has a large provision house very close to the gate on the west side within the [f. 123v] walls; but for dividing among the people it is nothing, because the people are without number and each day buy what they have to eat. So that all must die of hunger and are bound to rise against the mandarins; and if the people rise at once the city will be in revolt. It will be necessary to be very careful not to receive reports of delays if many *paraos* with provisions do not arrive at the city. In Cantão there will be idle reports, which are so many, and the population so large, that it cannot be realised. Above all, when the craft has been destroyed in the river, there will not appear a single Chinese affair that has not been burnt. With this and a like slaughter fear will arise regarding the worth of the mandarins, and they are sure to come to blows with them. And this will have to be done, and

78 Orig. has "*com*" ("with"), which I take to be an error for "*cem*."
79 The orig. has "*officio*," which I think is an evident error for "*o fogo*."

will take less time than I have said; because all the people are waiting for the Portuguese. In the city provisions cannot reach them by land, as the roads are often in rebellion; if they do this before the arrival of the Portuguese, how much more after it. All the rice has to come by river; and it will be necessary to keep watch in the strait that is in the river up above to the north a matter of half a league, by which provisions and help may reach them. Boats can be placed there; so that, the strait being held, so that nothing can come, all is in your power. If the mandarins should think of fleeing, it would be to this creek: here is their salvation. In this creek galleys could lie, and one can come from this creek to the city by land, as it is near. There every mandarin arrives, and thence his arrival is made known; and then he enters, and horsemen come by land to inform the mandarins of the city what mandarin has entered.

Done in the year 1534.

(To be continued.)

THE SPRING-MYTH OF THE KESAR-SAGA.

BY REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

(Continued from p. 341.)

Additions to the Saga from other versions.

Preliminary Note.

THE Kesar Saga is told differently in different villages. To arrive at a final solution of the question, as to whether the oral tales (*kha sgrungs*) or the Kesar Epic (*dpe sgrungs*) are the original source with regard to Ladakh, it will be necessary to arrange something like a **Kesar-survey of Ladakh,** *i. e.*, in every village the following material will have to be collected: — (1) the version of the Kesar Saga, (2) the *gLing glu* (Hymnal of the Kesar Saga), (3) the marriage ritual of the village. All this material will have to be compared with the Kesar Epic.

List of Additions.

The following list of additions is not, in the least, claimed as a full one.

1. At the place where the Agus ask for a king, the following request is also added: "Send us nine kinds of corn-seed, and also horses, oxen and many four-footed animals."

2. First detailed version of the story of the birth: — **Gogzalhamo** sat spinning in her room while the hail was falling. As she was hungry just then, she ate some hail-stones, and soon after conceived. When the hail came, all the horses fled: the mare **Thsaldang** was the last. All the dogs also fled, the she-dog **dKarmo** was the last; all the sheep fled, and the ewe **Dromo** was the last; all the goats fled, and **Tsetse-ngangdmar** was the last. Then came **Agu dPalle** and brought food to the animals that were with child. Thereupon the mare Thsaldang gave birth to the foal **rKyang-byung-dbyerpa,** the she-dog dKarmo to the puppy **Drumbu-brang-dkar,** the ewe Dromo to the lamb **mThsalmig,** the she-goat Tsetse-ngangdmar to the kid **Tsetse-ngangdmar.**

3. Second version of the story of the birth: — Mother **Gogzalhamo** heard within her a voice, which said: "I must be born in the lofty sky; please go to the lofty sky!" So she went, and gave birth to [the] sun and moon. Then it said: "Sun and moon I am not; I must be born on the lofty mountain; please go on to the lofty mountain!" So she went, and gave birth to the white ice-lion. Then it said: "The white ice-lion I am not; I must be born on the lofty rock; please go on to the lofty rock." So she went, and gave birth to the wild bird-king. In this way the narrative progresses, and Gogzalhamo gives birth to the horse **rKyangbyung-khadkar** in the midst of the steppe; in the midst of the sea to the little fish Gold-eye; in the midst of the meadow to the yak **'aBrong byung rogpo;** in the midst of the forest to the rat **Kraphusse,** in the midst of the field to the little bare bird; also, in **Stanglha** to a golden frog; in **Barbtsan** to a white frog; and in **Yogklu** to a blue frog. After all that to her child also.

4. Third version of the story of the birth:— Over the whole earth it was dark; but at **Gogzalhamo's** house appeared a bright light. The child teased the mother in the same way as **Dongrub** did the giant in III. 34-45. Finally it came out between the ribs, without causing the mother any pain. The child was very beautiful, and had golden hair and wings; yet the mother could see nothing of its beauty. At its birth the fire blazed up of itself; grand dishes were cooked in the oven; sweet fragrance filled the room, and jewels came raining in. The child grew in a day as much as others in a month.

5. To V. There came eighteen **Andhe Bandhe,** who put the child in a kettle, in order to boil it. The unintended effect was that the child came out much stronger and more hardened than it had been before.

6. The young folk of gLing have gone hunting, and have killed nothing. Thereupon the Street-child goes out with the sling, and drives a whole herd of game into the cattle-pen, where he kills the animals with [his] knife, and cuts off their heads. Now appear the **Lamas** from the monastery, and reproach him for killing animals. **Kesar** asks if they never ate meat. They say: "Only [that] of animals which have died a natural death." He says, "*Diridir,*" and snaps his fingers All the animals come to life, and look for their heads. In doing so, they take the wrong heads in their hurry, so that large animals get small heads, and *vice versa.* Then the whole herd runs away, and the Street-boy says to the Lamas: "Be sure not to forget to fetch the animals and eat them when they have died."

7. The Agus institute an archery-contest. The one who hits in the middle shall be king. The Street-boy comes, and hits a tiny mark at an enormous distance; but vanishes again completely immediately after.

8. According to another version, it is **Agu Khromo,** and in one case the husband of Gogzalhamo, who is said to have killed the devil-bird; but this gives no logical coherence.

9. (To III.) Advice for the journey to the earth:

If **Bya khyung dkrung nyima** troubles thee,

Call **Byamo dkarmo** to thy help:

If **'aDre lha btsan bog** troubles thee,

Call **Dzemo 'aBamza 'aBum skyid** to thy help.

10. **a'Bruguma, a donkey's mother.** This story is told after *Spring Myth* No. VI. 16. All the guests, being drunk, had gone to sleep. Kesar silently left the room and went to a neighbour's she-ass, that was with child. He caused her to give birth to a young ass at once by giving her very cold water to drink. The foal he carries to the banquetting hall and puts it in the lap of the girl, who is nearest the door. When she awakes, she puts it into her neighbour's lap, and so on. Last of all 'aBruguma awakes, sees the foal in her lap and tries to hide it, because the Street-boy has entered the room. She succeeds in hiding it in her sleeve. The Street-boy says: "You will certainly be scolded, because you are late for breakfast!" "Oh no," she replies, "it is only the poor people, who have their breakfast early in the morning, we do not belong to them!" Then by witchcraft he caused the foal to fall out of the sleeve and said: "Look there, you have given birth to a little donkey!" The girl is ashamed and wishes to keep him still; therefore she prays him to come to another banquet. Of this we hear in *Spring Myth* No. VI. 17-69.

11. To be inserted *Spring Myth* No. II. 36: He who is beaten in the contest, will have to go to the land of gLing.

The Mythology of the Kesar Saga.

General Notes.

UP to the present, when editing **Ladakhi folklore of a non-Buddhistic character,** I have made use of the terms 'Pre-Buddhistic' and 'Bonpo' indifferently, because I did not expect to meet with more than a single non-Buddhistic religion in Ladakh. Dr. Laufer's latest publications of Bonpo MSS., however, make it **advisable to separate Bonpo mythology from the mythology of Ladakhi folklore**; because, although both of them may have much in common, there appear to be fundamental differences between them. In future, therefore, when speaking of the mythology embodied, for instance, in the Kesar Saga, I shall make use of the term '**gLing-chos,**' i. e., **mythology of gLing.**

The material, from which I draw my information on the gLing-chos, has increased a great deal since the first publication in German of the first half of the Kesar Saga; but I do not wish my ideas on the subject to be taken for more than a theory. At present, the existence of the gLing-chos can only be supposed for Ladakh; but it may hereafter become evident that the same or similar systems of mythology were known in Tibet and many parts of Asia.

Sources of Information.

(1) **The Kesar Saga.** It is related in four parts: —

(a) **Prelude to the Kesar Saga,** which tells tells of the creation of the world and of the birth of the 18 agus.

(b) **First half of the Kesar Saga (Spring Myth),** which tells of Kesar's birth in gLing, his wooing and marriage to 'aBruguma.

(c) **Second half of the Kesar Saga (Winter Myth),** which tells of Kesar's journey to the north, the killing of the giant-devil, marriage of the devil s wife to Kesar and of 'aBruguma's deliverance out of the hands of the king of Hor, who had abducted her.

(d) **Kesar's Journey to China,** which is a different **version of the Winter Myth,** and tells of Kesar's marriage to the King of China's daughter.

(2) **The Ladakhi Marriage Ritual.** This was published *ante*, Vol. XXX., 1901, pp. 131 ff.

(3) **Songs of the Nyopa** on their way to the bride's house.

(4) **The drinking song,** which is of a similar character to the marriage ritual.

(5) **The gLing-glu.** This has entirely the character of a **hymnal of the gLing-chos.** It is sung at the time of the Kesar Festival each spring. So far, the gLing-glu of only two villages has been collected, *i. e.*, of Phyang and Khalatse. It will, perhaps, be easy to collect a large number of these songs, which appear to be of the greatest value for a proper understanding of the character of Kesar.

The Cosmology of the gLing-chos.

In nearly all of the above-mentioned sources three large realms are spoken of. Compare: *Spring Myth* No. IV. 20, 23, 26; *Marriage Ritual* No. I. B. 1, 2, 3; *gLing-glu* of Khalatse No. XXVII.; *gLing-glu* of Phyang No. I.

1. **sTang-lha, Heaven** (*lit.*, 'the upper gods' or 'gods above;' no etymology is wanted, because the word is colloquial Ladakhi). Of this realm we hear in *Spring Myth* No. II.: Winter Myth No. V. 8-13; *gLing-glu* of Phyang No. V.; *gLing-glu* of Khalatse No. XXI., No. XXVII. 1, 2. From all these sources the following information can be drawn: A king reigns in sTang-lha,

called **dBangpo-rgya-bzhin** (according to Dr. Laufer **rGya-byin**, compare under 'Names'). He is also called **sKyer-rdzong-snyanpo** and **'aBum-khri-rgyalpo**. The name of his wife is **bKur-dman-rgyalmo, Ane-bkur-dman-mo** or **'aBum-khri-rgyalmo**. Both are called almighty: compare *gLing-glu* of Phyang No. V.

They have three sons, **Donyod, Donldan, Dongrub**. The youngest is the most prominent figure. Lightning flashes from his sword out of the middle of the black clouds (*gLing-glu* of Khalatse No. XXIX.). Thunder seems to be caused by the walking of the gods (*gLing-glu* of Khalatse No. XXI.). Dongrub descends to the earth and becomes **King Kesar of gLing.**

The life of the gods is an idealized form of man's life. They form a state according to the *Winter Myth* No. V. 8-13. Besides a king there are ministers, servants and subjects. They live in perfect happiness and become old without illness. They tend goats, called *lhara*, apparently on the earth (*Spring Myth* No. I.). Kesar later on discovers many of the stolen *lhara* in the devil's realm.

The king and the queen often change their shape. The king becomes a white bird (*Spring Myth* No. I. 3); the queen takes the shape of a woman (*Spring Myth* No. IV. 8), of a *Dzo* (*Winter Myth* No. I. 53).

2. Bar-btsan, the Earth. (No etymology is wanted, the name is colloquial Ladakhi for 'the firm place in the middle'). Other names are: **Mi-yul**, Land of Men (compare *Spring Myth* No. III. 7); **gLing**, Continent (in colloquial Ladakhi). It is remarkable that neither the Spring Myth nor the Winter Myth tells us of beings, which entirely look like men. That the 18 Agus are something different, is shown by their attributes.

The principal deity of the earth is mother **sKyabs-bdun** (*Marriage Ritual* No. I. B 2; Spring Myth No. VII. 19). It is probable, that she is identical with **brTanma**, the goddess of the earth, (compare Jäschke's *Dictionary*), but at present nothing can be said for certain; nor do we know, if father **brTanpa** is her spouse and **'aBrugums** her daughter. All this will, perhaps, become plain with the publication of the Prelude to the Kesar Saga. Mother sKyabs-bdun rides a horse, called **bTsan-rta-dmar-chung** (*Spring Myth* No. VI. 22).

3. Yog-klu, the Underworld (*lit.*, **the Nâgas** below). Of this realm we hear in *Winter Myth* No. V. 14-17; *gLing-glu* of Khalatse No. XXVII. 3, 4. Like sTang-lha Yog-klu also seems to be a kingdom. There is **a king**, called **lCogpo** (*Marriage Ritual* No. I. B 3; *Spring Myth* No. VII. 24, 28); there are his servants and subjects, famous for their large number of children. The **Klumo or Nâgini** are famous for their beauty; Kesar is warned not to fall in love with them.

According to all the material, which has accumulated so far, it is impossible to prove a distinct antagonism between the gods and the Nâgas. According to popular superstition, girls have to take care not to go near a well, where a male Nâga resides. **All the Nâgas have become protectors of the Buddhist faith** and show great enmity to all non-believers, if they can reach them.

The Colours of the three Realms.

They are mentioned in *Spring Myth* No. IV. 20, 23, 26; No. VII. 22, 30; No. IX. 1; *Winter Myth* No. II. 21, 22, 23. The colour of **sTang-lha** is white: it is perhaps the colour of the light; **Bar-btsan** is red: perhaps on account of the reddish colour of the ground; **Yog-klu** is blue: this may be due to the deep-blue colour of many West-Tibetan lakes. It may be in connection with this system of colours, that at the present day often three *mchod-rten* are erected, which are painted blue, white and red. Also most of the *lhatho* show the white colour. In how far this system of colours may have influenced the pantheon of Lamaism, with its blue, white, red, green and golden-faced occupants, cannot yet be shown.

The King of Hor, called Gur-dkar is referred to in the prophecy (*Spring Myth* No. IX. 1-3), when 'aBrugums takes a blue ribband and sits down on a blue carpet. This fact seems to suggest that he may be connected with Yog-klu in some way or other.

The Devil bDud.

In the *gLing-glu* of Phyang No. I., to the three realms of the world, as described above, a fourth is added, **the Land of the Devil bDud.** We hear of the devil in *Spring Myth* No. I. 2-12, where he tries to carry away the heavenly goats and is killed. Apparently he comes to life again; for the first half of he Winter Myth tells of Kesar's victory over him. The devil is in possession of great treasures (*gLing-glu* of Phyang No. III.) and of a girl, who is kept in an iron cage (*Winter Myth* No. III.). As regards his size, appetite and stupidity, he closely resembles the giants of European mythology and folklore. The colour of the devil is black (*Spring Myth* No. I. 2; *Winter Myth* No. II. 25). At first I was inclined to believe in a certain connection between the black and blue colours, because the hair of the Ladakhi girls is called 'turquoise' in some popular songs; however, this expression may refer to the actual turquoises, which are worn on the head. But also Kesar's pigtail, which is certainly without turquoises, is called blue; and the pool of the *klu* mentioned in *Spring Myth* No. III. 27, is called black.

Other names of the devil bDud are: **Srinpo** (*Wimter Myth* No. III. 2); **Curulugu** (*Winter Myth* No. III. 8); **'aDre-lha-btsan-bog** (*Spring Myth*, Additions, No. IX.); **sDigpa** (*Winter Myth* No. III. 26).

Of a very similar nature is Agu **Za** in *Spring Myth* No. III. 34-45. He devours not only Kesar, but also the sun and moon. He is in possession of the *srin γzhu*, the bow of the giants.

The devil bDud lives in a castle in the north (*byang*). There can be no doubt, that the word *byang* means actually the north, because everybody understands it in this sense. Near the castle there is the well of nectar (*bdud-rtsi*) and milk (*Winter Myth* No. IV. 17).

The Agus.

Dr. Lanfer in his criticism tells me that the word *akhu*, from which the word *agu* may have developed, means 'uncle' in Tibetan. As I said before, it will be safest to look at the Ladakhi version of the Kesar Saga from a Ladakhi point of view; and in Ladakhi the word 'uncle' is never expressed by *akhu* or *agu*, but by *azhang*.

With regard to this word I can only repeat, what I said in my German Ed. of the Kesar Saga: In Ladakhi the word *agu* serves to express (1) a husband in general, (2) from a child's point of view one of the principal husband's younger brothers, who is more than an uncle to the principal husband's children; he is something like their step-father, as the principal husband's wife is his wife too.

Thus the word *agu* may be a variation of the word *pha-spun*, father-brothers (*Spring Myth* No. V. 33, VI. 56) of Kesar. At present the word *pha-spun* is always used in the sense of 'undertaker.' The *pha-spun* have to burn the dead; but it is possible that in ancient times the relatives of the dead had to take care of this office.

It is quite true that neither the Spring nor the Winter Myth tells us anything of a possible relationship between Kesar and the Agus. The 'Prelude to the Kesar Saga' will probably throw some light on the question. The latter contains a list of all the 18 Agus with their characteristic marks. Many of them seem to possess more than a single name. This list was published *ante*. As far as I can see, their attributes point to an ancient zodiac and to the days of the week. A picture, showing all the 18 Agus, can, as I am told, be seen at Phagspa-gonpa, Lahoul, and at Hemis, Ladakh.

The Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga.

This is the portion of my mythology, that has met with the greatest opposition. Not taking the names into account, there were two reasons in particular, which induced me to believe in the possibility of a Spring Myth: (1) The two forms of Kesar. One of them is ugly, and in this Kesar is born (*Spring Myth* No. IV. 3, 4, 5). The other is beautiful, and its attributes are the sun and moon (*Spring Myth* No. VII. 33). These two forms he changes continually, as is shown by the Spring Myth. (2) Kesar's ability to disappear altogether (*Spring Myth* No. VIII. 5, No. IX. 6, 7, Additions No. 7).

According to Dr. Laufer's criticism, the Kesar Myths, as related above, are very abrupt, and do not explain the motives for certain actions. They are repetitions of certain passages of the **Kesar Epic**, in which important ideas were forgotten. He gives an example: The story told in *Spring Myth* No. VIII. 33-41 is according to his conception a weak reflection of a passage of the Kesar Epic, given in Additions No. 10. With regard to this example, I must say that it does not hit the point. The Ladakhis themselves distinguish between the two stories. There is no more similarity between the two than there is between the story of Dongrub's descent to the earth through hail and the story of Zeus's descent in the golden rain. There is an endless variety of versions of the Spring Myth as well as of the Winter Myth, changing sometimes considerably from one village to the next. Most of them are matter learnt by heart. But all this material is never learnt by consulting the Kesar Epic. These are stories handed down in those villages from time immemorial. They are a necessary supplement to the *gLing-glu*, which would be unintelligible without them. Now the story, given in Additions No. 10, is not only a portion of the Kesar Epic *(dPe-sgrungs)*, but is a portion of many oral tales as well *(Kha-sgrungs)*. (The Ladakhis themselves distinguish emphatically between *dPe-sgrungs* and *Kha-sgrungs)*. In one of my MSS. of the *Kha-sgrungs*, the story, given under Additions No. 10, is told at the end of the story of the banquet, that is, after *Spring Myth* No. VI. 16, and the story *Spring Myth* No. VIII. 33-41 in its usual place. Thus one and the same MS. contains both of them.

If it be a characteristic mark of the Kesar Epic to give motives for all the sudden disappearances of Kesar, that would not induce me to believe in the previous origin of the epic; it would confirm my belief that there are fundamental differences between the epic and the oral tales. All the oral tales agree on this one point, that Kesar is capricious to the utmost extent. He comes and goes without a given reason, and likes nothing better than teasing.

That the form of the oral Kesar-stories, as we find them in the different villages, is not the original, is shown by their conglomerate character. They do not exhibit the labours of an editor but tell the same story several times according to different versions. Examples are: —

(1) *Spring Myth* No. II. 1-28. The father asks his sons, who would like to go to the country of men, and Dongrub decides to go. Now this story ought there to come to an end. However, the same tale continues (compare Additions No. 11; *Spring Myth* No. II. 36-42; *gLing-glu* of Phyang No. VII.) that he shall go who looses in the contest.

(2) The full stories of Kesar's birth on the earth (Additions No. 2, 3, 4) were told in the following way: The first MS. relates the birth-story (Additions No. 2), and then, without any break or preceding notice, continues with Additions No. 3. The second MS. at first tells Additions No. 4, and then continues with Additions No. 3. Thus the child is born twice in the same tale.

(3) *Spring Myth* No. VI. and No. VII. are two different versions of the engagement story, told one after the other in the same oral tale.

Now, if the oral tales *(Kha-sgrungs)* are repetitions of the Kesar Epic in spite of all this, it remains a wonderful fact, that all those stories of wars and armies, which form the larger portion of the epic, are never repeated in the oral tales. As will be seen in the Winter Myth, the defeat of the giant of the north, as well as that of the king of Hor, has nothing to do with armies and battles. The killing of both of them is a private affair of Kesar. Nor do the oral tales ever tell us much of human subjects of Kesar. The animals occupy a much more prominent place. A number of animals are born together with Kesar (Additions No. 2, 3), and another number of animals lament over Kesar's departure for his journey towards the north (*Winter Myth* No. I, 39-44). Looking at this passage, it is remarkable, indeed, that 'aBrugguma is the only human being who mourns on account of Kesar's departure. I do not wish to offend anybody, but I must say, that I am simply unable to understand a passage like that without accepting the possibility that it is meant to express the mourning of Nature over the departure of the sun.

I am far from believing that every incident in the Kesar-saga ought to be explained on the ground that the whole of it is a Spring and Winter Myth : and I may have gone too far in my first outlines of the Kesar mythology ; but I am afraid my critics are making the same mistake, if they will not even accept the possibility of a Spring and Winter Myth in the *Saga*.

In this connection it is also of some interest, that sun and moon are attributes of Kesar's beautiful shape, and that according to *gLing-glu* of Khalatse No. XXVIII. Kesar is compared with a flower, blooming on all the high passes, and according to No. XXIX. 'in the middle of the black clouds lightning flashes from the godly king Kesar's sword.'

The Lokapâlas.

There is some likelihood that the *gLing-chos* of Ladakh has four deities, corresponding to the Indian **Lokapâlas.** Up to the present I have met with them only in the marriage ritual (compare Song No. I. B 4-7). This is the list of them : —

Tibetan.	English.	Sanskrit (Dhyânibuddha).	Region.
Donyod-grubpa ...	Fulfiller of the aim he has ..	Amoghasiddha ..	North.
rDo-rje-sems-dp'a ...	Thunderbolt, courageous soul ..	Vajrasattva	East.
Rinchen-byungldan ...	Great price, possessing creatures.	Ratnasambhava ..	South.
sNangba-mth'a-yas ...	Eternal light	Amitâbha	West.

This list shows that the Tibetan and Indian names correspond to a great degree. We shall, perhaps, be obliged to accept the theory of a mutual influencing between North India and Ladakh in pre-Buddhist times. Dr. Laufer for instance identifies **dBangpo-rgya-bzhin with Indra.** **Also** the name of the glacier, **Senggo-dkarmo-γyu-ral-can,** the white lioness with the turquoise locks (*sengge* = *simha*) may be mentioned.

What induces me to believe in the originality of the Tibetan names, is the fact that two of them, **rDo-rje-sems-dp'a** and **Rinchen-byung-ldan** (the pronunciation of the latter is not **Jung-ldan,** but **Byung-ldan** in Lower Ladakh), contain more meaning in Tibetan than in Sanskrit. I only wish to mention this fact. This subject was treated more fully in the *Globus*.

The Tree of the World.

We hear of it in *Marriage Ritual* No. V. VIII., *gLing-glu* of Khalatse No. I. Its roots grow in Yog-klu, its top touches Stang-lha, it has six branches

Animism in the gLing-Chos.

Here I should like to mention the following personifications: *skyeser*, the wind; *sbang-char-zilbu*, the rain; *sengge-dkarmo-yyuralcan*, the glacier; *bya-khyung-dkrung-nyima*, the sun; *byamo-dkarmo*, the moon. With *ynyan*, living in rocks and trees, I have met only in the wedding songs of *Taymacig*.

It is remarkable that several of these personifications are mentioned together with the representatives of the animal world. Compare Additions No. 3; *Winter Myth* No. I. 39-44.

The Pre-Buddhist Origin of the Kesar Saga in Ladakh.

In my German edition of the Kesar Saga I tried to make it probable that the Kesar Saga was in existence in Ladakh at the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh. Dr. Laufer tells me that I had better fix the culture-historical epoch of the Kesar Saga. He makes the following suggestion: In *Spring Myth* No. I. 5-12 the use of the sling as a weapon is mentioned, and in No. IV. 14, the use of a stone vessel. To this I may add that according to *Winter Myth* No. III. 25, a stone sword is mentioned side by side with rifles and other weapons. This suggestion of the stone age may be very useful under European conditions, but is not of any use for fixing the age of a Tibetan tale. The reason is that the stone age has lasted in Ladakh up to the present day. I wonder how many stone vessels there are in use in my own private household! The sling of Agu dPalle is no more a weapon than that of David, because dogs are not used here for tending goats. Goats and sheep are called back with the help of stones thrown at them. I myself have seen a stone axe in use, and in side valleys near Lamayuru a stone hatchet, called *kalam*, is still in general use, so I am told. Pottery and iron ware are well known in Ladakh, however, want of wood makes both these articles extremely expensive, and side by side with pottery and iron ware, stone ware cannot be dispensed with.

I therefore stick to what I said before: that apparently the Kesar Saga was existent in Ladakh at the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh. The lines in *Spring Myth* No. III. 5 and 12, *sangs rgyasla btangbui gri*, a knife to stab Buddha, were probably inserted at the time, when enmity against Buddhism became general. The passage in *Winter Myth* No. III. 26 and other researches have shown me plainly, that the passage in *Spring Myth* No. III. 5 and 12 can only be translated as I did.

In my German paper I had also mentioned the fact that Kesar is not at all scrupulous as regards the killing of animals. Dr. Laufer tells me that this fact does not in the least prove the non-Buddhistic character of the Kesar Saga, because animals have been killed and are still killed all over Tibet. I can only repeat what I said some time ago, that although the Ladakhis are very fond of eating meat, it is very difficult to find persons who are ready to kill animals. Most of the meat eaten by Ladakhis is taken from animals which have died a natural death. The fact that everybody is simply swarming with lice is due to the fact that nobody wishes to kill these animals.

I hope the publication of the different *gLing-glu*, the Marriage Ritual, the Winter Myth and Prelude to the Kesar Saga, will justify my attempt to draw the outlines of the mythology of the *gLing-chos*. Whether the material of the Kesar Saga is originally Ladakhi, or whether it was introduced into Ladakh from some other part of Asia,[12] whether the materials contained in the folklore of Ladakh are the original, or whether they are borrowed from the epic; all this does not alter the

[12] In one of my former papers on the Kesar Saga (*Globus*, Vol LXXVI. No. 20) I made a mistake in saying that the Ladakhi versions of the Kesar Saga were entirely different from the Mongolian epic. This mistake was caused by a misunderstanding. As I had no means of comparing my Ladakhi MSS. with the Mongolian epic, I asked a friend to look up the latter in the Strassburg University Library. He apparently got hold of the wrong book; for what he told me of woodmen and other mythological beings could not well be reconciled with what I knew from the Ladakhi version. Dr Laufer, starting from my mistake, proves in a long demonstration of about 10 pages, that the subject in both is the same.

fact, that in Ladakh this material has taken the shape of a religion, which exercises its influence up to the present day. I do not see why I should not write down the outlines of a religion, whose influence cannot be denied by all who have lived in Ladakh for some time.

General Position of the gLing-chos.

As has been stated, **the Kesar Saga is not only known to Ladakhis, but is recited in a great number of countries all over Asia.** Until it has been studied in all of them, it will be impossible to decide where is the original home of the Saga, nor by which road it has travelled from one country to the other. European folklore and mythology also contains many parallels to the Kesar Saga, as has been shown by Schott, Ersch, Gruber, Grimm, Jülg and Potanin (according to Dr. Lanfer's critcism). There are certain mythological ideas which seem to be existent in a very large territory all over the globe. Dr. Laufer mentions the frequent use of number 9; great power of the hero: quick growth of the hero when a boy; two rocks, knocking against each other; a smith, teaching the hero; all of which occur in the Kesar Saga.

If future researches should enable us to see the route, which all of these stories have followed in their wanderings, the question still remains, why just these stories, which do not appear to be particularly amusing, have travelled all over the earth. I could well imagine that solar mythologies, grown, perhaps, out of animism (and if stones were considered to be animated, why not the sun?), may have arisen in different places of the earth. These mythologies may have prepared the road for certain mythological tales; and the relationship of the different mythologies may rest in the fact that their originator, the sun, is everywhere the same.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXX. p. 186.)

1792. — No. XIV.

Fort William, **30 November 1792.** Read a Letter from Captain Kyd.

Captain Kyd, 28th Novr.

Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government,

Sir,— I did myself the pleasure of acquainting you, that Captain Lindsay of the Ship Eagle had consented to take my Baggage to the Andamans on his being permitted to carry the Company Ophium on freight to Prince of Wales Island, on which account I promised to endeavour to have the right Made a liberal one. The Master Attendant has I understand adjudged the fair freight of one Chest to be Ten Rs. I should hope that it will on this occasion be encreased to twelve which as there is but a small Number of Chests will not much encrease the Expence; while by this agreement the greatest part of my Baggage — and Servants with Six months Grain and Provisions for all my Servants, with a great Many Trees and Pla...s, will be conveyed — all of which would not occupy less than half a Pilot Vessel.

Fort William, I am, etca.,
28th Novr. 1792. (Signed) **A. Kyd.**

The Board agree that it will not be proper to charge the freight of the Ophium going to Prince of Wales Island with the excess pointed out by Captain Kyd, but they think it reasonable that Captain Lindsay should be allowed freight for his Baggage to the Andamans, and they determine that the amount payable on this Account shall be 500 Sicca Rupees.

Ordered That a Treasury Order be issued in favor of Captain Lindsay for this Sum.

1793. — No. I.

Fort William, 21st January, 1793.

Read a Letter from the Chief Engineer.

My Lord, — Agreeable to the Orders Communicated to Me through your Sub Secretary, now do myself the honor to transmit a Copy of the Plan for repairing of his Majesty's Ships at **Port Cornwallis,** and also return the Original.

I have the honor to be etc.

Fort William, (Signed) **M. Wood,**

19th January, 1793. Chief Engineer.

Ordered that the Plan above mentioned be deposited with the Copy of it in the Secretary's Office.

1793. — No. II.

Fort William, 28th January, 1793.

Capt. Blair.

The following **Letter was received from Captain Blair,** on the 25th Instant, upon the arrival of the **Pilot Vessel, Cornwallis,** from the Andamans.

To the Right Honble. Charles Earl Cornwallis K. G. Govr. General etc. in Council.

My Lord, -- Having written pritty [? privately] the 31st Ultimo by the **Ranger I have** little to add at present, but having received a Letter from **the Honble. Commodore Cornwallis** inclosing a Dispatch for your Lordship, I with all expedition forward it by **Captain Crawley** who returns with the Pilot Vessel he brought from Calcutta.

The Seahorse has been under water for Some Days, which I have no Doubt will effectually destroy the white Ants and all other Vermine. This Vessel I expect will be ready to return to Calcutta by the end of this Month when I Shall do myself the honor to address your Lordship again.

The Natives continue inoffensive, the Settlers in General are healthy and the progress in Clearing and Cultivating is a good brain (*sic*) [? in good train].

Port Cornwallis,[21] I am with great Respect &ca

January, 1793. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

1793. — No. III.

Fort William, **1st February, 1793.**

Captain Blair,

31st Dec.

The following Letter and its enclosure were received from Captain Blair by the Ranger, and circulated for the Perusal of the Members of the Board.

To the Right Honorable Charles Earl Cornwallis K. G. Governor General &ca in Council.

My Lord, — Agreeable to your Lordships orders of November 12th, 1792 I quited Calcutta in the Union the 4th accompanyed by the Honble. Company's Snows **Juno** Cornwallis and Seahorse; having on board 360 Settlers, a great variety of Stores, and Provision for six months. Nothing remarkable occured until the 24th when we were overtaken by a voilent gale from the Eastward off **Cape Negrais,** Attended with cloudy weather and almost incessant rain

21 [The present Port Cornwallis.]

and a very high and confused sea. This caused a seperation but as I had previously instructed the Gentlemen in charge of those Vessels, in case of such accident to proceed direct for Port Cornwallis and given them the situation of the Port with such other directions as appeared necessary, I thought there was little to be dreaded from that misfortune.

I arrived [illegible] with the Union, the 30th of November and found in the harbour, the H. C. [illegible] and Dispatch Schooner. Lieutenant Wales with the Crew of the Ranger [illegible] had cleared a considerable space of ground, sufficient to erect Huts for the [illegible] of the Settlers and store houses for the Provisions and Stores he had also made a convenient ships Watering Place. For these services I distributed amongst the Crew of the Ranger [illegible] as a gratuity, agreeable to the promise in Lieutenant Wales's Instructions.

On the 1st of December H. M. Ship Minerva arrived when I delivered your Lordship's Dispatches [illegible] and Commodore Cornwallis. At this period about 130 Settlers were on shore [illegible] private Tents and a large Hut. The evening was gloomy and there was [illegible] without any apparent cause. About seven in the evening a vessel in the [illegible] of the harbour fired a gun and hoisted a light, which was answered by a gun and blue light from the Union: this Vessel I have judged since to have been the Juno, which has not yet made her appearance. In the morning of the 2nd the wind was strong from North East, [illegible] and with it a very considerable swell. At Two it blew excessively hard, when [illegible] was driven through a very high Surf which broke entirely over her in 4½ [illegible] The [illegible] Union, after parting one cable, followed the Ranger; and by the extreme [illegible] of the wind and sea, with two anchors in the ground and drawing 14 feet was driven on the bank into [illegible] or 17 feet water. It affords me great satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that the Banks which terminate the interior part of this admirable harbour are of so soft a texture, that the Vessels have received no damage in their bottoms notwithstanding the excessive and United force of the wind and sea. The loss in the Union is a fourth Rudder two anchors and one cable, the Ranger one anchor, the Leeboard which was also driven on the bank a boat. H. M. Ship Minerva one anchor, and the Dispatch which drove on a sand bank a trivial loss of copper. The wind made great devastation amongst the trees having torn many very large ones up with the roots, and the branches from others which were in more sheltered situations. This Hurricane and its consequences prove that the largest ships may run into this harbour as a place of safety even in the distressed condition of having neither anchors or cables.

On the 12th of December the Ranger was dispatched to Diamond Island by desire of the Commodore, to bring Turtle, and the Leeboard accompanyed her to bring some for the Settlement. H. M. Ships Minerva and Dispatch sailed the same day for Old Harbour, and the Seahorse arrived and what appears extraordinary, this Vessel, though not exceeding the distance of 160 miles from this place, had only a gentle gale all the 2d being then in company with the Cornwallis which arrived the 14th and Confirmed this Account. The 16th the Eagle from Calcutta bound to Prince of Wales Island touched here and sailed the 17th when the Viper arrived from Old Harbour. Lieutenant Roper mentions that it blew pretty fresh at that place the 2nd from S. W. but not so hard as to have done any damage. It therefore appears that the Hurricane which we had here the 2nd which blew from Northeast to East with excessive violence, and as it subsided veering to South west had been confined to a small extent, not having been felt 60 leagues to westward, nor at the distance of 40 leagues to Southward.

The Ranger from having very bad winds and contrary currents, did not arrive until the 27th she brought 41 and the Leeboard 24 very fine Turtle: and the Viper was immediately dispatched for Old Harbour with 34 for the Commodore.

The Stores for the Settlement being discharged from the Seahorse her masts ballast and Stores being also taken out, she shall be sunk in a day or two hence, in such a depth as to be intirely under water at full tide; five or six days in that situation will effectually destroy the white Ants and all other Vermin. Being not yet prepared to receive the Provision and Ammunition on shore, I am under the necessity of detaining the Cornwallis, but I expect to have the Storehouse finished a fortnight hence when no time shall be lost in dispatching both Vessels to Calcutta.

It gives me concern that there is so much reason to have doubts about the safety of the Juno; having besides her compliment about 90 Settlers and a large proportion of the Provision for the Settlement. Impressed with the idea that the Vessel that appeared off this Port the evening of the 1st might have been wrecked in the neighbourhood, I sent the Leeboard to examine to northward and Southward, immediately after the gale: and since, the Commodore has been so good as to examine the coast between this and Old Harbour, and Lieutenant Wales to the northward as far as Cape Negrais.

I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that the Settlers continue healthy, and that there is a tolorable progress made in the tedious and laborious work of cutting down the trees, and the thick entangled underwood. The clear space extends from the Northwest to the Northeast point of Chatham Island and the general breadth about 100 yards, by 600 long. The soil is excellent and the general surface being planer, it is more adapted for cultivation than the land about Old Harbour. There is reason to conclude, from the tenacity of the soil, and the vicinity of the highest land of the Andamans which attracts the clouds; that this part of the Island will be well watered even in the dry season.

At present there are several Bills of excellent fresh water in [? store] the Wells are abundantly productive. On the north end of Pit Island, I have also made some progress in clearing with my own People, having a space of about two acres containing a small kitchen and nersery garden already pretty well stocked with fruit trees from Calcutta and Old Harbour, and several kinds of vegitables are now appearing from the seed.

The settlers are now well accommodated in a double line of dry [illegible] Huts, the European Overseers and Artificers are in private Tents. There are besides those three Bungalows just compleated, a Smithy a Pottery Kiln; and a temporary store house for Provision half finished. I am happy to add that we have met with no molestation from the Natives who now and then appear on the Reefs, but show no inclination towards an intercourse: they do not even interrupt our fishermen who are so successful as to afford a tolorable daily supply to the Bazar of excellent fish; in general sufficient for all the Settlers.

Repeated instances of misbehaviour and a growing spirit of Insolence in the Europeans belonging to the Pilot vessels has induced me to send Robert Denham Seaman as a prisoner to Calcutta in the Ranger and I beg leave to inclose Captain Crawley's letter to me on the Subject. This example I hope will bring them to Order, without being obliged to use further severity.

I am with great respect My Lord

Port Cornwallis,
December 31st 1792.

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant
(Signed) Archibald Blair.

Enclosure in ditto.

To Archibald Blair, &ca &ca &ca.

Sir, [illegible] constant Mutinous disposition of some of the Europeans belonging to the Hon'ble Company's Snow Cornwallis, has given me a great Deal of Vexation for this some time past But they are now come to such a length that I feel myself under the necessity of applying to you for assistance, to keep them to their Duty.

Robert Denham has this Day behaved so Ill that I request of you to Order him to be taken out of the Vessel as an example to the rest. His crime has been creating Riots and Disturbances on Board absolutely refusing to Obey my Orders or acknowledging my right to Command Him useing very impertenent and threatning language to me on the Quarter Deck and Beating one of the People before my face and in Direct opposition to my orders. It is the Man Who During the Passage behav'd very Ill to one of the Passenger Girls, and Who I had not Complained of He Promis'd better behaviour.

H. C. Snow Cornwallis,
Port Cornwallis,
27th December 1792.

I am Sir
Your most Obedient Humble Servant
(Signed) **C. Crawley.**

Ordered that a Copy of the last Paragraph of Captain Blair's Letter Dated the 31st Ultimo, relative to Robert Denham, of the Snow Cornwallis, be sent with a Copy of Captain Crawley's Letter to the Master Attendant, and that the latter be instructed to cause a particular and strict enquiry to be made into the Conduct of that Seaman reporting the result to the Board, and the Punishment he thinks due to his Conduct, as it shall appear at that examination.

Captain Crawley having also generally mentioned the constant mutinous disposition of some of the Europeans belonging to the Honble. Company's Snow Cornwallis, the Master Attendant is to desire Captain Crawley to point out the Men to whom he alludes, and an enquiry is to be made into their Conduct also.

The Result must be reported to the Governor-General in Council, and the Master Attendant will deliver his Opinion of the degree of Punishment which they appear to him to merit.

Ordered that Instructions be sent to the Master Attendant and Instructions to the Acting Marine Paymaster, that Capt. Crawley's Allowance as Commander of the Cornwallis is to cease from the end of last Month.

Read again the Governor General's Minute containing Propositions agreed to by the Board, and recorded on the Proceedings of the 5th of November.

Agreed that the Appointment of Captain Alexander Kyd, of the Corps of Engineers to the temporary Command at the Andamans be published in General Orders.

Agreed that the Chief Engineer be desired to Nominate a Subaltern Officer of the Corps of Engineers to accompany Captain Kyd, on duty, to the New Station.

Agreed that the Commander in Chief be requested to order a Detachment of Sepoys to be Commanded by a Careful and Intelligent Officer of Infantry who shall assist Captain Kyd in making his various Arrangements and take charge of the Settlement in the Event of his temporary Absence from it.

The Detachment is to consist for the present of One Subadar, One Jimmadar, four Havildars, four Naicks and Eighty Sepoys for the protection of the Establishment at the Andamans.

The Commander in Chief Recommends that **Lieutenant Edmund Wells** may be nominated to the Office of Commissary of Stores and Provisions on that Establishment.

Agreed and Ordered accordingly, and that his Allowance be fixed at Sicca Rupees 250 per Mensem.

Ordered that the Cornwallis Pilot Schooner be discharged from the Pilot Service and appointed to the Andaman Station and that Directions be sent to the Master Attendant to deliver her over, with her Stores, to the Charge of **Lieutenant Wales** of the Bombay Marine who now Commands the Ranger.

Agreed that the Command of the Ranger shall devolve on **Lieutenant Thomas**, of the Bombay Marine, he being the present Senior Officer of that Vessel, and Ordered that the necessary Instructions be sent accordingly to Lieutenants Wales and Thomas by the Secretary to the Government. **Ordered** that the people belonging to the Pilot Service be removed from **the Cornwall Schooner**, and that Lieutenant Wales be Directed to provide a proper Officer and a Crew for that Vessel, to have her fitted out for Sea with all Expedition and Compleated with Six Months provisions and Stores.

Ordered that Similar Directions be sent to Lieut. Thomas, with Respect to the Ranger.

1793. — No. IV.

Fort William 11th February 1793.

Capt. Kyd 9th Feb.

The following **Letter** was received on the 9th Instant **from Captain Kyd**, and a Treasury Order was issued in Compliance with his Request.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have to request that you will make Application to the Governor General in Council in my name for an advance of Ten Thousand Sicca Rupees, for the purposes of Making advances to the Sepoys and Artificers now going to the Andamans which Sum to be deducted from the advance of Cash, to be furnished for the expence of the Settlement, on my departure.

I have the honor to be &ca

Fort William **9th February 1793.** (Signed) **A. Kyd**

1793. — No. V.

Fort William **18th February 1793.**

Minute and Resolutions of Detail Concerning Captain Kyd's Appointment to the Andamans.

The Governor General in Council Resuming the subject of Captain Alexander Kyd's Appointment to be Superintendent at the Andamans as recorded on the Consultations of the 5th of November 1792 and 1st Instant now passes the following **resolution**.

That in lieu of a Detachment of the Strength Specified in the Orders of the 1st Instant, the following be fixed, for the present, at the Recommendation of the Commander in Chief, as **the Strength of the Detachment,** of Native Infantry to be Stationed at Port Cornwallis under the Command of Lieutenant Edmund Wells, whom his Lordship has appointed on that duty.

1 Lieutenant Commanding the Detachment.
1 Sergeant with a Staff Allowance of 20 Rupees per Month
1 Subadar.
1 Jemadar.
4 Havildars.
4 Naicks.
2 Drums.
80 Sepoys.
3 Hand Bheestees.

Staff Effective non Effective } 1 Drill Havildar NE Staff with an Allowance of 5 Rupees per month.
1 Sircar
1 Native Doctor } Effective Staff.

That an allowance of Sonat Rupees 30 per Mensem be made to the Commanding Officer of the Detachment for Iron, Steel, Charcoal &ca.

That the first Supply of Cloathing for the Detachment be furnished by Indent on **Lieutenant Mouggach** from the Surplus Cloathing in Store, and that the Contract price thereof be Credited to the **off reckoning Fund.**

That the future Stoppages for the Detachment be reckoned by the Commanding Officer, who is from thence to furnish the Annual Cloathing.

That full Batta be granted to the Officers and Men, whether European or Native, Composing this Detachment.

The Commander in Chief acquaints Government that he has directed the Acting Secretary to the Military Board to signify his Lordships wish to the Members of that Board, that they would propose Such an Establishment of Writers and Artificers as may be Deemed necessary for the duties to be performed by the Commissary of Stores and Provisions at the Andamans.

Resolved that, in the present State, of the Settlement, and until some progress has been made to wards a regular Establishment, the Undermentioned Artificers, with the Annexed Rates of Pay be allowed, under the direction of the Superintendent, at the public Expence, but that, as Several Classes and descriptions of such Artificers will, in time, be enabled to earn a Livelihood by laboring for individuals, it be made an Article of Instruction to the Superintendant to discharge them from the Service of the public whenever he finds it consistent to do so, and that they can Subzist from their own Industry.

Establishment of Artificers &ca.

Europeans.

1	Head Carpenter		100 rupees
3	Carpenters	@ 30 Rs.	90
1	Head Smith		60
1	Cooper		40
4	Overseers of Works	@ 35 Rs.	140
1	Sail Maker		40

Natives.

1	Head Carpenter		20
20	Carpenters	@ 14	280
12	Sawyers	@ 10	120
1	Turner		10
1	Head Smith		20
12	Smiths	@ 10	120
2	Brassmen		20
1	Tinman		10
2	**Sicklegars**		20
1	**Mestry Painter**		14
2	Painters		20
1	Mestry Stone Cutter...		20
6	Stone Cutters	@ 10	60
1	Head Bricklayer		20
15	Bricklayers	@ 10	150

1	Mestry Brick Maker		12 rupees	
10	Workmen		100	
6	Potters or Filemakers	@ 8	48	
4	**Grammies**	@ 6	24	
10	Gardners	@ 7	70	
8	Washermen	@ 8	64	
10	Fishermen	@ 10	100	
4	Taylors	@ 12	48	
3	Barbers	@ 7	21	
1	Shoe Maker		12	
2	**Chucklers**	@ 6	12	
1	Baker		12	
3	Assistants	@ 8	24	
5	**Hand Bhustees**	@ 9.8	47.8	
				1968.8
	Lascars.		...	
1	**Serang**		16	
2	**first Tindalls**	@ 11.8	23	
2	Second Do	@ 9.8	19	
40	**Lascars**	@ 6.12	300	
				358
	Bildars.			
8	**Sudars**	@ 12	96	
170	Bildars	@ 6	1020	
				1116
				Rs. 3452.8

Resolved that Ensign Joseph Stokoe, of the Corps of Engineers be appointed to Accompany Captain Kyd on duty to the Andamans, and that he be entitled to draw, from the 1st Instant, the Allowance of Sicca Rupees 240 per Mensem, being the same as that which is granted to Engineer Officers Superintending public Buildings.

Ordered that the Military Auditor General be informed that the following Allowances are to be drawn, from the 1st Instant by the Superintendant at the Andamans, the Engineer, and **Mr. Wood on Medical duty** at that Settlement.

Captain Kyd the Pay and full Batta of his Rank, whatever that may be, while employed on the present Service, and Allowance as Superintendant Sicca Rupees 1,000 per Mensem.

Engineer Stokoe the Pay and full Batta of his Rank, Allowance as above mentioned Sicca Rupees 240 per Mensem.

Mr. Wood Surgeon fixed Allowance Sicca Rupees 300 per Mensem.

Resolved that the Superintendant be authorized to draw Monthly the following Establishment of Office, from the 1st Instant.

For 1 European Writer	... ... Sicca Rupees	150
1 Native Do.	... ...	30
2 Sircars @ 20 each	... ...	40
Allowance for Stationary	... ...	30
		250

Ordered that the necessary Forms of Abstracts and Bills for the Detachment, for the Military officers, and for the Artificers, be furnished by the Military Auditor General.

Resolved that, in the present State of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis the Accounts shall be kept distinct under the two Heads of Military and Marine, the first comprehending the pay and Allowances of the Commandant and Staff and all Military Officers, the Detachment of the Military. and all Artificers, the Expences of all Military Stores furnished from the Arsenal, of all Provisions issued at Port Cornwallis to the Military and Artificers, the Second Comprising the pay and Allowances of the Officers and Crews of the Vessells attached to the Station, the Expence of all Naval Stores issued by the Naval Storekeeper in Bengal for their use, and of all Provisions issued at Port Cornwallis for the Supply of the Marine.

Resolved that, in Addition to the Sum of 10,000 Sicca Rupees already advanced upon Account of **Captain Kyd, the Superintendant**, the Sum of Sicca Rupees 25,000 be issued to him from the Treasury to make up the Estimated Amount required for 4 Months to enable him to discharge, Monthly, the pay Abstracts and Bills of Monthly Allowances to the Military, and the Monthly pay & Wages of the Officers and Crews of the Marine Establishment, the Vouchers for the former to be sent round by the Superintendant as Opportunities offer, to the Pay Master of Garrisons and Artillery, who from these Materials will make out regular Setts of Disbursements, and forward them, with the Vouchers, for Audit Debiting himself to "Cash" for the Amount admitted on the Disbursements and taking Credit by "Military Charges" for the same. In like manner the vouchers for the Officers and Crews of the Marine are to be Sent round to the Marine Pay Master, and undergo the Audit of the Civil Auditor, who is to furnish Captain Kyd with the Forms for drawing the Bills and Abstracts for the same.

Should any Contingent Charges occur, either in the Military or Marine Branch of the Expenditure, the Superintendant is to accompany the Vouchers thereof, which must be attested upon Honor, with the fullest Explanations of the necessity for incurring the Charges. These Explanations are to be laid before the Board, with the Charges themselves which can only be admitted and passed on the authority of Government.

Resolved that, as Specie for some time to come can be of little use to Individuals at Port Cornwallis the Superintendant be authorized to grant Bills of Exchange, drawn at par upon the Bengal Government at 30 days sight, for any portion of the pay or Allowances of Individuals, which they may wish to pay into his Treasury, and to remit to Bengal by that means. The Superintendant will be debited for the Amount of Such Remittances on the General Books of this Presidency.

Resolved that the Commissary of Stores and Provisions at the Andamans be directed to Indent upon the Arsenal at Fort William, for the Military Stores Required for the Use of that Settlement; the Indents to be Countersigned by the Superintendant and submitted to the Military Boards in Bengal for their Sanction.

The Store Keeper will be furnished by the Secretary to the Military Board with all the forms, which regulate the Officers of Ordnance in making their Books and Accounts, and is directed to adhere Strictly to them under the control of the Military Board.

Resolved that the Provisions required for the Use of the Settlement be indented for, from time to time, in the same manner, upon the Garrison Store Keeper, who is not however to provide them but by an Order from Government either direct or through the Military Board. The Commissary is not to issue any Provisions, except on regular Indents Countersigned by the Superintendant; and he is to keep, Separate, the Indents which are for the Supply of what is to be placed under the Head of Military, and what belongs to the Marine, Branch of the Establishment.

Ordered that regular Returns be made by the Commissary of Provisions, quarterly or oftener if opportunities of sending them occur, to the Secretary to the Military Board for their Information, of the Balance of Provisions remaining in Store.

The Commissary is to be in all respects accountable to the Military Board for his Receipts and Issues of Provisions, in the Same manner as for the Military Stores and to attend to the Same forms in keeping his Accounts, which are not however to be blended.

Resolved that no Military or Naval Stores shall be dispatched from Bengal without having Undergone the prescribed Survey, nor shall any Provisions be dispatched for the Use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, without having undergone the previous Inspection and Survey of a Committee of the Military Board. Regular Reports and Surveys are also to be taken and made of their Condition upon being landed and Received into Store at that place.

Resolved that the Accountant General of Bengal shall be furnished Annually, after the Close of each Years Books, with the following Accounts by the Undermentioned Officers respectively,—

By the Military Pay Master General with an Account of the Amount Admitted by the Military Auditor General upon the Annual Disbursements of Port Cornwallis on Account of Military Charges, Established and Contingent,—

By the Marine Pay Master with an Account of the Amount Admitted by the Civil Auditor, as above for Marine Charges.

By the Naval Store Keeper with an Account of the Value of all Naval Stores Supplied for the Marine Establishment in the Course of the Year, deducting the Value of the balances; and

By the Secretary to the Military Board with a Similar Account of all Military Stores supplied in the Course of the Year, as well as Similar Accounts of all Provisions so Supplied, distinguishing, as nearly as may be practicable, the Value of the Issues and Expenditures, to and for the Military and Marine Branches of the Establishment.

Resolved that, from these Materials and Such other as the Accountant General may find it necessary to call for, he be directed to state Yearly as soon as possible after the close of the Annual Books, the whole Expences of the Establishment at Port Cornwallis under the District

Heads of Military and Marine, in order that Government and the Honble. Court of Directors may be kept Constantly informed of the Charges of that Establishment, and of the Increase and Decrease therein.

Resolved that Lieutenant R. H. Colebrooke, Assistant to the Surveyor General, be directed to take Charge of that Office, and Authorized to draw the Establishment Annexed to it from the present Date.

Ordered that a Copy of the above Minute and Resolutions be Recorded in the Military Department.

Ordered that another Copy be sent to Captain Kyd, with Extracts from the Board's proceedings on the 5th of Novemoer 1792, and 1st Instant relative to his Appointment to the temporary Command at the Andamans.

Ordered that Captain Kyd be informed that the Allowance granted to Mr. Wood, who is on duty as Surgeon at the Andamans, not providing for Medicines or Instruments &ca, Such of these as may be occasionally wanted at the Andamans are to be obtained, as they have been hitherto, by Indents on the Hospital Board.

1793. — No. V.

Fort William **18th February, 1793.**

Copy of Captain Kyd's Commission as Superintendent at the Andamans.

Agreed that the following Commission be granted to Captain Kyd. — The Right Honorable **Charles Earl Cornwallis** Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Governor General and Commander in Chief **Peter Speke William Cowper,** and **Thomas Graham Esquires** Counsellors of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and its Dependencies To all to whom these Presents shall come and Greeting Know ye that we reposing especial Trust and Confidence in the Fidelity Prudence, and Circumspection of Captain Alexander Kyd, in the Military Service of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, have Nominated made Constituted, and appointed, and by these Presents do nominate make, Constitute, and Appoint the said **Captain Alexander Kyd, to be Superintendant and Commandant of the Military Force Garrison, and Settlement** now formed on the Island called **the Great Andaman** and Situated in the Bay of Bengal, likewise those **Islands and Dependencies** known by the Names of the **little Andamans, The Cocos, The Preparies, Nurcandaam, and the Barren Island,** also to superintend and Command all other Islands and Places Contiguous thereto, and lying within the Parralells of 10 and 15 Degrees of North Latitude and 92 and 95 Degrees of Longitude East from Greenwich, and all Harbours Towns Garrisons, Forts, Fortifications or other Military Works or Posts that now are or may be hereafter erected upon the said Islands, to hold them, in the Name and for the Use of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and to keep and Maintain the same against all Enemies or Intruders whomsoever, He is Nominated, made, constituted, and appointed, by these Presents, to Control and Command all Officers and Soldiers, belonging to the Military and Marine Establishments of the said United Company, all Europeans and Native Artificers, Labourers and Servants of every Discription in the Pay or Employ of the said Company, and all Settlers, and Persons who now are, or hereafter may be, permitted to reside at, or be in any Manner attached or belonging to the Settlement and Dependencies aforesaid and they and each of all and every such Discription or Discriptions of Persons are and is hereby required and directed to obey all legal Orders issued by the said Captain Alexander Kyd, And, in general, he is to do and Perform all and every such Acts and things

as appertain to the Duties of his Office and Station as Commandant, and Superintendant of the said Settlement and Islands, in Conformity to the Instructions that have been or may be given him by the Governor General in Council of Fort William aforesaid Given under Our Hands and the Seal of the said United East India Company in Fort William this Eighteenth day of February in the thirty third Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Ninety three.

Cornwallis.

Signed **Peter Speke.**

William Cowper.

Thos. Graham.

Registered in the Secretary's Office By Order of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

KÂPING — KEPING — KÛPONG.

In Vol. XXVII. p. 223 f., I have given a number of quotations on the Malay coin and bullion weight **kûpong** and have since come across some more information on the same and kindred words.

In the MS. work, *Asia, etc.*, by T. B., 1669-79, occurs, fol. 132, the following passage: —

1669-79. — "They [at Janselone] have noe Sort of coyned monies here, save what is made of tinne w^ch^ is melted into Small lumps, and passe very currant provided they be of their just weight allowed by Statute: and are as followeth: One Small lumpe or **Putta** valueth here 3^d^ Eng^sh^. One **great Putta** is 2½ Small ones Val: 7½^d^ penny En^sh^, w^ch^ is theire Currant moneys and noe Other, but if wee bringe Silver or Gold massy or Coyned, the rich men will trucke w^th^ us for tinne and give Some advance 10 or 15 p^r^ Cent upon y^e^ moneys. When wee shall have a considerable quantitie of these Smal pieces of tinne togeather: wee weigh w^th^ Scales or Stylyard 52 pound w^t^ and ½: and melt it in a Steele panne for y^e^ Purpose, and runne it into a mold of wood or clay: and that is an Exact **Cupine**: 8 of w^ch^ are one **baharre** weight (of Janselone) or 420: English pound weight. In any considerable quantitie of goods Sold togeather wee agree for soe many **Baharre** or soe many **Cupines**, when a Small parcell, then for soe many **Viece**: or soe many great or Small **puttas**: 4 great puttas make a **Viece** 10 Small ones is a Viece."

This statement affords a table of weights for Junkseylon in 1669-79, taking the **viss** *(viece)* at its most persistent value of 3¼ lbs., as follows: —

2½ puttas small make	1 putta large
4 puttas large	1 viece
15 viece	1 cupine
8 cupine	1 baharre of 420 *lbs.*

A century later Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, 1775, p. 127, gives the following tables: —

Jonckceylone		Tocopa.	
3 Punchorfs[1]	1 Poot	3 Pingas[1]	1 Puta
4 Poots	1 Vis	4 Putas	1 Viss
10 Vis	1 Capin	10 Viss	1 Capin
8 Capins	1 Bahar	8 Capin	1 Bahar

The Bahar in the above cases must have been about 476 lbs.

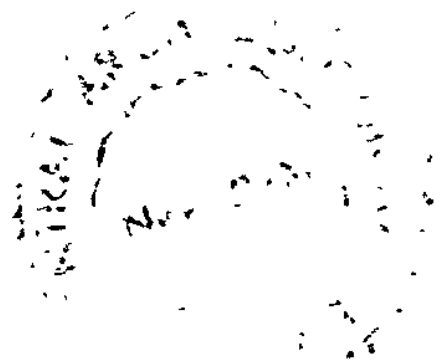
In **1813**, Milburn, *Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 291, trepors: — "They [at Junkceylon] have certain pieces of tin, shaped like the under half of a cone, called poot, which are used on the island as money, weighing about three pounds: these are also their weights." His table is as follows: —

4 Poots	1 Viss
10 Viss	1 Capin
8 Capins	1 Bahar of 476 *lbs.*

In **1835** Kelly's *Cambist*, Vol. I. pp. 108 f., 121, copies this information, but makes the *bohar* of Junkceylon 485 *lbs.* and that of Tocopa 476 *lbs.*

So far then we have the history of the **putta** and **cupine** of T. B's account of Junckseylon.

[1] Apparently some form of *pichis*, the Malay cash: *cf. Samporfs* for *Songp'ls* in Stevens, *Guide*, p. 127, and *ante*, Vol. XXVII. p. 7. Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, 1882, p. 142, has *penjuru* as the lowest of "the silver coins used in weighing gold"



The **Malay** terms are **patah**, a fragment, and **kâping**. But his statement that the *patah* of tin was worth 3*d* sterling was probably not meant to apply to wholesale purchases, as that would make the tin to be worth 60 Spanish dollars the *bahar*, which we find from fol. 134 he did not pay for it: — "What else wee bringe hither are **Ryalls of 8**: w^ch^ wee alsoe trucke for tinne, att y^e^ rate of 28 dollars p^r^ baharre ready moneys and 40 upon trucke for our Goods." Taking the Spanish dollar (Royal of 8) at 5*s*, T. B paid in cash at the rate of 1⅗*d*. for the *patah*, and of 2*d*. in goods, for wholesale purchases, one presumes. But Milburn says, *loc. cit*, that the tin in his day sold at Junkseylon at "from 12 to 16 Spanish dolls per *pecul*." Now 3 *picul* make 1 *bahar*: therefore at 36 dollars the *bahar* the price was 2¼*d* the *patah*, and at 48 dollars it was 3*d* the *patah*, which supports T B. in his statement.

It is worth noting here also that at 3*d* the *patah* the value of the *viss* of tin works out to 2*s*. 6*d*., the then approximate value of the Siamese *tickal*, the standard of value in Siam, of which **Junkseylon** formed a part. It was this value **that** most likely settled the value of the *patah* for **retail** payments.

In **1827** Wilson, *Documents of the Burmese War*, says, Appx., p. 61, "the tical and tin piece were the currency of Tavai and Mergui, but the former has been superseded by the rupee. The rates for the rupee and pice[2] may be expected to vary, but the following was in use at the date of our authorities (1826): —

12	small pice make	1 large one or **kebean**
40	kebean	1 Madras Ruppe
44	do.	1 Sicca Rupee
88	do	1 Spanish dollar"

This works out the value of the **kebean** of tin to be 17 to the penny. **Kebean** no doubt represents some form of **keping** or **kâping**, but here refers to the **kûpong** as distinct from the *keping*. Thus from the following extract from Kelly's *Cambist*, Vol. II. p. 348: —

Fort Malborough in Sumatra.
Gold and silver weights.

30	Coondees [*kondarî*] make	1 **Keping**
8	Kepings	1 Ringit [Sp. dollar]

Moco Moca and Ft. Marlborough.

4	**Koopangs** or Soocoo[3] make	1 **Mas** [mace]
4	**Mas**	1 Pauh
2⅔	Pauh	1 Ringit

The scale in all the cases is probably meant to refer to the same standard, the differences arising out of the relation by weight and value to each other of the several metals used for measuring bullion.[4]

Under date **1639**, Mandelslo, *Travels*, E. T, p. 107 f, has rather a difficult reference to Malay weights in somewhat similar terms: — "A drug they call **Saroyboura** [edible birds' nests, *sarung-burung*]. These are only Swallow-nests, which they find on the Rocks by the Sea-side, and are of such esteem in China, that they sell them for three or four Crowms the pound. There are two sorts of them, the white which are in much request and are sold for six, seven or eight **Campans** the China Catti, but the grey are not so dear and are not worth three or four **Campans** the Catti, which amounts to not above eleven Sols, or a Mamide of Cambaya . . The Portugueze heretofore bought there [at Patani] fifteen or sixteen horned Beasts in a year, and carried them to Malacca, paying a **Campan** a head for the export."

Now, taking the *lb*. Av. to be three quarters of a China *catty*, then at 3 Crowns the *lb*., the *catty* would be worth £1 · at 4 Crowns the *lb*. it would be worth 26*s*. 8*d*. Then it follows from the statements that the **campan** was worth from 3*s* 4*d*. to 4*s*. 9*d*. at the rate of 6 to the *catty*, or 2*s* 6*d* to 3*s*. 7*d*. at 8 to the *catty* This rate is something like the probable fact, as at the present day in the Andamans clean white edible birds' nests are bought up for the Chinese at Rangoon for their weight in silver: *i. e.*, at Re 1 per *tólá*, or say at £2 the *lb* Av. and £2 6*s*. 8*d*. the *catty*. Whereas the next statement that Mandelslo makes, *viz*, that 3 to 4 *campans* are equal to 11 *sols* or *mamide* is impossible; because the *mahmûdî* varied from 3*d*. to 4½*d*, which was no doubt the value of 11 sols (*sous*) also This makes the *campan* about a penny or less

Now, on Kelly's statement the **keping** would be the eighth of a Spanish dollar, or say 7½*d*, and the **kûpong** would run about 40 to the dollar, *i. e.*, about 1½*d*. each. **Mandelslo evidently meant the kûpong by his** "campan," and probably mixed up with it some local form of the **kâping**, from what he had heard or read that the *kûpong* was worth. These considerations confirm the opinion that Wilson's **kebean also refers in some confused way to the kûpong as a measure** of value

R. C. TEMPLE.

[2] Seems to represent the word *pichis* and no doubt represents the *patah*: it may also be a misprint for "piece."

[3] *Suku* = quarter.

[4] For an examination of Malay bullion weight see *ante*, Vol. XXVII. pp. 87 ff.

LETTERS FROM PORTUGUESE CAPTIVES IN CANTON. WRITTEN IN 1534 AND 1536

BY DONALD FERGUSON.

(Concluded from p. 33.)

[f. 124] Copy of another letter that the same Christovão Vieyra wrote from China.[80]

Sir,[81] — Looking constantly at your letter,[82] I am much relieved of my infirmity. With the strength that your honor gives me I am moved to take the opportunity to write, Sir, in brief: the reading will not take long, repeating, Sir, in this city, in which, Sir, I say, were you but in India, so that the governor would send **Eytor da Sylveira**[83] with the fleet that goes each year to the Strait,[84] conveying therein three thousand men and carrying Malabars in order with them to terrify the people when they see these Malabars. With the help of the Portuguese they would go on until they conquered half the country of China, if there were there enough people to maintain so great a city and so many towns, so weak a people are they, and they have no kind of defence.

Into this river of this city can enter only ships of two hundred tons, and every galleon however great, by reason of their drawing little water. The whole of this river, Sir, is muddy and is entirely free from rocks, so that even if it be left dry it does not matter; because the river is very high the city would remain dominated under these ships. When the sea is on the flow they can put planks from the galleons and ships to the land by which the people can go out. By this river are placed the houses of the suburb, having a protection in order that the water may not overflow all, which protection is of stone filled in with earth of the height of a man or half a man, and in places none. In all parts there are very fine ways paved with fine stone, which stone would serve at present for fortresses. Fire should be put, Sir, to the end of this suburb, whereby it would go burning all along the river, so as to leave all clear for the artillery to play, and because if it were not put [f. 124v] there the Chinese would shoot with arrows. As they would have the protection of the houses, it would be necessary to put fire to them that all might be clear without any house remaining.

Withal, Sir, let it be well observed that the principal landing-place is in the middle of this suburb, where is a house of the mandarins;[85] when they are going anywhere they go there to disembark and embark; at which house there is a reception of such. The which house is enclosed around by a wall made of earth rising to the height of a *remessão*,[86] where in this, place could assemble a number of men with an order to destroy the houses all around in order to leave a place for the fortress to be made, in order to place artillery there, making loopholes in these walls, in order to place therein great bombards, until the completion of the fortress that must be erected in that place. With the fortress standing over against the river on the one side and the gate of the city on the other, making a very strong and fine breastwork, which would go on approaching the gate of the city, so that the city would be entirely dominated,

[80] This heading, added by the copyist apparently, is, like that prefixed to the first letter, erroneous, this second letter being by Vasco Calvo.

[81] I have been unable to discover to whom this letter is addressed; but, from what the writer says further on the addressee would appear to have been the commander of a ship sent to the Gulf of Tongking to try and open up communications with the Portuguese prisoners in Canton. (*Cf.* Introd.)

[82] I have no information regarding this letter, nor when or how it was dispatched.

[83] The writer was evidently not aware that Heitor da Silveira had been killed in February 1531 in the storming of the island of Beth, — one of the darkest pages in the history of Portuguese India. (See Whiteway's ***Rise of Port. Power in India***, pp. 225-227.)

[84] The Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. Heitor da Silveira had commanded several expeditions to the Red Sea.

[85] The *yamên* of the *hoppo*, doubtless, the site of which is now occupied by a Roman Catholic cathedral. (See *Mid. King.* I. p 166.)

[86] A *remessão* (augm. of *remesso*, javelin = 10½ *palmos* or spans.

because all is ground flat as the palm of one's hand, with artillery at one end and at the other. The which breastwork must be in the manner of the bridge giving passage to a rivulet that runs between the wall and the suburb; and in order to enter the city there is a very fine stone bridge: and the breastwork would have to be joined to this bridge. This breastwork would go towards this gate and lead from the bridge, and would have to be the means of access to the fortress itself, where the governor must reside.

As soon, Sir, as the disembarkation shall have taken place at this spot, observe well that it is near the gate of the city. If the city do not surrender, three *camellos* must be placed there, and the gates, which are two, must be destroyed. Both of them consist of two, one is front of the other. These gates, Sir, are overlaid with copper. As soon as they enter they must make their way to the house of the *pochēçy*, which is the principal house that there is in this city, and is the house where is the king's revenue, where will be found much silver, more than can be reckoned, and also much gold and merchandise. This house is the chief of this province; for in this house from morning [f. 125] until night there is nothing done but weighing the silver of the rents that come from all the officers; in which house must be placed two or three hundred men with a captain to remain stationed in the city until the fortress shall have been built. And likewise a fortress will have to be made within the city where is a small mount[97] with some churches. It has in itself stone for making the fortress; which fortress must be situated above the wall that goes towards the north, which is the main land, with a tower of four stories all full of artillery which can fire towards the north and west and east, and also towards the city. All points will thus be defended by this fortress, and the city placed and restrained under this fortress; in which fortress, Sir, should be stationed a hundred men: the city will then become so strong that not a bird will be able to descend that will have an opportunity of escaping. The which hundred men, Sir, should be changed every three or four months. They should go, Sir, with the fleet that they may make a profit.

It will also, Sir, be needful to go and seize a factory that is called the **Conchefaa,**[98] whence will escape a thousand prisoners, at least if the mandarins do not kill them through fear lest they rise in the city and kill the mandarins also in consequence. It is also full of silver, which is moreover collected in dues for the king and the fines of the prisoners which are on a large scale, much silver; which property, Sir, that shall be in this factory, shall be removed from this to the house of the *pochēçy*, where must be those men to erect in the meanwhile the fortress. Let them collect there all that has been taken: and in like manner they shall go to two other factories of the king, which also have much silver of the dues that are exacted; the which two factories are called by name **Nayhay** and **Põnhaem.**[99] And if this property is found, all shall go to the *pochēçy*, who will have to guard it there until all is settled. Let them be advised that in case they should find no silver, and should find within those houses, which are large, any man, he shall be questioned regarding it, as it may be buried in some place so that it may not be found; because in those cities that are attacked [f. 125v] by robbers they do this, that is, bury it, and leave as a blind four or five thousand taels, in order that the robbers may not go searching everywhere and happen to find it.

And inquiry should also, Sir, be made for the rice godowns, which are seven or eight houses where are stationed three petty mandarins like receivers of customs,[90] the which houses have in them millions upon millions of piculs of rice under the management of the mandarins and also other people, the which rice if they could sell it to the people of the country, they would make more than forty thousand taels of silver thereby. For which purpose, Sir, there should be placed thirty men with a captain, and they should remain guarding this rice until the city and affairs shall have settled down, without any of that rice being touched, which if it should happen, Sir, there would be no remedy. At present if rice and provisions did not come in from without

[97] The peak of Yuehsiu, near the five-storied tower referred to above. [98] Kwangchau-fû. (See note *supra*.)

[99] These names evidently represent Nanhai and Pwanyu, the two districts in which Canton is situated.

[90] The orig. has "*allxes*," which, Sr Lopes suggests, is a contraction for *allmoxarifes*.

the whole population of the city would die of famine. Then, Sir, it would be necessary to open up this store of rice and sell this rice to the people that are in the city, and, even if it should be worth a good deal, somewhat cheap, on account of the people's not being able now to buy it anywhere; because of all the populace the most, Sir, that live in this city are all craftsmen and merchants and people who all live to carry on trade. For the people, Sir, who are rich and have lands live in the villages where they have their lands, and lands here are worth their weight in money. This is the reason why the people would die of hunger if rice did not come from without for sale, because this city could not sustain itself for three days without the people's dying, because the population is large.

Let them observe well.

And also, Sir, some of this rice should be given to the masons and carpenters and smiths and workmen that shall be engaged on the fortresses, giving them each day three **fanams**[91] as their wage, which is twelve reals a day, and they will be content; because here the mandarins give them for their services two fanams, and if they do not work give them floggings in a trice.[92] Wherefore, Sirs, these workmen would be well paid without taking or spending a single *ceitil*[93] [f. 126] of our lord the king's. With this rice alone a hundred fortresses could be built in this country; as every mandarin's house has stone, supports for the stories of towers, and as much as one would wish of anything, so many would not be necessary.

And also, Sir, orders must at once be given to quickly close up with stone and lime all the gates that lead to the north, and also those on the west and east, leaving in this city only this gate which the people shall use, which must be connected with the fortress; and the captain-major should return to the place where he disembarked, with all the people except the three hundred men who shall remain in the city in the house of the *pochĕçy*. It is a great affair, and all shut in by the fortress; and the keys of the city should be given at night to this captain who shall meanwhile remain there while the fortresses are being built; and in the morning they should be given to him who shall have charge of guarding that gate and shutting it; and at night they should watch and beat the drums as is the usual custom.[94]

And also, Sir, arrangements must be made with the people of the country, to distribute them and appoint a man as head of that same country. The **tallacõ**[95] of the wall would watch the people that lived in those streets, because such is his custom and style. They should also be given drums, which they would get at the houses of these mandarins. In the morning they would come to give their report, as is the custom, to that captain who would be in that house, that "such a part is safe"; then others would come and say "such a part is safe," and they would give the keys to open the gate. It would also, Sir, be necessary to leave undisturbed the style of the country with regard to going on the knees to the captains and also to every other person who has any charge, as such is the custom of the country and it must not fall into abeyance. The people are bad, and so as a consequence they must be flogged if they are not prompt at that which they are ordered to do: otherwise it will be a trouble to endure these people; for the mandarins do nothing else from morning to night, and kill them, and yet can do nothing with them.

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91 The contraction *fõs* in the orig. must, I think, stand for *fanões*. It occurs again near the end of the letter

92 The orig. has '*como palhas*,' lit. "like straws." In Portuguese "*ó lume das palhas*" means "in the twinkling of an eye, in a trice," and that seems to be the writer's meaning here.

93 A coin worth [illegible] of a *real*.

94 Cf. Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 173; Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed.), I. p. 86.

95 If a Chinese word is really intended to be represented here, the last syllable, as I have said in Introd., must stand for *k*[illegible] 'a watch of the night.'

If it should happen, Sir, that they should place there some boats and should [f. 126v] shoot from them, let them go out and capture them, for any force would be able to capture them. When they saw that they came out for that purpose they would not wait, because their arms would not allow them to await the attack of the Portuguese. The swords are after the fashion of ours, some three spans in length, of plain iron, without any point. For armour they wear quilted *bajos* and a helmet on their head made of tin. They shoot arrows, and that not very well. This is their manner of warfare; and these, Sir, are those who are pressed for this. For the common people do not know how to do this; they simply shut the doors, and do not trouble any further, and bury what silver they have, for they have no household articles, only an old table and a chair: everything else of silver they bury.

And this, Sir, is not the case with the common people: they have nothing in the way of sword or arrow; only when any rising takes place the people shut the gates, and everyone gets inside his house; and whoever is most capable, him they obey. In fine, Sir. these people, by means of whom the mandarins maintain the country, are of this fashion, which description I have given in brief. Every man who is taken prisoner is condemned to death; but when he has been four or five years in the prison there come other mandarins, and if the prisoner has silver for a bribe they write respecting him to the king, and the great mandarins free him from that penalty that rests upon him, and sentence him to banishment in perpetuity; and the sons[96] are likewise liable to this banishment. It is comparable, Sir, to the men who in Portugal are banished to the islands. To the man who is like the hangman these men give each month a **picul** of rice to eat in his house with his wife. And so of other doings,[97] if they recur, they make exiles of these men likewise. These men of this city they banish to another province, and those of other provinces they banish to this. In this province there are distributed throughout the cities, towns and villages, and employed in guarding the gates and prisons and going along the rivers, in order that they may not rise [f. 127] in the cities, thirteen to fourteen thousand men. In this city there are constantly some three thousand men guarding the gates of the city with captains. As to which, there is not a **Malabar** that could not fight with forty of these men and kill them all, because they are just like women: they have no stomach; simply outcries.[98] It is with these people that the mandarins maintain this country, which is a world in itself.

Wherefore as soon as the fleet should make sail to come to this city there is not a mandarin that would await in the city the fleet in the river: the mandarins would certainly hurry out by the gates; of this there is no doubt that it would be so. In the middle of this river is a church of the Chinese which stands on the outskirts in the middle of the city[99] (it is about as big as the fortress of Calequu), which has already been made into a fortress, only they are to erect the wall and construct towers for it, the which should form a strong fortress with towers or bastions; [100] wherefore with this fortress standing there with twenty or thirty men the river would be blocked and everything cut off, because from there the artillery would be able to dominate all sides, both towards the city and towards the river upwards and downwards.[1] This is the reason why artillery must be brought from India, so that it will be possible to do great things against any people whatsoever.

When the people in the city have settled down, then, in a short time, after not more than two to four days have passed, they should take *paraos*, and dispose themselves in foists if they

[96] The orig. has "*fos*," which I take to stand for *filhos*.

[97] The orig. has "*ftos*," which should represent *feitos*; but the sense is not very clear

[98] *Cf.* Fa Ricci's opinion of the Chinese, as quoted in Introd. to Hak. Soc. ed. of Mendoza p. lxxviii Conto says (X, X. iv.): " . . . the greater part of the heathens of India fight as much with their tongues as with their hands." (See also quotations in *Hobson-Jobson, s. vv.* 'Cucuya, Cucuyada.)

[99] This must, I think, refer to the rock on which, in later times, was erected the *Hai Chu* (Sea Pearl) Fort or Dutch Folly. It is referred to above by Christovão Vieyra (f. 122v). See also Gaspar da Cruz in Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 195.

[100] See sketch of fort in Nieuhof.

[1] Canton city was bombarded by the British from Dutch Folly Fort in 1856-57.

should be available, and go up the river, at the same time taking a quantity of artillery, and go burning as many *paraos* and junks and other things as they find in the way of towns and villages, causing great destruction and leaving nothing in existence, in order to put terror into the people; so that, even if the great mandarins came from above with some men, they would find no boat, nor would they find any food for the people [f. 127v] to eat. How much more do I believe that no one would or could descend ; because if the robbers are left there they would be bound to rise throughout the country, and to go plundering and killing everybody when they knew that this city was taken. They might also come to take refuge here; and the country would be put in such a turmoil that there would be a general alarm, so that the people would be certain at once to rise throughout the province, and there is not a mandarin that they would not kill. Wherefore let war be waged cruelly wherever they are able. Since the king of China is bound to lose these three provinces, it will be necessary to make an agreement with his captains. It will be impossible to obtain sustenance, or to maintain the country, or to carry on the government, or to pay taxes to the king; because it will not be possible to sow or to carry on trade : wherefore, an agreement having been made, it will turn out greatly to the profit of our lord the king that the king of China should give him a ship laden with silver every year, in order that the whole fifteen provinces may not be imbroiled, or lest he be removed ; and so trade will be carried on as before.

And moreover, Sir, by the island of Viniaga the road goes direct to four or five cities of this province and many towns and villages half a league in extent with much population ; the which cities are large and contain rich people and much silk, and all iron and tin come from there. And thus, Sir, it is a great trade that the king carries on with this, Sir, who obtains from it a large revenue. The which cities are situated along the coast with the sea beating on them; and these cities would give as much revenue as the king has in the country to our lord the king, and would also be obedient so as not to be destroyed and that the population may not see themselves ruined. And they must not consent to their being governed by a mandarin of the country, but only that they make choice as to who shall be their captains, content to give the half of the revenues to our lord the king. For there is not [f. 128] a city that would not give forty or fifty thousand *cruzados* each year. I do not speak of towns ; but the towns would have to do likewise, and would give according to the revenue twenty thousand and thirty thousand cruzados in tribute, and they would give a shipload of silver to our lord the king without the spending in this country of a *ceitil* of our lord the king's; only they should take it to India to defray the expenses and freights of the ships for Portugal.

These cities — one can go to them in all seasons, — as well in winter as in summer, it is all one ; because all must be fine galleys and foists and vessels — everything that is rowed ; and all go along the rivers and amongst islands, as the Chinese here navigate all the year round, both in one direction and in the other. And the province of this Cantão and that of Foquem are divided there by one of these cities that is called **Coicheufu.**[2] Then in the province of Foquem there is a city that is called **Camcheu** :[3] it is a fine and large city. It stands on the sea, and is rich in silk and **tafetas**, and in camphor and much salt, and is of great traffic, and has in it a great number of junks, which can come and go in all seasons. These go from this city in all seasons, and take from fifteen to twenty days by this route from the island. This is a beautiful route, having many towns and villages. There is also another arm of the sea between this land of Cantão by which they go and likewise a good route. Regarding all these matters it will be needful to question the Chinese. And there are many other rivers by which they go to other places.

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[2] Chiuchau-fû.

[3] Changchau (Chincheo or Chinchew). See Introd.

Also, Sir, on that coast of that **Cõljay**[4] where you now are[5] there are three cities, which are called by the names of, the one **Loycheu**, the other **Lencheu**, and the other **Quancheu**:[6] they are there situated further in, because the arm of the sea that runs between the islands of Aynão [f. 128v] washes these cities, and around are many towns and villages; and they are large cities with many revenues, and they also have some seed-pearl. The which perforce would have to submit to the power of our lord the king, and mandarins of the king cannot be allowed, only if it should be that an agreement be made as to what his captains should do, by which perforce they should give three thirds of the revenue to our lord the king and one third to the king of China, in order that these cities and towns, all of which will be easy of capture, should not be burnt or destroyed. This could be done by five or six hundred men with thirty or forty sail, all foists, with artillery for waging war.

For in this city that is called **Quancheufu** there are great mountain ranges,[7] and in these mountain ranges are collected a large number of robbers,[8] who have twice attacked this city and plundered it completely. The which robbers, when they learnt of the taking of this city, would be certain to come down and attack it now that it had no one to govern it (for the mandarins would undoubtedly flee); and in towns and villages also they would assuredly rob and kill. Until their own captains make provision for this these people would not refrain from coming to beg for help from the captain-major, asking also for Portuguese to go and govern that country, that it may not be destroyed by the robbers; because the people have no means of defence; only most of the people would join in bands to plunder, because the greater part of them are a fickle people, restless, all engaged in trade, a vain crew. As, Sir, there are rich people there, so also there are people that cannot get enough to eat: this is the reason why all are thieves.

Wherefore, Sir, as soon as this city shall have been made strong by fort[f. 129]resses in those places that are needful, and there shall have come from India troops to all these cities that are near the sea and on the rivers, there should be built in each city a strong fortress where should be placed a captain with fifty men to govern the land and collect the revenues for our lord the king, with the people of the country also. The which Portuguese who shall be there must take charge of all, and are all certain to be rich, which will be the case by the custom of the country. These Chinese are sure to be faithful when, Sir, they shall have become reconciled to the Portuguese; and also in the towns as well fortresses must be built, and there must be constant intercurrence of boats going and coming. The more the people and the greater the profit, so much the more one must go on getting.

At first, Sir, let fire and sword be carried amongst them vigorously, for so the enemy will require from the first; and as soon as the captain-major shall come to enter the river let this place that is called **Nanto** be destroyed, where are stationed captains of war with some two thousand men of those that have been banished. Because of its being the frontier, and because foreigners come there for trade, there are stationed there some junks: let all be taken and burnt, and that place be all consumed by fire, so that the people who are there may have no chance. And so coming up along the coast there is a village of people which the boats must be ordered to burn, and the good *paraos* must be captured, and if there should be junks let them be burnt, not burning the *paraos* which will be useful for going up the rivers. And so coming further forward where there is an island that is called **Aynãcha**,[9] they will get fishermen

[4] I cannot identify this place, which, judging from the towns mentioned below, should be in the Gulf of Tongking near Hainan. The copyist may have blundered over the name.

[5] See Introd.

[6] These three names are easily identifiable as those of Luichau and Lienchau in south Kwangtung and Kiungchau in Hainan (*Cf* Christovão Vieyra's letter *supra*, f. 119v.)

[7] The Li-mu-ling ridge. (See *Mid. King.* I p. 175.)

[8] The wild mountaineers of Hainan are even now only semi-subject to Chinese authority.

[9] Anunghoy. (See *supra*, f. 118v.)

who know the entrance to the bar; the which island is populated and has on it many junks. The boats [f. 129v] and foists must go and burn the junks if they have not fled; and there are also many **paraos**: they must not destroy these *paraos*, which at first will be very necessary, as every one of these *paraos* can carry three *berços*[10] and five or six Portuguese men, not counting rowers. All this, Sir, should be destroyed, in order that all may be made clear, so that the ships that remain at the bar may find all safe, and the boats will be able to come and go every time that shall be needful. Without fear of any harm's being done to them from any direction they will be able to come and go. Noting, Sir, that all has been well considered and no mistake can be made in anything: as in these terms and by Christovão Vieyra has been set forth, let everything, Sir, be well looked at, not departing from what is said here. Let all be destroyed, and let not these enemies remain to cause trouble.

From this province, Sir, when fortresses and everything else have been settled, they should go to **Foquem**, which is a province by itself, and is of importance in the matter of silk and merchandise that is carried on in it; the whole year through they come and go, and all the cities and towns are near the sea. When there has been formed a fleet of galleys and foists to the number of forty or more, in which might go six or seven hundred men, they should make a demonstration there, by which they would make all tributary to our lord the king, all these cities and towns, and take away every year as tribute a shipload of silver: they can do no less. In order that the land may not be destroyed and lost the revenues must by agreement be divided in half with our lord the king. As this people has no means of defence, when they hear a bombard roar they are sure to go and place themselves on the mounts and see what the Portuguese intend to do. It may be seen how great wealth there is without its having to be fetched, nor would it be exhausted: they could simply carry it [f. 130] openly to Portugal. Another India would be won, and of as great profit; and in time much more so, as more people would spring up; and thus they would go on gaining more and would subjugate more; and so all the Portuguese would become very rich, which the country permits of. Moreover they must go to this Foquem by the side of the island where they carry on trade, where there are cities and towns and villages and hamlets belonging to this city and province and also to Foquem. With this fleet all intercourse is carried on, both from this **Cantão** to the land and also that of **Foquẽ**. The whole, Sir, with one stroke of the sword they may make tributary at once, and there must be caused great destructions in the burning of junks, which this Foquẽ possesses to the number of millions,[11] and also by sending bombards into the cities from the prows of the galleys and foists. Even if they come to beg for mercy, do not let them grant it to them, Sir, at first, so that they may know what they can do and the power of our lord the king in the country, in order that the full tribute may come in, without their refusing at any time what their captains order. For this they must have acquaintance with what they can do to them.

Moreover, Sir, in the sea off this Foquem are **the Lequeos**,[12] who every year sell merchandise at Patane and **Soyão** and in the time of the king of Malaca used to go to Malaca. They are many islands, and where the king is, is a very large island; and it cannot, Sir, be less, because the people are civilized and build very large junks. The which islands have much gold and copper and iron and many articles of merchandise that there are in Malaca and Patane; for they bring and have damasks and much silk and porcelains. From this province of Foquem to reach the first islands takes three days of sea. These Lequeos come every day to carry on trade with this country of Foquẽ, and from Foquem they go secretly [f. 130v] thither to carry on trade. In which place in time they may come to carry on trade with them, and they come hither to carry on trade; and there would be seen, Sir, business being transacted in this city from all parts, — from **Pacẽ** and Patane; and by means of the

10 A short cannon. 11 *Cf.* the Chinese saying quoted by Gaspar da Cruz (Purchas, *Pilg.* III. p. 173).
12 The Liukiu islanders. (Further on he repeats the information here given, in almost identical words.)

wood of Syam there will be formed here another *Casa da India*,[13] because this country has great want of this wood of **Syã**, which at present is worth much here. Other articles of merchandise can be dispensed with, but not this wood.[14]

Let these letters, Sir, be shown to the captains-major; let them not be kept secret, Sir: for if **Jorge Alvarez**[15] had shown the letters that he took to **Dom Estevão**,[16] and they had known about us, I am confident that we should not have remained here in this prison either dead or alive. Within two years either the governor would have sent, or from Malaca something would have been ordered by means of which we should have been rescued from here; because much service will be done to our lord the king in seeking for every means to deliver us, Sir, from here. Therefore, Sir, I trust that your honor, when these are delivered, will not wait for orders from Portugal from our lord the king to come to this country, but that your honor will settle it with the governor in India. For, however great the wishes that the king of this country has, our lord the king is not in error as to his having these wishes; only we are astonished that no force has come against this country for so many years back: we do not know the reason. So, Sir, in one way or another, with six ships, as will be seen by other letters, all can be accomplished, Sir, while engaged in our release.

In one way or another, by whichever, Sir, they shall come, as soon as they shall arrive at that port let the juribassos at once prepare letters regarding us: let them not order, Sir, to kill; asking for us very boldly, because they have come for that purpose; [f. 131] and that as there was reason for a great force to come so it had arrived in that port to ask for us very insistently. Because these mandarins are afraid of us, Sir, that we know the country, that is the reason why they do not release us and keep us in this prison, it being the strongest that there is in this city.

I am not able, Sir, to write more fully because my hand is painful with wounds that keep opening, and because of its not being further necessary, since Christovão Vieyra does not fail to describe everything else.

Done in this prison of the **Anchã**[17] in the tenth moon and on such a day of October.[18] Praying our Lord to guard you and to carry you in safety wherever your honor desires.

The servant of your honor,

VASCO CALVO.

This man, whom your honor should take as guide, is a respectable man. He was a man that had property, and was a long time a prisoner, but freed himself and was banished, and took an opportunity of going to Malaca. He is, Sir, a man worthy of honor's being done to him, and he is a capable man as regards this country. Let there be given him, Sir, sustenance in Malaca, and to the **juribasso** what are necessary.

Sir, — **This province of Cantão** will have under its rule in a circuit of two hundred leagues well built cities and towns and villages. The whole is built on the flat ground, placed beside rivers.

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13 The India House in Lisbon.

14 The orig. has thrice "*pão*" (bread) for *pao*. The wood referred to is that known under the names of *kalambak*, *agila*, eagle-wood, lign-aloes, *etc.* (See Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. vv.* 'Calambac' and 'Eagle-wood.') The Chinese used the wood for incense in their temples. (See Mendoza, Hak. Soc. ed., I. p. 58, who copies verbally from Gaspar da Cruz. In the translation of the latter in Purchas, however, at p. 196, the word *aguilla* of the original has been wrongly rendered "civet.")

15 See Introd. regarding this man.

16 D. Estevão da Gama, who, as mentioned in the Introduction, succeeded to the captaincy of Malacca on the death of his brother Paulo in 1534. He left Malacca for India at the beginning of 1539, and became governor of India in 1540. The writer's reference to letters sent by Jorge Alvares is puzzling: apparently he was ignorant of the fact that this man had died at Tamão in 1521.

17 This apparently represents Chinese *ngancha* (*sz'*); since it was in the prison of this official that the writers of these letters were confined. (See Christovão Vieyra's statement *supra*, f. 108v.)

18 The year is not given; but it was probably 1536, as the letter was finished in November 1536.

the houses adorned with woodwork. The province of **Foquem** is smaller, and has two cities less.[19] [f. 131v] It will have under its rule a circuit of one hundred and sixty leagues. It is a very fine thing, and the cities and towns are also situated after the manner of this Cantão.

These two pages in which are described these provinces must not be detached, because they accord with these things that are here about to be written down.

I, Sir, have **the book**[20] **of all fifteen provinces,** — how many cities each province has, and towns and other places, — all written at large, and the manners and customs that prevail in the whole country, and the government thereof, as of all else, and the cities, how they are situated, and other places, and also the profits of our lord the king. Being[21] a man, Sir, given to study, I know how to read and write the letters of the country ; for I am sick, and I see the Chinese and learn the letters.

This page of drawing,[22] Sir, is the province of Cantão, all of which shows the rivers, the cities, which are ten,[23] all given by name at the foot of this page, and a city that is called **Aynão,**[24] which when one comes to this port lies on the left hand. The whole is islands, as, Sir, you will see there, on the which islands is a populous city and three **cheos**[25] that are under the city, and ten towns, each of which towns is larger than the city of Evora and has ten times as many people ; and another town where are stationed captains of war like those that are in your guard. From these islands to this city of Cantão will be fifty or sixty leagues.

Because, Sir, there are fifteen[26] large cities and very large towns it is a rich affair with large revenues and with palm-groves and arecas. By reason of these arecas and palm-groves it is the best thing that there is in the country of China. Where also they fish for pearls : in no other part is there any, but only on these [f. 132] islands. The which islands, Sir, border on the south side on the **kingdom of Cauchim** ; and from this land of Cantão to go thither there is an arm of the sea, which with a fair wind may be crossed in one day, and with an adverse wind in a day and a half.

Wherefore, Sir, when a fortress has been built in this city, these cities will immediately rise, and the majority of the people will take to robbing and killing one and another, because there will be no one who governs them nor whom they have to obey, because the mandarins will either be killed or will flee, since the people are very poor, and are ill-treated by the mandarins that govern.

These islands and cities, Sir, have no means of help ; and when a fortress has been built in the principal city, with five hundred men stationed therein, and with much boatage to scour the arm of the sea with other five hundred men, they will become submissive to obey our lord the king ; because from the method of raising the revenues that they are accustomed to pay to the king, great riches on a large scale will be derived from these cities and these islands when the country has been settled, for the revenues are very large.

You must know, Sir, that it was more difficult to take Goa than it will be to take these cities and subject them, by reason of the people's being very weak to a large extent, and they have no loyalty towards king nor father or mother ; they go only with him who can do most. Which thing so good is in consequence waiting to be taken possession of. There is also great plenty of ginger : this province has much ginger very good, and cinnamon which is not very fine.

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[19] Galeotto Pereira says (Hakluyt, II., II. p. 68) that there were eight cities in Fûkien and seven in Kwangtung : whereas Gaspar da Cruz (cap. 5) attributes to the former ten and to the latter eleven cities ; while Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed. p. 23) makes the numbers thirty-three and thirty-seven.

[20] What happened to this book, it is impossible to say.

[21] The orig. has "*esta*," which I take to be a copyist's error for *estando*.

[22] This seems to have disappeared with the original letters.

[23] See footnote *supra*.

[24] The *island* of Hainan seems to be meant.

[25] Chin. *chau* = department or district. (*Cf.* Barros, *Dec.* III., II. vii.) The three *chaus* in question have already been mentioned by name.

[26] *Cf.* Christovão Vieyra's letter *supra*.

With which, Sir, I leave this subject of this Aynão, [f. 132v] and return to this city of Cantão, which is the capital of this province: that is to say, here reside the chief mandarins, all the acts of justice are dispatched here, and the revenues. Consequently it is a fine and populous city, and is a thing very suitable for the force of our lord the king to perform bold deeds therein. It is of the fashion of the city of Lisbon; and a galleon that entered this city would make it surrender, because it would place the city under its power, and not a man would appear when the artillery fired: not a man would appear, neither any that governed the people nor any of lower rank in the city.

A fleet having come with three thousand men, they should build a fortress in the city, holding it for our lord the king; the which fortress they should make where Christovão Vieyra writes, with a breastwork going towards the gate of the city, of three or four stories, which would dominate half the city. Within the city they should build a fortress on a mount where are some churches of the Chinese. The which fortress should be of the fashion of that of Calecu; it should control the wall that goes towards the north by a large tower that would play on that side, and the city would be entirely subjugated. In which place there are stone, wood and tiles enough to build two fortresses with the masons of the country, and servants like the sands on the sea-shore. There should be stationed in this fortress up to one hundred men, and the keys of the city must be given at night to the captain of this fortress; the gates that lead to the north and east and west should be closed, and the entrance should be on the side towards the river.

There must also be appointed porters, — at each gate a Portuguese and fifty men of the country who shall have charge of the gate. These people have a wage: every day two fanams should be paid to them, which will be according to the custom of the country. They will have to know who enters the city, and what he comes to do, and they must come for the keys in the morning to the fortress that is inside the city.

Above this city where two rivers are formed must be built a fortress made with high walls with much artillery and with two hundred [f. 133] men and boats; so that if any people should say that they would get to them by the river[27] they may have no way by which they can come to this city. For, Sir, it is more difficult to sustain Goa than it would be to sustain this province; and besides our lord the king's having great riches all the rest of the people will be rich, because the country affords room for all, by reason of the many offices that there have to be in the country.

Wherefore, Sir, at first it will be needful to have some of these large *paraos* of the country, which are sufficient for that purpose; and they must scour as many rivers as there are there, and burn as many boats as they shall find, and junks. If at present this were burnt and destroyed they would die of hunger, because they would have no means by which food could reach them; and if they had any way they would not dare to go by it, for the reason that there are robbers everywhere. In the whole world there will not be found a country of such wealth and so easy to bring under power as this, and not much power either; and if the power were great, how much more wealth would be obtained.

At first, Sir, they must be severely punished with artillery; for speaking of it now they put their finger in their mouth amazed at such a powerful thing, by reason of being a people that have no stomach, and from the time they are born until they die they take nothing in their hand but a knife without a point to cut their food, saving, Sir, the people that act as soldiers, who are employed in guarding with those captains the ports and rivers from robbers, and that they may not build large junks, so that the people may not rise and become robbers; because they live in great subjection, as Christovão Vieyra relates in these letters, in which, Sir, he has given a full account.

Wherefore, Sir, there will be created in this city another Casa da India, nothing being brought from Portugal, but there being taken hence a shipload of silver and gold for the purchase in India of cargoes for the ships for Portugal and for expenditure in India. There would go hence copper,

27 The orig. is here not quite intelligible.

[f. 133v] saltpetre, lead, alum, tow, cables, all iron work, nails, pitch; all these things are in such abundance, that it is astonishing.[28] Here could be built every fleet that would be required in India, — galleys, galleons, ships. There is much wood, carpenters of the country as plentiful as vermin, and also smiths, masons, tilers, and other workmen in amazing numbers: not a Portuguese need put his hand to stone or wood in the building of fortresses.

With all the pepper from Pacẽ, from Pedir, Patane and Banda[29] would be formed a large factory of riches here. When the country has settled down they should fix the pepper at fifteen or sixteen taels, and no one must trade in it but only our lord the king. And also, Sir, they should take all the articles of merchandise from Syão, such as wood,[30] and give them other articles; because the factory must be full of merchandise of the country and also the merchandise of those parts. A great amount of riches will be made; and it will not be necessary for the men of arms to trade in these goods, because the country is so large and of such great profits that if there were a hundred thousand men all would have a post, and by the custom of the country all these carry with them very large bribes and gifts.

From here, Sir, they would proceed to the province of Foquem, the which province has eight cities and seventy towns and villages of three thousand inhabitants.[31] I speak of only an affair of walls. If they go there with a southerly wind they can return when they wish, because there is always the monsoon, and they can enter the rivers. Wherefore, Sir, there should be ordered from here the captain-major with thirty sail, namely galleys, foists, and every rowing boat, and any galleon; and as tribute from these cities, towns and villages they would take galleys laden with riches. With six hundred men all this could be done.

Because, Sir, every city would pay by agreement forty to fifty [f. 134] thousand taels of silver, the towns twenty to thirty thousand taels, and they would take away goods and bring merchandise. They would pay this tribute in return for their not destroying the country and that the people may not rise throughout the province killing the mandarins and plundering the factories of the king which are all full of silver. For every city has a factory and a chief mandarin and other three who govern and have charge of justice; every town has a factory. It is a good thing this province; and if they ran along the coast with a southerly wind with pilots of the country they would sóon come to the province of Chaqueam, which has eleven cities and eighty towns.[32] It is a very rich province with many and large revenues, it has much silver and much silk. With six or seven hundred men they would bring away the fleet laden with silver, all tribute.

Off this coast of Foquem, Sir, lie the islands of the Lequeos three days' journey from Foquem. They are many, and are rich in much gold and copper and iron. They come every day to carry on trade in this country of Foquem. These people in the time of the king of Malaca used to go to Malaca to carry on trade, and now they go to Patane. These islands of the Lequeos are a good thing and also a big affair. They lie in the sea three days' journey from this Foquem. There is much gold and many articles of merchandise, and they come every day to carry on trade in this country. They were accustomed to go to Malaca in the time of the king of that country; now they go to Patane to carry on trade. They also use much pepper.

Martim Affonso de Mello, Sir, came rightly ordered to make peace and deliver us and build a fortress in such a place. They gave bad information to our lord the king, that all would be settled, because he brought an ambassador and came for the one that was here.[33] It was the misfortune of many that so great disorder should be caused as took place in thus sending two ships with young men,

28 *Cf.* Diogo Calvo's letter given in Introd.

29 The orig. reads apparently "*oanda*," which seems to be an error for *banda*.

30 Here again the orig. has "*pão*" for *pao*.

31 *Cf.* footnote *supra*. Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed. p. 23) credits Fûkien with 33 cities and 99 towns.

32 Gaspar da Cruz (chap. 5) credits Chehkiang with fourteen cities; while according to Mendoza (Hak. Soc. ed. p. 24) this province contained 35 cities and 95 towns.

33 I am not sure that I have correctly rendered the original, which is somewhat obscure.

who should never have come [f. 134v] on any account. By reason of which, Sir, each ship fired on its own account, when such a large number of junks came in disarray and proceeded to attack the ship of **Diogo de Mello** without his firing on them a single bombard shot or a man's drawing his sword from its sheath, saying in mockery that they should arm themselves against the Rûmîs.[34] **Pedro Homem** came to the help of Diogo de Mello, and proceeded to place himself among the junks without firing a bombard shot. The junks, Sir, were high, and they hurled showers of stones upon them, and killed Pedro Homem and Diogo de Mello in the ships, and other men; and the rest of the people they brought to this prison, afflicted as God knows. They remained thus for a year, at times beaten by this jailor who has charge of these prisons. The mandarins expected that other Portuguese would come; but when the monsoon passed they took them to be put to death, inflicting shameful punishments on them.[35]

The whole world, Sir, would not be enough to capture one of our ships, how much more two, if they showed them their teeth. My brother, Sir, remained in this port three months beset, having also to feed more than ten or twelve men, without their being able to gain an entrance to him, because he showed them his teeth; and he went away, as, Sir, you know there, his people remaining captives in this city and in my possession more than ten thousand taels. The whole was taken from me, whereby God saved me by reason of this property.

Wherefore, Sir, if the governor should allow this province to remain thus in so great prosperity without having any determination regarding the coming hither, there might well be ordered from Malaca and from Paçẽ five sail well armed and with merchandise to ask for us, there being made at the same time proposals after the tenor of those set forth in the letters of Christovão Vieyra, and there must be written three letters to the **çeuy**, the **pachençy** and the **anchaçy**, and to the **aitao**,[36] that our lord the king has sent them for that purpose for the ambassador and people who are in the prisons, who have been twenty[37] years [f. 135] in this country without either the king's or the mandarins' dispatching them; and that if they are not willing to give them up our lord the king will take another course. As soon as they arrive they must send for these mandarins that guard the port, and say that they have brought merchandise if they wish to trade in it, and will pay their dues as they did at first; and if they wish to come to this city they must destroy it entirely with artillery and set fire to them, that they may enter the houses on the river and those of wood both in the city and outside, without there being anyone to prevent it. There is no one there that will await the assault of the **Firingis**.

Always asking for us in all the letters that are written, and let it be the first matter, lest they strangle us, for they have great fear of our giving information of the country; because if they should cease for a little to ask for us they would at once strangle us, as they are afraid of us.

If it should happen, Sir, that it seem well to send an ambassador, taking no notice of what has happened in the country, the governor should recompense him. The mandarins would receive him with a present of camlets and velvets and large sails for equipping brigantines. They have deer and rabbits according to[38] what are found; including no birds in the present, because they do not care for that kind of thing;[39] but large mirrors, coral, sandalwood, and other things that seem good.

Let this, Sir, be observed if his captains would in this matter do service to our lord the king, and all the time carry on trade so long as the ambassador is going and coming. These letters are written in duplicate, so that if the one set is lost the others will remain.[40]

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[34] Turks. (See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* 'Room.') [35] See Christovão Vieyra's letter *supra*, f. 109.

[36] The orig. has "*asta o*," which I take to be a copyist's error for *aitao*. [37] A slight exaggeration.

[38] The orig. has "*seqdo*," which may be an error for *segdo* = *segundo*. The whole paragraph, however, is very confused.

[39] The Portuguese were accustomed to send falcons and other birds as presents to the Asiatic princes. In China, with its wealth of bird-life, such gifts would naturally be out of place.

[40] If both sets reached the hands of the Portuguese authorities it is strange that neither is now forthcoming.

[f. 135v] The custom of the country is for them to call their country the country of God, and every other people outside the country they call savages who know neither God nor country, and that every ambassador that comes to their country comes to yield obedience to the son of God;[41] and other absurdities, Sir, that would take a long time to read. I, Sir, as I have said, am much afflicted[42] in body with twinges and pains; and I am not afforded the opportunity of writing with one of our pens, but with a Chinese pen, not being able to write a more detailed letter. Christovão Vieyra has written with one of our pens, because he is in good health.

Done within this city of Cantão in the infernal[43] prisons the tenth day of November in the year 1536. Commending you to our Lord to carry you from this China, as your honors wish.

While, Sir, these were being written I was constantly on the watch lest some Chinaman should come and find us writing; for we are on our guard, Sir, even against our servants, because they are inclined more to the Chinese than to us.

With all the letters, Sir, that come to be written, there are so many letters, that no more space is spent on this; as you have much more, Sir, that is written, than man can ask for.[44]

Let all the letters large and small be preserved without any being torn or lost of those that shall go for that purpose.

VASCO CALVO.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF COLONEL COLIN MACKENZIE'S PANDIT OF HIS ROUTE FROM CALCUTTA TO GAYA IN 1820.

COLONEL COLIN MACKENZIE, whose antiquarian labours and researches in the Madras Presidency in the early years of the 19th century are so well known, was transferred to Bengal in 1819 as Surveyor-General, and took with him his Pandit, a Jaina of Southern India. In 1820 this Pandit performed a pilgrimage to Gayâ and Pârśwanâtha, and kept a Journal of his route which was, partly at least, translated into English and published in the *Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review* for 1823. As this work is now rare, and the notices of the Jaina monuments, written eighty years ago, by a member of the sect are of considerable interest, it may not be out of place to reproduce it entire, with the omission only of some of the translator's footnotes, which are hardly required now-a-days.

J. BURGESS.

November 23rd, 1820. — On the 12th day of my departure from Calcutta, in which time I had travelled by computation above 70 kos, I arrived at **Madhuvanam**,[1] a place of great sanctity in the estimation of the Jaina sect. It is said that in former times this place was called **Madhura vanam**, 'the elegant grove,' where various kinds of fruit and flower trees were preserved. South of **Madhuvanam** is a lofty hill, called **Sumedhaparvattam**, upon which are sculptured about twenty impressions of the feet of the Jaina Tîrthakaras, or divine sages of the Jainas, who obtained *Moksham* or salvation upon this hill. In consequence, great numbers of Jainas used to come to this hill, from distant countries, and paid their worship at the shrines of their saints.

In the course of time the hill was overgrown with wood, and the residences of the Tîrthakaras being no longer distinguishable, the pilgrimage was discontinued — at last a Jain king, named **Srenika Mahârâja**, cleared away the jangal, and discovered the places where the **Tîrthakaras** had resided, at

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[41] *Tien tsz'*, "Son of Heaven," is one of the titles commonly applied to and used by the emperor of China. The term "Celestial Empire" commonly applied to China by westerns is derived from *tien chau*, "heavenly dynasty." (See *Mid. King.* I. p. 5; Mendoza, Hak. Soc. ed. p. 76.)

[42] The orig. has "*cibado*," which seems to be an error for *crivado*.

[43] The Chinese prisons are still called "hells." (See *Mid. King.* I. p. 314; Mor., *Eng.-Chin. Dict.*, s. v. "Prison.")

[44] I am doubtful of the correctness of this rendering.

[1] Between Pachit and Pâlaganj. — T.

which he placed the twenty sculptured feet. In the centre of the hill also he built a **Jinâlayam**, or Jain temple, with the image of Pârśvanâtha Tirthakara: on the north of the hill, near the foot, he erected two other **Jinâlayams**, one dedicated to **Chandraprabha Tîrthakara** and another to **Pârśvanâtha Tîrthakara**; and finally he constructed a **Dharmaśâla**, or Chaultri, close to the temples, for the accommodation of travellers. **Sreṇika** ruled at **Râjagiri**, and during his reign, the hill Sumedha-Parvata attracted an immense number of Jain pilgrims.

After the race of **Sreṇika**, Mahârâja had ruled for some time, the Bauddhas[2] increased and took possession of the country, and obstructed the Jain travellers. Their fall was succeeded by a state of anarchy, in which the petty chiefs of the country compelled the pilgrims to pay a heavy toll. When the principal temple was destroyed by the Bauddhas, the image of **Pârśvanâth** was carried off my a Zamindár, who kept it in his house, and subsequently showed it to the pilgrims at a fixed rate. This practice still continues. When the Jains assemble in considerable number, and the sum demanded is paid in money or goods, the image is sent abroad to the place where the travellers halt, and set up under a guard for the worship of the Jainas who have collected: the image being erected is worshipped by the people, and various offerings are presented of greater or less value — the whole of which is appropriated by the Zamindâr and when the ceremony is concluded, the image is restored to his charge.

There are two sects of the Jaina religion, one called **Digambara**, the other **Swetâmbara**: the images of the **Digambaras** are plain and naked, but those of the **Swetâmbaras** are richly ornamented.

In the year of the Vikrama-śakam 1825 (A. D. 1769) there was a rich merchant of the **Swetâmbara** sect at the city of **Murshidâbâd**, and going to **Mâdhuvanam**, he perceived that the feet of the **Tîrthakaras** or gods, upon the hill of **Sumedha Parvattam** were nearly obliterated: having no family, he applied his wealth to the service of religion, and he renewed the *Padams* or feet, in an elegant style, building over each a small *maṇṭapam* or shrine, with four pillars; and a *śikhara* or peak. On the centre of the hill he built a *Jinâlayam* or Jain temple, where he placed the 24 images of the Jain Tîrthakaras. The temple was surmounted by four pinacles, and enclosed by a wall; and since that period, **Jagat Seṭh** and other Swetâmbaras of Makhsudâbâd, have contributed to maintain a Gauḍa Brâhman at Mâdhuvanam, to perform the ceremonials of their faith: and a *Naubat-khâna*, or band of drums and trumpets, to sound twice a day at the hours of worship. In like manner the **Digambara** Jainas, who were at **Murshidâbâd**, entered into a subscription, and erected another temple of their own, close to the temple of the **Swetâmbaras**, in which they placed about 100 small marble images of the Digambara gods, with the establishment of the *Naubat* and a priest of their own caste to attend and perform the proper rites; they built also a *Dharmaśâla* or Chaultri, for the use of travellers. — The said Digambaras established another temple upon the hill of Sumedha Parvattam, in which they placed 33 marble images of the **Jinas**; among them, three are very large. On the north of the hill is an unfinished temple. It is said that in the year S. S. 1686 (A. D. 1762) a priest of the Jainas named **Kolapus Lakshmi Senâchârya** arrived at this place, and built a *Garbhâlayam*, or inner part of the temple, in which he established an image of **Pârśvanâtha**: but his funds failing, he determined to revisit his home, to collect a supply: he accordingly went to his country, but dying there, the work remains unfinished.

There are two divisions of the sect of **Digambaras**: one is called **Viśpanthî**, and the other **Therâpanthî**.[2a] The pilgrims of the Viśpanhtî sect worship with flowers and fruits, and offer different kinds of sweetmeats; but those of the Therâpanthî division present no flowers nor fruits. They offer sacred rice called *akshata*, sandal, cloves, nutmeg, dates, mace, plums, almonds, dry cocoanuts, and sweetmeats, *etc*. These things they place before the images, after which, standing before the temple, they leap and dance to their own songs, the *naubatkhána* resounding all the time, and passages of their sacred volumes being read by a priest. When they advance to present their

[2] By these, however, the writer intends evidently the Muhammadans. — T.
[2a] *Cf. Ante*, Vol. VII p. 28.

offerings, they tie a cloth over their mouths, so as not to allow the breath to escape: the ceremonial is the same in most respects for the Digambaras and Śwetâmbaras.

Half way up the hill of **Sumedha Parvatam** is a pond, called **Sîtâkuṇḍ**, on the bank of which is a small temple, with a stone ball that is called *Sîtâ-mâ*; all travellers, as they pass, worship this goddess with *chandanam* or red powder, and offer fruits, sweetmeats, betel and areka nuts: they then bathe in the pool, and thence proceed to the upper part of the hill to visit the feet of the **Tîrthakaras**. From Sîtâ-kuṇḍ flows a spring, which forms a small stream that passes by the east side of the Jain temples. The Digambaras have erected a bridge over it to their temple. On **Sumedha-parvat** grow numerous teak trees of great size; the thicket is tenanted by several kinds of animals, wild hogs, bears, tigers, and porcupines: but it is said that the beasts of prey never appear to any travellers, the latter being protected by the Jaina gods. The breadth of the hill is three *gaus*; it takes three days for travellers to go round the hill: the pilgrims usually halt some time at Mâdhuvanam.

The Zamindâr of this place lives in a mud fort at the village called Pâlaganj, three kos from Mâdhuvanam; he is of the race of the sun and Râjput caste: his name is Suprasiṅh; one of his cousins, Muttasiṅh, resides at the village of Katârasi, five kos east of **Mâdhuvanam**; another cousin named Pṛithvisiṅh, lives at the village called **Jarayâ**; and another a female cousin called Daśamanî Râṇî, lives at a village called **Navagarh**, southward of Mâdhuvanam six kos; she has no husband nor children, the other three have families. Of the money received from the pilgrims, half goes to the chief at Pâlaganj, and the other half is divided equally amongst his three cousins.[3]

The most numerous resort of pilgrims is in the month of Mâgh, or January, at the full moon when the *Vasanta Yâtra* is held at Mâdhuvanam. Jain Sanyâsis or pilgrims, who come in the month of Âshâḍha or June, remain for four months according to the *Śâstras*.

The names of the twenty *Padams* or feet of the Jaina gods, which are placed on the hill of Sumedha-parvatam, are the following:—(1) Ajita Tîrthakara Padam; (2) Sambhava; (3) Abhinandana; (4) Sumati; (5) Padmaprabha; (6) Supârśva; (7) Chandraprabha; (8) Pushpadanta; (9) Sitala; (10) Śreyâṁśa; (11) Vimala; (12) Ananta; (13) Dharma; (14) Śânti; (15) Kunthu; (16) Ara; (17) Malli; (18) Munisuvrata; (19) Nemi; and (20) Pârśwanâth Tîrthakara Padam.

The people of the place call it **Pârśwanâth Kshetram**, and give the name Śekharajaya to the hill. At the annual meeting, the people of the Zamindârs establish Thânas, and attend armed with swords and muskets. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages bring firewood, grass, milk, rice, ghî, pepper, *etc.*, and a number of *dholis* to carry old people, women and children up the hill. Along with the travellers, who ascend the hill, proceed a number of beggars, blowing their *bankas* or horns, round instruments made of brass; to these mendicants the pilgrims, when they perform their worship, give alms.

It should have been mentioned that, at the beginning of the ascent, is a small shrine with two images where worship is first paid; and that a little way higher up is a **Swetâmbara** temple dedicated to the **Kshetrapâla** or guardian of the place. From the 24th January to 1st February, I passed my time with some Jain travellers who had come from Dehli to the pilgrimage of Mâdhuvanam. They came with 20 camels, 40 hackaries, 15 horses, and with 50 peons. Most of the above was gathered from an old pilgrim of the party of this Śwetâmbara caste, who was well acquainted with the history of the Jaina religion.

February 2nd. — I had resided at **Pâlaganj**, a village about three kos from **Mâdhuvanam** until this date, in order to observe what was going forward there with more attention. On this day I departed, and proceeded through the jangal of **Jharkhand** to **Vaidyanâth**, which I reached on the fourth day, it being about 20 kos from Mâdhuvanam.

[3] In 1827 the division seems to have been Pâlganj 8 annas, Jarayâ 3¼ annas, Navagarh 2¼, and Katarâs 2 annas.— *Quart. Orient. Mag.* Vol VIII. p. 101. See *Note* at the end of this paper. — J. B.

Vaidyanâth is also a holy place. In the centre of the village is the temple of **Vaidyanâth Swâmi**,[4] with a *Prakâram* or wall round it, in front of which is another temple of the goddess Pârvatî. On the tops of these two temples are erected the *Sikharams* or spires on which are placed gold or gilt vases. When I arrived there was performed the ceremony of **Sivarâtri**, a festival of Siva, when white turbans are bound over the gold vases of the temples. During that ceremony thousands of travellers bring carboys, containing water from the Gaṅgâ river, procured at **Gaṅgautri, Haridwâr, Prayâga, Uttarabahini**, and **Gaṅgâsâgar**. With this they make the *abhishekam* or aspersion of the god, the Vaidyanâth Liṅgam, and worship him with sandal and flowers, *etc.* Any person who brings the water from each of these five places, and presents them for three years to the god **Vaidyanâth Swâmi**, will undoubtedly obtain his desires. It is said that the pilgrims bring every year one lakh of carboys and present them. North of the temple of Vaidyanâth Swâmi is a temple called **Sitâ Râmaswâmi**, in which are placed five images called **Bhârata, Satrughna, Râma, Lakshmaṇa**, and **Sitâ**. On the north of this is the temple of the goddess **Chandî** or **Kâlî**, where sheep and goats are offered in sacrifice. On the south side of the temple of Vaidyanâth Swâmî, is the temple of **Bhairava Lâla** in which is an image: all the travellers as they pass exclaim 'Bhûm Vaidyanâth' or 'Bhairavalâljî.' This last resembles a Bauddha image, sitting in the posture called *Padmâsanam*. The statue is of the height of 4 cubits, and wears a *yogapatta* (*Yajñaparita*) or cloth bound across the breast. The people say that this image is the *khazânchî* or treasurer of the god Vaidyanâth-Swâmî. On the north of the village is a large tank.

February 10th. — Arrived at **Bhâgalpur**, having left **Vaidyanâth** on the 7th.

Bhâgalpur is a large town, where the Collector and Judge reside. In the city is a Jain temple in which is placed a *Padam*, or the sculptured feet of the god **Vâsupûjya Tîrthakara**, who obtained *moksham* or salvation, at this place. It is said that this temple was established formerly by the king **Sreṇika Mahârâja**, and in front of that temple stood two pillars or turrets[5] built with *chunâm* and bricks, of the height of two cocoanut trees. It is said that about four centuries ago there was a merchant, named **Mânikya Chand**, of the Jaina sect, who dwelt at this city: he built four pillars of the same size at this place, and laid a terrace upon them, standing upon which every morning after he rose he could see the hill of Sumedha-parvat, and so visit the temples of that sacred place. Of the four pillars two have disappeared entirely. The other two are still in good condition, in front of the feet of **Vâsupûjya Tîrthakara**. At the bottom of the pillar on the left-hand is a *bil* or hole, into which it seems a man can pass: the Jain pilgrims, after worshipping the sculptured feet of Vâsupûjya proceed to the mouth of that hole, and cast into it cocoanuts, cardamoms, nutmegs, and sweetmeats, *etc.* It is said that there are many Jain images in that cavity, and that all the ancient sages were accustomed formerly to go into the cavern to visit those images. On the east and north of the temple of **Vâsupûjya** are two tanks, and between them is a mango grove, where the pilgrims encamp.[6]

February 15th. — From Bhâgalpur I went to Champâpur, one kos, on the bank of the river Gaṅgâ.[7] There are two temples of the Jainas, one of which was dedicated to **Vâsupûjya**; the other temple belongs to the Swetâmbaras. It is said that, sixty years ago, the Swetâmbaras of Murshid-

[4] A form of Śiva, one of the twelve great Lingams. See Hamilton, Vol. I. p, 160; but the best account of it is given by Col. Francklin in the appendix to the second part of his *Enquiry into the Site of Palibothra*. It is to be regretted that he should have so metamorphosed names — thus 'Vaidyanâth' is with him 'Bijoonath,' *etc.* — T. The twelve great Lingams are Mállikârjuna at Śrîsailam, Mâhâkâla at Ujjain, Omkâra on the Narmadâ, Amaresvara near Ujjain, Somanâtha in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, Râmeśvara on the island in Palk's Strait, Trayambaka near Nâsik, Bhimaśankara probably at Drâcharam, Vaidyanâtha in Bengal, Kedaresa on the Himâlaya, Visveśvara at Banâras, and Gautameśa unknown. — J. B.

[5] The turrets of Bhâgalpur are delineated in Lord Valentia's *Travels*, and in the first part of Col. Francklin's *Palibothra*. — T.

[6] *Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*, Vol. I. (June 1823), pp. 770-775.

[7] Champâ or Champâpur is called by the author of the *Daśa-Kumâra* the capital of Anga. It is also frequently mentioned in the *Vrihat-Kathâ* and *Mahâvîra Charitra*, works of the 12th and 13th centuries. — T.

âbâd made a subscription and built the said temple, in which they placed some of their Swetâmbara images; and also, close to the temple, they built a *Dharmaśâla* or charitable chaultri for the use of the travellers, since which many of the Swetâmbaras come annually to this place to visit their gods.

February 18th. — Left Châmpapur and proceeded to Uttarabahini where the river Gangâ runs from east to north. In the middle of the river is a rock, on which is a temple of Îswar.[8] At the festivals of Siva, many travellers come to this shore, fill their carboys with the water of the river, and carry them to Vaidyanâth.

19th. — I set out from Uattaribahini, and arrived at Mongir. Ten kos east of this is a small hill, at the bottom of which are five *Kuṇḍas* (or pools) called **Râmakuṇḍ, Lakshmanakuṇḍ, Bharatkuṇḍ, Satrughnakuṇḍ,** and **Sitâkuṇḍ.** These *Kuṇds* are enclosed with masonry: the length and breadth of each is 12 feet. The old people of the place say, that in ancient times, when **Râma, Lakshmana, Bharata, Satrughna,** and **Sitâ** the consort of **Râma,** were travelling to the forests, they arrived here, and formed the five wells for their ablutions, whence the *Kuṇds* go by their names. Amongst these five kunds, the water of **Sitâkuṇḍ** is very hot: if any person touch the water, his hands will be scalded.[9] The **Râmakuṇḍ** water is very cold. The water of the three other *Kuṇḍas*, or of **Lakshmaṇa, Bharata,** and **Satrughna,** is of moderate temperature. The pilgrims, who go to Vaidyanâth come to this place to bathe, and give alms to the **Pandas,** or proprietors. There are sixty of these Pandas. Early in the morning, these people issue forth on all sides and look out for all travellers and pilgrims, whom they conduct to the *Kuṇḍas* and receive money for their trouble.

February 28th. — From Mongir I proceeded by **Sûraj Garh, Balgudar Shaikhapur, Kakandi,** and **Jamuna,** to the city of **Bihar.** On approaching the city, I found some stone Bauddha images at all the neighbouring villages, but the people of this place call them by the names of **Mahâdeva** and others, being ignorant of what they are. There are about twenty houses of Swetâmbaras in this city, and two Jaina temples, one of the Digambara, and the other of the Śwetâmbara sect. In the temple of the Digambaras there are placed seven copper images and one of stone; and in the temple of the Swetâmbaras are five stone images and fifty of copper and brass. Bihar is chiefly inhabited by Musalmans; and there are forty Dargâhs, and twelve Masjids. The Nawâb, whose name is Miyah, lives here; he has a Jâgîr of about five thousand Rupees a year; and has one naubatkhâna before his palace, four elephants, twelve horses, and one hundred servants. It is said, that in former times this city was called Viśâkhapur. When the Jain king, **Siddharti Râja** ruled **Kshettrikuṇḍ,** there was another king, called **Viśâkha** Râja, of the race of **Ugravaṁśa,** who arrived at this place, and established a city, which he called by his name **Viśâkhapur:** he resided here, and ruled the vicinity. At that time, **Sreṇika** Mahârâja reigned at his capital of **Râjagiri;** and these three kings were all related by marriage and were all on friendly terms. After the death of **Viśâkha Râja,** his son, named Pârśwa-sena, quitted dominion, and adopted the *Diksha*, or profession of an ascetic. At the same period, **Vardhamâṇa Swâmi,** the son of **Siddhârtha** Râja, adopted also a holy life, and performed his devotion on the banks of the river called **Surjaka-Nadi,** south of the hill of **Sumedha-Parvata.** After twelve years of austerity he became a Mahâjñyânî or wise man; and the **Devendra** [Indra], the lord of the deities, appeared to him, and worshipped him.

When **Pârśwasena,** who had been performing his penances at **Viśâkhapur,** was informed of **Vardhamâṇa Swami's** having obtained the divine rank of *Tîrthakara*, he was highly mortified and enraged; but being helpless, he restricted the object of his devotions to the rank of *Gaṇadhara*, the second rank under the *Tîrthakara*. In this the deities were not disposed to place him, as he was a man of great ignorance. **Devendra,** therefore, assumed the shape of an old Brâhmaṇ, and wrote

[8] This is better known as the Faqîr's rock of Sultânganj or Jangira. The temple on the summit is dedicated to Śiva, and a sort of college of Daanâmi Gosains is attached to it. They have been there for thirteen successions of Pontiffs or *Mahants* . . . . a number of figures and sculptures have been cut on the granite blocks, which form this rocky elevation. They are chiefly Śaiva, though some are Vaishṇava, and a few Jain. — T.

[9] The hot water of Sitâkuṇḍ, on one occasion, raised the mercury to 130°, whilst the temperature of the air was 76°.

a difficult verse on a palm leaf, which he took in his hand, and traversed the earth, intending to confer the dignity of *Gaṇadhara* on any one, who should expound the stanza. At that time there was a Saiva Brâhmaṇ named **Gautama** at the village of Gautamapur, who taught the *śâstras* to about 500 disciples. **Devendra** showed him the verse, and he was equally unable with the rest to explain its sense; but this he would not admit, and contented himself with saying, that he would not expound the stanza to the person who brought it but would readily do it to his master. **Devendra** challenged him to visit his master, who was, he said, but a little way remote.

Gautama, unable to retract, followed him full of shame and fury: his scholars accompanied him Devendra took them to **Vardhamâṇa Swâmi,** in whose presence **Gautama** and his pupils became sensible of their ignorance and error, and were accordingly enrolled amongst his disciples. **Gautama,** who was a man of learning and wisdom was made *Gaṇadhara* by **Vardhamâṇa** himself, and consequently is the chief of the *Gaṇadharas.* **Pârśwasena** thus again disappointed, prayed next to have a heaven of his own; and the deities, compelled to obey him, at least in appearance, created one for him which was purely illusory. **Devendra** soon put a term to this with his thunderbolt; and **Pârśwasena** was hurled to the earth, more humbled and enraged than ever. He therefore determined to attempt the downfall of the Jaina religion; and, with this view, he composed the *Mula Sástra,* the doctrines of which are, in fact, those of the Musalmans, to which **Pârśwasena** was converted, and laboured to convert others. Besides the *Mula Sástra,* he composed, it is said, the Parsi *Nighantu* and the *Maskheri Purâṇa.*

March 4th. — Left the city of Subah Bihar, and thence proceeded to **Bahad,** four kos. In the centre of the village are two temples of the Jainas, in which are placed fifteen images of copper, and a stone image and also the sculptured feet of **Gautama Swâmi.** On the west side of the village is a mango garden in which I found a large Bauddha image, in the *Padmâsana* posture. There are fifteen houses of Jainas in this village.

5th. — Leaving the village **Bahad** I went to **Pâvâpuri,** nine kos. South of the village is a large tank in which is a temple with a double wall. On the peaks of the temple is placed a gilt vase, and inside are two small feet of stone. It is said that these were made by the feet of **Vardhamâṇa Swâmi,** who obtained salvation at this place. A bridge across the tank leads to the temple; and on the west of the tank is erected a circular platform, forty cubits in circumference, upon which are also sculptured the feet of **Vardhamâṇa Swâmi.** Besides these remains, there is a flower garden in the village, in the centre of which is an open building called the **Navaratna Maṇṭapa.** On three sides of this Maṇtapa are erected three Śâlas or Halls; each hall can accommodate about fifty persons. North of the garden is another in which is found a *Vimâna,* or octangular car, built with chunam and bricks, of the height of a tall cocoanut tree. It is formed in three stories; the middle story is a pavilion with four pillars, where are placed two feet of **Vardhamâṇa Swâmi,** upon a seat behind which is a Jaina image of marble; and in front of which are three images of bellmetal. On the four sides of the *Vimâna* are built five *Sálas* or halls: around it are planted several kinds of flowers and fruit trees as plantains, limes, oranges, *etc.* A Swetâmbara Sanyasi resides in the garden, and performs the worship of the feet and images. Travellers who go on pilgrimage to **Sumedha Parvata** come to this village on their route and worship here. In the vicinity of this village, and in the country henceforward, the poppy is extensively cultivated. Southeast of **Pâvâpuri,** five kos, is the village **Gohun,** which, it is said, was in former times called **Gautamapur,** from **Gautama** being born there.

7th. — From **Pâvâpuri** I went to **Râjâgiri,** six kos, west of which is a small fort, built by the Moguls, but now in ruins. Southward of that is a lofty mound, where stood, it is said, an old fort built by **Sreṇika** Mahârâja; the length and breadth of the mound are one mile, and the ruins and ditch may be still distinctly traced. North from hence about a mile are twelve **Kuṇḍas** or water pools, amidst which runs a river called the Saraswati. Five pools are on the east side of the river, and seven on the west: amongst them is a pool called **Brahmakuṇḍ,** the water of which is very hot; and

southwest of that, is another pool, the length of which, from south to north, is thirty feet, and the breadth ten feet, enclosed and banked with stones. On the western bank of this are constructed five conduits, which bring the water from the adjoining hill into the reservoir: the water that descends is so hot that the hand cannot be immersed in it. Another hill, called **Vaibhâra,** proceeds from that already noticed, running two miles west: on the range are two Jaina temples. It is said, that in former times **Gautama Swâmi** obtained the rank of *Gaṇadhara* upon the said **Vaibhâra-parvat,** in consequence of which the temple and image of him were here erected. To the west is the hill called **Vipulagiri**; it is two miles in length from east to west. After travelling amongst these hills some way, I came to an open place, strewed with the ruins of a city for about four miles, from south to north, and two miles from east to west; on the four cardinal points of this ruined city are four hills. On the east is the hill of **Udayâchala,** where formerly stood twenty-four temples of the Jaina Tîrthakaras: of these the temple of **Pârśwanâth** is the only one remaining. It contains a large image still worshipped. The hill on the south of the city is called **Mânikyagiri,** upon which is situated a Jaina temple. On the west of the open place is the hill Suvarnagiri, on which is another Jaina temple; and on the north side is the hill **Vipulagiri.** It was amidst these four hills that **Sreṇika Mahârâja** founded his capital, giving it the name of **Râjagṛiha,** or **Giripur,** subsequently modified as **Râjâgiri.** The temples of the Jains which are on the above hill were erected in his reign; and the wall of the city may be traced amidst the ruins. Among these hills, at some distance at the foot of the hill of **Suvarnagiri,** is a mound of singular appearance. It is said that in the government of **Sreṇika** Mahârâja, his *khazânchî* or treasurer, named Sâgaradatta, had a son named **Sâlabhadra,** who was the incarnation of a celestial spirit. The father, therefore, built a lofty house at this place, consisting of seven stories and ornamented with the most costly materials, in the upper floor of which his son was reared. **Sâlabhadra** never left this place during his life, and was here attended by the spirits of heaven. A temple is now built on the ruins of the palace, in which stands the image of the boy **Sâlabhadra.** It is said that there is a book called the *Sâlabhadra Charitra,* in which his life is recorded. On the declivity of the hill **Suvarnagiri** is an excavated temple, cut in the hill, with agate: the length of it is forty feet, the breadth fifteen feet; and inside of it are placed a Jaina image and a stone couch. The people say that in the time of **Sreṇika** Mahârâja, the royal treasure was left in this cave. At present it is occupied by a Bairagi. Between the hills **Udayâchala** and **Mânikyagiri** is a pool of water cut in the rock, the length of which is four fathoms, and breadth two. It is about six feet deep and is called **Bânatîrtha.** When **Râma** was travelling in the forests, his wife **Sîtâ** suffered here much from thirst; in consequence of which Râma took his *bâṇa* or arrow, and rent open the hill, from which the water immediately flowed, and has ever since continued to exude.

Two kos from **Bânatîrtha** is a jungle called **Tapovana** (or grove of devotion) where the Ṛishis performed their penances. They then established three Kuṇḍas or pools of water, called by their names **Agastya, Vasishṭha,** and **Valmika Kuṇḍas.** In the month of May, pilgrims come to these pools, hear the *Sthalapurâṇam,* or local legend, read, bathe, and give alms according to their means. In the *Sthalapuraṇam,* it is mentioned that there were eighteen pools in the **Tapovana.** In the present village of **Râjâgiri** is built a Jaina temple, within which are ten images of marble.

After the death of **Sreṇika Mahârâja,** his son **Kunika** was raised to the throne, and ruled the country for eighty years according to the laws of his father. His son **Abhayakumâra** received *Diksha* or became a pilgrim and ascetic.

His son **Abhayaghosha** succeeded to the throne; but being a minor, he was unable to protect his dominions and the native chiefs rendered themselves independent.

After some time, the **Bauddhas** overran **Magadha-deśa,** and destroyed all the temples of the Jainas.

Lately, or about thirty years ago, some Jain travellers from **Dehli** arrived at **Râjagiri**; and perceiving the ruins of the Jaina temples, they were induced to repair some of them; since that, the

Swetâmbaras residing at **Paṭṭaṇa** (Patna) have made a subscription, and repaired many of the ruined temples at **Râjagiri** and **Pâvâpuri**. At present there are sixty houses of Brâhmaṇs at **Râjagiri**, who perform the worship of all the Jaina temples and receive presents from the Jains travellers who come to this place. Those Brâhmaṇs are not originally of this country. They say, that about 300 years ago, when a prince named **Chatra Siṅha** reigned at **Râjagiri**, no Brâhmaṇs were to be found here. The prince sent, therefore, to the Marâṭha country, and, having invited about 120 families of the Brâhmaṇs to his capital, granted them lands and establishments. Since that period, their descendants have resided here, and have performed the daily worship of all the temples.

11th. — Leaving **Râjagiri**, I went to the city of **Gayâ**, where I arrived on the 12th. This is a very holy place in the estimation of the Hindus. In the centre of the city is a large temple, where the **Vishṇu-pâda**, or feet of the god **Vishṇu**, are sculptured, the soles being carved to represent the *Śaṅkha* (or shell), *Chakra* (or discus), *Dhwaja* (or flag), *Ankuśa* (or elephant hook), *Gada* (mace), *Padma* (or lotus). The feet are placed on the north face of the temple. It is said by the old Gayâwâla Brâhmaṇs that about forty years ago, the **Râṇî of Khandu Râo Holkar, Ahalyâ Bâî,** visited **Gayâ**, and erected a large temple to the **Vishṇu-pada**. The length of the temple is twenty yards and the breadth twenty feet: on the top is placed a gilt vase. The temple has two gates, one on the east, which is the public gate, and one on the north, made with copper plates. In the front of the temple, she erected a pavilion with sixteen pillars, where a large bell is suspended, which is struck by the worshippers before they enter the temple. In the vicinity, on the side of the hill, in a pavilion, where eighteen places are levelled out of the rock, at which the *Pindas* are offered. The *Pinda* is a ball made up with rice, flour, and milk, of the size of a lime. Eighteen of these are severally presented at each altar, along with sandal, flowers, sacred rice, and *Tîla*, or oil seeds. These *Pindas* are offered for the sake of the souls of their ancestors. South of this maṇṭapam is built a hall for the accommodation of the pilgrims.[10]

East of the temple of **Vishṇu-pada** is the **Maṭh**, or convent of the ascetic **Satya Dharma** who is a priest of the **Vaishṇavas**. Here are an image of **Hanuman**, and a *Dharmaśâla*, or hall for the use of travellers.

North of the temple of **Vishṇu-pada** is erected a stone pavilion with twenty pillars. The travellers who come to place the *Pindas* on the feet of **Vishṇu**, dress the food at this pavilion.

East of this is a *Garuḍa-śâla* or *gymnasium*, where the Gayâwâlas exhibit athletic feats. North of it is the temple of **Gadadhara**, in which is placed an idol of Gadadhara: the right hand of the image holds the weapon called the *gada* or mace. East of this temple is the river **Phâlgu**, to which a Ghâṭ or flight of stone steps, descends, embellished by a stone pavilion on each side.

West of the temple of **Gadadhara** is a ruined maṇṭapam, in which is an image of **Bhairava**. North of that is a marble image of the Râṇî **Ahalyâbaî**, in the shape of an old woman holding a *japa-mâlâ*, or string of beads in her right hand. On the left side of the image is the image of the goddess **Lakshmî**. Close to this is another temple with the image of the goddess **Kâlî**.

On the north of the temple of **Gadadhara** is a Bairagî's convent, in which is built a small temple with a *liṅgam*. This establishment consists of a superior, and about ten *śishyas* or disciples.

South of the **Gadadhara** temple, are placed three images called **Mâdhusudana, Gaṇapatî,** and **Sûrya Nârâyaṇa**. These are in three rooms separately: east of which is the convent of the followers of **Sankarâchârya**, a renowned priest of the Hindus in former times.

The river **Phâlgu** runs also to the north of the **Gadadhara** temple; and between the river and that temple is another Ghâṭ or stairs, upon which is a large pavilion for the use of the travelling **Bairâgis**.

[10] *Or. Mag.* Vol. II. pp 68-73.

North-east of the same temple, at some distance, is a holy tank, called **Sûrya Kuṇḍa**, enclosed with a wall. Pilgrims bathe and offer *pindas* at this pool.

Eastward of **Gayâ** is the river **Phâlgu**. It is said that when the five **Pândavas** were travelling to the woods, they arrived at this holy place to visit the feet of **Vishṇu**, when the third person of them, named **Phâlguṇa** (Arjuna) gave his name to the river.

There are two public gates to this city, one on the south, and another on the north : on the west is a ditch. The length of the city is about three miles, and the breadth is one mile ; it is built on an irregular and rocky base, so that all the houses of the city are not on a level. Fromerly there were about 700 houses of the **Gayâwâlâ Brâhmaṇs**, but at present there are not above 300 houses. **Gayâ** is a celebrated and holy place for all the tribes of Hindus ; in consequence of which, many lakhs of travellers come hither from several dominions. The Gayâwâlâs employ agents to conduct the pilgrims, sending persons off about ten or twelve kos distance to meet and bring them in.

West of Gayâ two kos, is a hill called **Râma Sila** upon which is a maṇṭapam, in which are the feet of **Brahmâ**, and close to it two images. East of the maṇṭapam are placed five images at the foot of a *Ravai* tree, where the pilgrims offer cakes.

South-east of the said maṇṭapam is a square stone, upon which are sculptured feet with the marks of the *Kurma* (or tortoise), *Padma* (or lotus), *Matsya* (or fish), *Saṅkha* (or shell) : close to these are broken images. The people say all these marks belong to the god **Râma**. In the lower part of the hill is a pond of water, called **Brahmâ Kuṇḍa** : all the pilgrims bathe in this pond before ascending the hill.

North-east of **Râma Sila** is a hill called **Preta Sila**, on which is placed a Lingam : in front of the Lingam are some broken images, where the travellers perform their funeral ceremonies, and give the *Pinda*. At the bottom of the hill is a pool of water, the banks of which are built with stone and chumam, and surrounded by a wall: it is skirted by a flowergarden. Some time ago, a person named Lâla, who was the Diwân of the Nawâb of Lakhnau, arrived at this place, and constructed this tank, where travellers usually bathe. South of this hill is another square tank called **Uttaramanasa Kuṇḍa**, or **Pañcha Tirtha** ; the breadth of the square is fifty feet ; stairs lead down to it ; and on its bank is built a temple of Mahâdeva. In front is a pavilion, in which are placed the following images of stone : — (1st) Sîtâ-devî, (2nd) Sûryottarini, (3rd) Aśadevî, (4th) Chitrak Mayi, (5th) Gaurî-Saṅkar, (6th) Durgâ, (7th) Vighneśwara, (8th) Pârvatî, (9th) Kuvera.

Besides these, there are five images called **Chandrama** and one *Lingam*. All pilgrims perform the funeral ceremonies, and give the cakes, in front of these images, at the foot of an **Aśvattha tree**.

East of **Gayâ**, at some distance, is a hill called **Sîtâ Kuṇḍa** : on the descent of the hills is a maṇṭapam, with images of **Râmachandra, Sîtâ**, and the **Lingam**. All the pilgrims perform their funeral ceremonies, and offer the *Pindas* before this Lingam. On the wall of that maṇṭapam are carved nine images, one of **Yama**, and eight of the goddess **Gaurî** or **Pârvatî**. Fronting the image of **Râmachandra** is the place of **Brahmastân**, where are the feet of **Brahma**. About two kos from the hill **Sîtâ Kuṇḍa**, on the river **Phâlgu**, is situated a temple, in which is placed the idol of the goddess **Saraswatî**, where the **pilgrims** offer *Pindas*. South-west of the temple of **Saraswatî** is a ruined city of the **Bauddhas**, with the remains of an ancient fort. It is said, that in former times, when the **Bauddhas** had possession of the country, they destroyed the old city of **Gayâ**, and established another city called **Bauddha Gayâ**, of which these are the vestiges ; they erected here a large **Bauddhâlayam** or temple of **Buddha**, with nine storeys, making the height of the temple 108 feet. The gate of the lower storey was five yards high, and eight yards broad, so that a man could pass, riding on an elephant. Much of this temple is still standing. Inside is a seat of two yards broad, upon which rises a smaller one, and upon that sits a Bauddha image of the natural stature. The people say, that there was another stone image of **Buddha**, which has been carried away by the **Bairâgis** of this place, who keep it in their convent. On the second storey of the temple are three round platforms, upon one of which grows a large **Aśvattha** tree : at its foot are four images of

stone called **Brahma, Râmachandra, Gaurîśankar.** and **Gaṇeśa,** Travellers offer ***Pindas*** here; and on every Saturday the women of the Gayâwâlâs come to this place, performing the worship of the said tree, and of the images. The inner wall of the temple is painted with many pictures. In former times there were placed 108 small images of stone, and 108 vases, on the nine upper storeys of this temple; and a lakh of small, but elegant images and vases were ranged about the temple: these have all disappeared, some being destroyed by time, some removed by the Bairâgis, and some carried off by English gentlemen.

In front of the ruined Bauddha temple is a stone pavilion, in which is a round seat of stone, four feet in breadth, on which are situated two stone *Padas*, or feet of **Buddha.** These feet are sculptured with representations of the shell, discus, mace, lotus, flag, elephant, hook, vase, and Swastika (a particular diagram). The length of the feet is three spans, and the breadth one span. South of the building are three small temples. The first is · upied by a Bairâgi, who did penance here in a former life: it is dedicated to Siva. The second temple contains a *Kalaśa*, or round vessel of stone, upon which are engraved the images of the **Buddhas**: the people of this place, however, call it **Mahâdeva,** and on every Friday offer worship to it. In the third temple are placed five male idols of stone, and one female image. These look like Bauddha images; but the people call them the five Pândavas — the female, Draupadî, their wife. In the vicinity of these images stood an old broken stone pillar, 1½ yard high, and 1½ cubit in circumference. North of this is another temple with a stone image, but of whom, no one knows. To the east of this is a square enclosure with one gate, and within it a stone image called Baleśwarî. In front of this is built another square wall, with three gates; and in the centre is a large *Chakra*, or round slab, the breadth of which is two yards and 1½ span thick: on this slab are carved forts, elephants, camels, horses, and many curious reliefs. The people worship the *Chakra.* North from this is an elevated platform, surmounted by three pavilions with pinnacles: they enshrine three images, **Jagannâth, Râmachandra,** and **Mahâdeva.** It is said, that in the year of Vikrama Saka 1857 (A. D. 1801) in the full moon of the month of Bhadra (August), a person named **Gangawari Seth** arrived at this place from the wife of **Kushal Chand,** treasurer to **Daulat Râo Sindhya,** and established the above three gods and placed a stone inscription there.

During the government of the **Bauddhas,** having destroyed old **Gayâ,** and broken the images of all the temples of the Hindûs, they carried the **Gayâwâlâ Brahmaṇs** to their new city, or **Bauddha Gayâ** and put them in confinement, to compel them to transfer all the ceremonies of pilgrimage to the latter place. In this way some of the Gayâwâlâs were destroyed; bnt some escaped to distant countries. The **Bauddhas** established themselves, and ruled here for about 700 years in the Vikramaśaka.

On the south-west of the **Bauddha** temple is a large mound of rubbish, where the king of the **Bauddhas,** it is said, had his palace: the people hence still give the name of **Bauddha** Râjagṛiha. or the palace of the **Bauddha Râja,** to this high ground, on which are yet visible many ancient and curious stone buildings, images, and pillars. The **Bauddhas** also constructed a large fountain between the temple and river, for the use of their women. The masonry of the reservoir was six feet in breadth and eight feet high; it is in ruins now. Throughout the whole neighbourhood, **Bauddha** remains are abundantly to be traced amidst the brushwood, which covers the site of the city. When the government of the **Bauddhas** had ceased, all the **Gayâwâlâs** that survived returned to the former **Gayâ** and repeopled it. Travellers then resorted to the ancient Gayâ; and the city of the Bauddhas was deserted, and overrun with jungle. At last a **Bairâgi,** who arrived at the ruined city of **Bauddha Gayâ,** found the dilapidated temple, and he took up his abode on the gate there. He performed his *Tapas*, or penance, for about sixteen years, when the goddess **Annapurnâ** appeared to him, and enquired the motive of his austerities. He thanked the goddess and communicated his wish to live where he was, and to be able to grant food and charity to all travellers and beggars: accordingly the goddess **Annapurnâ** gratified his desires. The **Bairâgi,** in consequence, built a convent on the north of the ruined **Bauddha Gayâ** about one kos, on the high road between **Gayâ**.

and Calcutta, where, accompanied by some *Sishyas* or disciples, he resided, shewing hospitality to all beggars and pilgrims, by the favour of the goddess **Annapurnâ** till he departed this life.

His chief *Sishya*, or disciple, succeeded to the **Maṭh,** and, accompanied by six or seven *Bairâgi* disciples, continued the practices of the founder. The Râja of the country hearing of their circumstances, then made a grant to the *Bairâgis* of the ruined city of **Bauddha Gayâ** as *Mokhassah* or free gift. In consequence of this, a number of poor people were invited by the ascetic to **Bauddha Gayâ**; and they cut down the woods, built houses, peopled the city, and lived in it under the authority of the Bairâgis. The same Mahant, or superior, built another Maṭh in the town of **Bauddha Gayâ,** and divided his residence between the two.

After him, the third *Bairâgi* of his order succeeded to the superiorship; and observing the charity of his predecessors, the neighbouring Zamindârs granted him four villages in Jâghîr.[11]

The Journal stops here, at the end of the third instalment, whether from the translator having given up his task, or from some other cause. Possibly the remainder, containing the return journey, was not found to be of equal interest. — J. B.

Note.

From an account of a visit to **Mount Pârśvanâth,** by an official, in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, Vol. VIII., for Dec. **1872,** pp. 97-132, and signed 'A. P.' we glean the following additional details:—

"At Pâlganja the devotional duties of the Jaina pilgrims who flock to this remote spot from every part of India, even from the furthest provinces of the Dakhan, commence. The Zamindâr, who has dubbed himself with the title of Râjâ, is considered by that sect as the guardian of the holy lands, and has in his possession a small image of **Pârśvanâth,** which every pilgrim pays for worshipping before he proceeds to the temples at the foot and on the summit of the mountain. The manner in which he acquired this charge . . . was thus related to me by that person himself. Several centuries ago, an ancestor of the family, whom he called Nawadeva Siṅgh, came from Rohilkhand to perform his devotions at **Banâras.** There . . . he was one night visited by a god', (whose name was forgotten) . . who "declared to the pilgrim that his devotions had been well received, and that if he would travel eastwards, he would be invested with the sovereignty of Mount **Sikhar.** Accordingly Nawadeva Siṅgh . . . made himself master of the lands lying at the foot of the mountain. After a residence of some years **Pârśvanâth** . . . appeared and revealed to him his satisfaction with his conduct, named a certain pool, at the bottom of which he would find an image of himself, and declared that henceforward prostration before the Râjâ should be a necessary prelude to a favourable reception within the sacred precincts."

The writer points out that this Zamindâr belongs to the local Bhûnyâ tribe and had no claim to Râjput origin. The old Râj of **Kharakdihâ** had been of Brahmaṇ caste, and the revenues were probably collected by the more influential Bhûnyâs. **Kâmdar Khân** expelled the family of Mura Nârâyaṇadeva of Kharakdihâ, and the taxes on travellers and pilgrims were collected by Bhûnyâ Ghâṭwâls. These, under the British settlement in 1783, procured their independence as separate proprietors under the perpetual settlement. Thus the *ghâṭwâlî* tax was converted into a private claim.

The Râjâ shows a small stone image, found in the tank: its rude appearance and small size (not being above 8 inches high) show that it was made at Pâlaganja, —possibly by the inventor of the story. He had two other images: one inscribed with the name of **Bindraband Sâ** of **Gwâliar** by whom it was given to the **Râjâ,** and another which had recently (1824) been sent from Dehli by a **Mahâjan**, in whose charge the old idol was broken while being carried from Pâlaganja to **Madhuvanam.** The broken image, which is the most beautiful, measures 1 foot 3 inches high, and is cut out of a single piece of black marble, the eyelids appear closed, and it has two rows of necklaces round the neck.[12]

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[11] *Oriental Mag.* Vol. II. (August 1828) pp. 173-176.

[12] *Loc. cit.* pp. 100-102.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 51.)

1793. — No. VI.

Fort William 18th February 1793.

Ordered that the following Letter be written to Captain Blair by the Secretary.

Captain A. Blair On Service at the Andamans.

Sir, — Captain Alexander Kyd, who has been appointed Superintendant at the Andamans being now on his Departure from Bengal, I have Orders from the Governor General in Council to acquaint you that according to the Notice in my Letter of the 12th of November last you are to deliver over the Charge of the Settlement to him on his arrival.

It will be a Matter of course that you make over to him at the same Time the public Correspondence, Papers and Accounts Appertaining to the Station you have held to the New Settlement and any Balance of the public Mony that may remain in your hands.

I am
Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) **Edward Hay**
Secretary to the Government.

Fort William
18th February 1793.

1793. — No. VII.

Fort William 18th February 1793.

Instructions to Captain Alexander Kyd.

To Captain Alexander Kyd.

Sir, — 1. You have been advised of Your Appointment to the temporary Command of the New Settlement at Port Cornwallis, and the Secretary has transmitted to you a Copy of the Resolutions that we have passed on points of detail Connected with the Duties Assigned to You.

2. We now transmit to You a Commission, directing the general Authorities with which You are vested, and We desire that you will proceed to the Andamans with all Convenient Expedition.

3. The enclosed Letter to Captain Blair contains Orders to that Officer to deliver Over the Charge of the Settlement to You on your Arrival, when you will enter on the Duties of the Station; Attending to the following Instructions.

4. **Our principal design in making a Settlement at the Great Andaman being to establish a Naval Arsenal in the Bay forming the North East Harbour of that Island,** and recommended by Commodore Cornwallis as particularly eligible for the Rendezvous and Accommodation of the National Fleets that may hereafter be employed in the Protection of the Company's possessions in India, it will be Necessary that, after examining well the Capacity of the Place for those Purposes, you should ascertain, without Loss of time, what means it possesses to effect them and what Aids will be required from this or Other Countries, so that there may be no delay, that is not unavoidable, in Accomplishing an Object which we deem to be of great public Utility and Emportance.

5. You will observe that the Harbour is to be equal to the Reception of Fifteen or Twenty Sail of Line of Battle Ships, and, among Other necessary Considerations, incident to the Choice of it, You will attend to the means there are of Conveniently obtaining Supplies of Wood and Water.

6. It will be also requisite that a large Spot of ground should be Chosen, in the most healthy Situation for a Hospital, and an extensive Kitchen Garden adjoining to it, provided at the times with a Measures Assortment of the Tropical Fruits (*sic*) and of the best kinds of Vegetables for the Sick and Convalescent and a proper place of some extent to be cleared for pasture, and Subsisting and keeping up, Constantly, a Stock of Cattle.

7. Another object of your Attention will be to fix upon a Spot where the necessary Store Houses may be built, and the Apparatus had for Careening Ships, and we wish you also to ascertain and inform Us where abouts you would propose to Construct a Wet Dock, if that should be thought Necessary at any future time, On the most approved plan adopted in the Harbours of Europe where the Situations, as at Port Cornwallis [Port Blair], are unfavorable from a want of Water Owing to the Rise of the Tides :—

8. You will likewise have in View the building a Suitable Granary, Baking Houses with Mills for Grinding, — a Brew House or Distillery, Curing Houses, — Working Houses for the Sail Makers, Coopers, and all Artificers of different discriptions, and places for the Stores of the Several Departments, Also Quarters for the Officers and Men when [? upon] a plan Duty on Shore (*sic*), — and every other Accommodation that properly belongs to an Establishment of so much Consequence as that which we design for a Naval arsenal at the Andamans.

9. Having now given You Such general directions as appeared to us necessary Concerning the Arsenal, we are next to desire that you will prepare and lay before Us a plan of Fortification for its Defence, and the Defence of the Port, Whether in the Absence of a Fleet, or for the protection of any Number of Ships booked [? locked] (*sic*) up in the Harbour by a Superior Force.

10. The Works you recommend are to be the most Solid and durable, and at the same time the least expensive, in their Construction, and they are to be so planned and Situated as to be as able [? capable] of being defended by a Small Body of Troops until relief, in some way or other, can be afforded to the Settlement in the Event of an Attack.

11. Your further Duty will be to chuse a Spot On the adjoining Shores, or in the interior part of the Main Island, upon which an Establishment may be formed for Supplying the necessary Stock of Cattle, and alimentary Grains for its own immediate Support, the use of the Garrison and Settlement in general, and the wants of the Navy, as far as Circumstances will possibly admit, without looking [or] trusting for Assistance in these respects, from Bengal, or any Other part of India, and We wish you to consider the object of providing gradually for the wants of the Settlement, in Such Instances, without Aid from Other Quarters, as materially Connected with the Views of Government in maintaining an Establishment at the Andamans but if you should at any time require Supplies of Grain, Cattle, or Other Articles, for present or future Subsistence, you may occasionally apply to **the Superintendant of Prince of Wales Island, to the Collector at Chittagong, and to the Chiefs of the Company's Settlements on the Corromandel Coast** who will be furnished with instructions to Comply with Such Applications.

12. You will furnish us with Copies of Shore Applications from time to time, and advise us to what Extent they have been severally Answered.

13. Such Military Stores and Articles of Subsistance as may be required from Bengal will be Supplied, in the mode pointed out in the Regulations transmitted to You by our Secretary, as already noticed in this Letter.

14. We desire you will prepare a place of Security for Native Felons that may be sent from Bengal to labour on the Works, and you will Report to us occasionally, what Number can be received.

15. In clearing the Islands and Shores of the Underwood, exuborant forest Timber, you will be careful to Set apart Such of the latter as may be applied to the purposes of Ship-building in

the Neighbourhood of the Port, And to preserve Such of this kind of Timber, as will Answer for the Fortifications or Buildings to be erected, or for the Service of the Navy.

16. It is to be presumed that the Island affords no internal Water Carriage, by which firewood can be conveyed from one part of it to another, and no improper Waste should therefore be admitted in cutting down the Wood (adjoining to the Bay) that May be fit for that Use ; but particular spots of ground should be allotted, On which the Wood May be collected to Answer the Occasions of the Settlement.

17. In establishing and keeping up an **intercourse with the Natives** you will naturally take care that the utmost degree of forbearance is observed to secure them against Illtreatment or Violence of any Sort whatever, and you will never permit force to be employed against them, but in Cases of the most urgent necessity for Self defence You will, on the contrary, endeavor to conciliate them by kind Usage, by distributing among them trifling presents, and Such Articles in use with Us, as they May ask for, and can conveniently be Spared, and you will leave them in the undisturbed possession of their Shores and fishing places, on in other words, in the Same State of Freedom, in every respect, as that in which you find them, granting them protection, and yielding it especially in the instances of Acheenese or other Native Cruizers, or any European Vessels, touching on the Coast for the purpose of trepenning them and **making Slaves.** And in the Case of any Europeans being detected in these inhuman practices you will insist upon the immediate Release of the Natives, and having procured it, You will exercise your direction, (*sic*) as Circumstances shall appear to you to render expedient, in securing or not, the persons of those Most forward in carrying out this infamous Traffic, and send them Preseners to Bengal. But it will be very proper that you should first take the best Means of having it generally understood that such a Commerce is disallowed, and that the Consequences will be very Serious to those who engage in it.

18. We wish you to direct the Surgeon, upon Duty at the Andamans to furnish You half yearly for Information, with **a Diary of the Deseases** that have prevailed or do prevail, in the Settlement, including in such Diary the Remedies and Treatement which he has found Most efficacious for their Cure, and Such further Remarks as may tend to ascertain the degree of healthiness of the Climate and Port, and the Means most Conducive to the preservation of the health of the Europeans and Natives employed on the present Service.

19. It is our pleasure and Direction that for the Maintenance of good Order and the Administration of Justice among the European Artificers, the Lascars, and Indostan Labourers in the Company's Pay and for the punishment of Misdemeaners and faults Committed by them in the Settlement and places over which your Authority, as specified in your Commission, extends, Recourse shall be had to the Articles of War for the Company's Troops, and all disputes and offences occasioned or done by the said persons shall be tried by the Process and Rules laid down for the Proceedings of Regimental or Garrison Courts Martial, due notice having been previously, and generally given To all European Artificers &ca As above mentioned, of their being liable to be tried Accordingly, and You will Consider this Order as applying to other Indostan Natives, including the Servants of Officers and others residing, or being within the Circle of your Authority.

20. With respect to Crimes committed by European or Sepoy Commissioned Officers or by the Commanders and Officers of the Vessels belonging to or hired by the Company, at your Station, you will make it a Rule to Report them to us or the Commander in Chief, according to the discription of Persons offending, whether in the Civil or Military Service, and either Send them, at your direction (sic) in Arrest or as Prisoners immediately to Bengal, or detain them in Custody until you receive Orders and Instructions concerning them.

21. **In the case of your occasional absence** from the Andamans, or in the event of any accident depriving the Settlement of your Services, **the powers and duties** of the Superintendant as specified in your Commission, and these Instructions, are to **devolve to Lieutenant Edmund Wells**, or the next Senior officer.

22. From the period of your Arrival at the place of Your distination you will report, either directly, to ourselves or through Our Secretary, from time to time, as opportunities offer, the progress You have made in fulfilling the Duties of your Station, and You will also not omit to Mention and **enumerate the Animal, Mineral and Vegitable productions of the Islands,** as the Same shall fall under your Notice, or the Notice of others belonging to the Establishment.

23. We have only to add to these Instructions that we wish you, upon employing the Vessels allotted to the Andaman Service to give particular Orders to the Commanders to Omit no opportunity, in their different Courses thro' the Bay of Bengal of noticing in their Journals, **the prevailing Winds and Currents, the Soundings, Anchoring Shoals, or Dangers throughout the Bay, and On the Coasts of the Islands,** yet un[as]certained, As well as the productions of those Coasts, the Quality of the Soil, dispositions of the Surface, and that when you Report to us the informations You may receive, you communicate to us your own opinion of the Benefits that may be derived to the general Advancement of Navigation, or other Useful purposes from the Lights obtained upon those Subjects.

Fort William — We are &ca.
the **18th February 1793.**

1793. — No. VIII.

Fort William 18th February 1793.

Capt. Kyd 18th Febry.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — In addition to the Sum of Money that may be ordered to be furnished me for the Expences of the Settlement at the Andamans: I have to request that you will be so good as to represent to the Right Honble. the Governor General in Council that the Sum of Two thousand Dollars will be necessary for the occasional purchase of Articles of Provisions at Acheen or on the **Coast of Pedier.**

I have the honor to be &ca

(Signed) **A. Kyd Captain Commanding Andamans.**

Fort William **18th February 1793.**

1793. — No. IX.

Fort William 22d February 1793.

The Secretary lays before the Board a return sent to him, at his request by **Captain Kyd**, of the Establishment at the Andamans.

General Return of the Establishment at the Andamans February 1793.

Commissioned Officers and Staff.

Captain Alexander Kyd	Commandant
Lieutenant Edmund Wells	Commanding the Infantry
Ensign Joseph Stokoe	Engineer
Mr. Wood	Assistant Surgeon

Infantry Detachment.

1 Lieutenant
1 Sergeant Major
1 Subadar
1 Jemadar

4 Havildars
4 Naigs
1 Drummer
1 Fifer
80 Sepoys
Total Native Troops 92
1 Drill Havildar or Naig
1 Sircar
1 Native Doctor
3 Hand Bheestees

Store and Provision Departme..

Europeans.

1 Commissary
1 Magazine Sergeant
1 Writer

1 Sircar
1 Tindal
8 Lascars
1 Head Smith
3 Smiths
1 Armourer
1 Sicklegar
1 Carpenters Mate
1 Do Workman
1 Chuckler
1 Sailmaker
1 Bheesty
1 Sweeper

Artificers Labourers &ca.

Europeans.

1 Head Carpenter
3 Carpenters
1 Head Smith
1 Cooper
4 Overseers
1 Sailmaker

Native Carpenters.

·1 Head Carpenter
20 Carpenters
12 Sawyers
1 Turner

Native Smiths.

1 Head Smith
12 Workmen
2 Brassmen
1 Tinman
2 Sicklegurs

Painters.

1 Mistry
2 Workmen

Stone Cutters.

1 Mistry
6 Workmen

Bricklayers.

1 Mestrey
15 Workmen

Brick and Tile Makers.

1 Mistrey
10 Workmen
6 Potters

4 Grammies
10 Gardeners
8 Washermen
10 Fishermen
4 Taylors
3 Barbers
1 Shoemaker
2 Chucklers

Bakers.

1 Baker
3 Assistants

5 Hand Bheesties

Lascars.

1 Serang
2 1st Tindal
2 2d Do
40 Lascars

Bildars.

8 Serdars
170 Bildars

Marine Department.

Cornwall Schooner.

Commander Lieut. Jno. Wales
1st Officer Cornelices Crawley
2d Officer Charles Timins

Europeans.

1 Commander
1 1st Officer
1 2nd Do
1 Gunner
4 Quarter Masters
6 Native Hilmsmen
1 Carpenter
1 Caulker
1 Syrang
1 1st Tindal
1 2d Do
1 Cossob[22]
30 Lascars
1 Commanders Cook
2 Do Servants
2 Officers Servants

Ranger Schooner.

Commander **Lieut. George Thomas**
1st Officer John Roberts
2d Officer John Frazer
Establishment Similar to the Detail of the Cornwallis.

N. B. — The Show Union freighted for 4 Months from the 1st November, 1792.

(Signed) **A. Kyd Superintendent at the Andamans.**

1793. — No. X.

Fort William 25th February, 1793.

Read a letter from Captain Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.

Capt. Kyd 20th Febry.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Accompanying I send a Bill for Provisions for the Establishment at the Andamans furnished by my desire by **Messrs Wilsone, Harrington and Downie**; which I request you will lay before the Right Honble the Governor General in Council, that an Order may be granted for its Payment. I beg leave to observe that there are four Hundred Bags of Rice that could not be received on Board of the Vessels now under Dispatch which Messrs Wilsone, Harrington and Downie will deliver, whenever a further supply may be wanted.

Fort William — I have the honor to be &ca
20th February 1793. — (Signed) **A. Kyd, Superintendant at the Andamans.**

Ordered that a Copy of Captain Kyds Letter be sent, with its Enclosure, to the Military Board and that Authority be given for Passing the Bills of Messrs. Wilsone, Downie and Harrington, for the Provisions laid in by them at Captain Kyd's desire for the Establishment at the Andamans.

[22] Also spelt Cusah, Cusab.

1793. — No. XI.

Fort William 25th February 1793.

Read a Letter from Captain Kyd Surveyor General.

Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — Accompanying I have the pleasure of transmitting you a List of all the Maps an: Plans now in the Surveyor General's office.

I have the honor to be &ca

Fort William (Signed) A. Kyd, Surveyor General.
21st February 1793.

Marine Surveys and Plans.

1. Mr. Blair's first General Chart of the Andamans.
2. A Plan of Pulo Penang.
3. Port Campbell, Interview Island, North East Harbour, of Port Cornwallis
4. Captain Councils Plan of Cornwallis Shoal in the China Seas Original and Copy
5. A part of Pulo Penang.
7. Original Survey of the Harbour of Pulo Penang by Captain Kyd.
8. Plan for repairing His Majesty's Ships at Port Cornwallis.
9. Ariels Track round the little Andaman.
10. Do Do Do Do Do Do Copy.
11. Chart of the Andamans.
12. Rough Plan of Stewarts Sound Andamans.
13. Plan of Part of Pulo Pinang.
14. Track of the Ranger over a Coral Shoal near the North West Coast of the Great Andaman.
15. Plan of Pulo Penang and Harbour.
16. Port Cornwallis.
17. Port Cornwallis.
18. Nancowrie Harbour.
19. Malay Islands.
20. Upper Part of Port Cornwallis.
21. North East Harbor.
22. Port Cornwallis, large Copy.
23. General Chart of Great Andaman.
24. Port Meadow fair Copy.
25. Lieutenant Blair's Plan of Pulo Penang.

1793. — No. XII.

Fort William 15th March 1793.

Read a Letter from Captain Blair.

To Edward Hay Esqre. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — As His Majesty's Ship Minerva proceeds to Calcutta I embrace the opportunity informing you that the Settlers in general continue healthy, that we have made considerable progress in clearing, and that the Natives have been perfectly inoffensive.

The 24th ultimo the Viper on her return from the Cocos with Plans [? Palms] and Nuts for the Settlement, unfortunately run upon a coral Reef three Leagues to northward of this Port, and received considerable damage She is now under repair and I expect will be ready for Sea again by the 20th of next Month.

With the concurrence of the Commodore I propose to dispatch the Sea horse to remove the remaining People and Stores from Old Harbour unless Captain Kyd should arrive in two or three days who I have been anxiously expecting for some time past.

Port Cornwallis I am &ca

24th February 1793. (Signed) Archibald Blair.

1793. — No. XIII.

Fort William 15th March 1793.

The Secretary lays before the Board an Extract of a Letter received by Lieutenant-Colonel Ross from Lieutenant Wells.

Extract of a Note from Lieutenant Wells to Colonel Ross Dated 9th March 1793.

The Subject on which I now have occasion to trouble you, does I believe properly require an official Communication, but as I am not quite certain of the Channel which I ought to embrace for that Purpose, I hope you will pardon the intrusion upon yourself.

I embarked on the Henble. Company's Snow the Cornwallis with the Detachment of Sepoys distined for the Andamans, and a few of the Most necessary of the Artificers on the Morning of the 7th Instant and we immediately proceeded with the Ebb Tide down the River. The embarkation of the People and their Baggage created an appearance of inconvenience from their Numbers which it was hoped would be removed after the usual arrangements and distribution of their proper Places, but after every Endeavours, it is found totally impossible, with the great Quantity of Stores on Board for the Settlement, to transport such a Number of Persons without great Inconvenience both to them, and the Management of the Ship I had intended nevertheless to prosecute the Voyage with the whole of the People and not without hopes, founded on their own Chearfulness and Content with the Indulgence shown to them by Lieutenant Wales and his Officers to have effected it without any Material difficulty An occurrence this Morning has deserted [? defeated] my Intention, In the first Opportunity which has offered of carrying Sail the effect of it has been discovered of such a Nature, on the Vessel that Lieutenant Wales the Commander declares his Apprehensions for our Safety, in the Event of our Meeting with Weather in any Degree unfavorable after we shall get into the Bay.

Under these Circumstances I considered it my Duty to forego every other Wish and Without hesitation to decide upon the only Measure to afford Relief, and ensure as far as may be our future Safty and accommodation I have therefore Selected all the Wives and smallest Children belonging to the Detachment who from their inactivity in Times of exigency are the greatest incumbarance, as well as most liable to harm, some of the Artificer-Class, and Eight Sepoys. The care (*sic*) of the whole Amounting to 47 I have committed to one of the Commissioned Officers with Orders to land them at Fort William wait the opportunity of the first [ship] distined for the New Settlement, and to embark with the other Artificers whom for want of room in this I was obliged to leave on my Departure.

After this diminution the number of Persons remaining in the Vessel will be full one hundred and fifty; which in Addition to the Cargo is the utmost that can be accomodated.

I request you will do me the favour to represent this to the Marquis Cornwallis whose disapprobation I hope I shall not encur on the occasion When the Circumstances are considered which have influenced my Conduct.

As the favorable season is so near its termination, I beg permission to suggest to you whether it be not worthy of offering to his Lordship's Consideration that instead of waiting the uncertain return of the Vessels now belonging to the Settlement it be not more desirable immediately to dispatch one

on Freight capable of carrying the 400 Bags of Rice left by Major Kyd when he Sailed Augmented to a Thousand or thereabouts with the remaining Artificers, and these people whom I now leave they will Amount to Eighty or a hundred Persons, and I am of opinion that more could not with propriety and regard to Safety be sent away in such a Vessell at the Approaching critical Season. If I mistake not, one of the expected Vessells from the Andamans (**the Union**) is under Engagement for a fixed period which has nearly elapsed.

1793. — No. XIV.

Fort William 15th March 1793.

The following Correspondence between the Secretary and **Mr. Peck** is laid before the Board.

Sir, — In answer to your favour of yesterday I beg leave to mention the Terms of Freight to Port Cornwallis 12 or 1500 bags of Rice at 3 Rupees per Bag Seapoys and Artificers at 15 Rupees each or should Government take up the whole Vessel will be Nine Thousand Rupees She Carrys 3,500 bags.

Calcutta
12th March 1793.

I am, &ca.
(Signed) **Robt. Peck.**

To Mr. Robert Peck Dated 12th March.

Mr. Robert Peck, Sir,

The Governor General in Council having had before him your Letter of this Date I am directed to desire that in explanation of the Terms which you have offered for conveying the People and Stores to the Andamans, you will be pleased to say whether the Sum of Rupees 15 which you require for each Seapoy or Artificer, you meant to enclude their provisions Water &ca during the Passage, and if this Charge on these accounts was intended to be included in the 15 Rupees (as the Board from the Rate suppose to be the Case) what deduction you would make from it if the Provisions and Water should be laid in by Government.

I am &ca
(Signed) E. Hay
Secretary to the Government.

Council Chamber
12th March 1793.
(A true Copy.)

Fort William 15th March 1793.

Mr Peck 13th March.

Sir, — In reply to your Letter of yesterday I beg leave to mention for the information of Government that I will Supply the Seapoy and Artificers with Provisions Water &ca at the rate of 15 Rupees per Man or should Government Supply the Same my Charge will be 12 Rupees each I beg to be favored with an Answer to Day if convenient, as my Vessel hauls out Dock to Day and will be ready to receive on board Cargo tomorrow.

Calcutta
13th March 1793.

I am Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant
(Signed) Robert Peck.

To Mr Robert Peck 14th March.

Mr. Robert Peck, Sir, — I received your Letter yesterday and am directed to acquaint you that if upon a regular Survey of **the Darlington**, it shall be found that She is in all respects, a proper Vessel to take, at this Season of the year, to Port Cornwallis, a Number of Sepoys and Artificers not exceeding one hundred and a Quantity of Rice not exceeding one thousand Bags, the Governor General in Council will accede to the Terms of your Offer Vizt. that the rate of twelve Sicca Rupees per man shall be paid for each Sepoy or Artificer for the Voyage, the Company laying in their Provision, Water &ca and that the rate of three Sicca Rupees par Bag shall be paid for the freight of the Rice. The Survey will be ordered immediately.

I am Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
(Signed) E. Hay
Secretary to the Government.

Council Chamber
14th March 1793.
(A true Copy.)

Fort William 15th March 1793.

The following Orders were sent yesterday to the Marine Officers.

Cudbert Thornhill Esqre Master Attendant and **Bruce Boswell Esqre** Acting Marine Paymaster and Naval Storekeeper.

Gentlemen, — I have orders from the Governor General in Council to desire that you will be pleased to cause a regular Survey to be immediately made of **the Ship or Snow Darlington** which has been tendered by Mr Robert Peck to take a Number of Sepoys and a freight of Rice **to Port Cornwallis at the Great Andamans Island,** and that you will acquaint me, for the information of the Governor General in Council whether She be in all respects, a proper Vessel to proceed thither at this Season of the Year with a Number of Sepoys or Artificers not exceeding 100, and a Quantity of Rice not Exceeding 1000 Bags.

Council Chamber I am Gentlemen Your most obedient humble servant
March 14th 1793. (Signed) E. Hay.

Fort William 15th March 1793.

Read a Letter from the Acting Marine Pay Master.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — In consequence of the orders of the Right Honble the Governor General in Council Communicated to me in your Letter of the 14th Instant for the immediate survey of the Snow Darlington I am to inform you that **Mr Robert Peck, has withdrawn his proposals** for freighting that Vessel, as you will find by the enclosed Copy of the Assistant Deputy Master Attendants answer, to my official Letter of yesterday to him on that subject.

I am &ca

Fort William Marine Paymasters Office (Signed) Bruce Boswell
15th March 1793. Acting Marine Pay Master.

To Bruce Boswell Esqre Acting Marine Paymaster.

(Enclosed in the Letter from the Acting Marine Paymaster 15th March.)

Sir, — I have seen Captain Peck who has declined taking the Company's freight and is now nearly loaded with Rice for Masulipatam.

I am &ca

Marine Office (Signed) **G. French**
15th March 1793. A. Dy. Mr. Attdt.

A true Copy Bruce Boswell Acting Marine Paymaster.

Fort William 15th March 1793.

Read a Letter from Captain Peck.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I received Your Answer from Government with respect to the Proposals for conveying the Stores &ca to the Andamans and beg you will be pleased to Inform the Board as the Quantity of Grain is not to exceed One Thousand Bags and the men to be Carried at 12 Rupees per Mensem it will not Pay the Sailing Charges of my Vessel which I Informed you was said to have Carried three Thousand five Hundred Bags to Bombay in the S. W. Monsoon, The extent of time I should Suppose the Darlington would be in making The Passage to the Andamans if She left the River in all this Month would not exceed fifteen Days.

Calcutta I am &ca
15th March 1793. (Signed) Robert Peck.

Ordered that Inquiry be made for another Vessel to take the Sepoys and Artificers and the Rice to the Andamans.

(To be continued.)

LADAKHI SONGS.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE, LEH.

(With the aid of the Rev. S. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe.)

Introductory Notes.

WHEN I wrote a paper on Ladâkhî popular poetry about three years ago (published in *Globus*, LXXV. No. 15), my collection consisted of only twenty-five songs. Those songs had been collected in Leh, Stock and Sheh, that is, in the residences of the ancient Ladâkhî kings and were all of the same type. As I had then been unable to discover any specimens of a more natural type of Ladâkhî poetry, I concluded that really popular poetry was entirely absent in Ladâkh. Meanwhile travels in Lower Ladâkh and Pûrig, which extended my collection to about 250 pieces, have enabled me to discover other branches of Ladâkhî poetry, which bear a less artificial character. But before presenting any of them to the readers of this *Journal* I will shortly describe **the different types of Ladâkhî poetry,** as far as I have got to know them.

1. **The Court Song.** — It has been fully described in the *Globus*. Its principal characteristics are the following: — The language is as near as possible to the book-language: a certain knowledge of Buddhism is displayed: it flatters persons in high position. It has no rhyme, but a certain rule of metre is strictly observed. The predominant **metre** is that each line consists of three trochees. I give specimens of the Court Song in Nos. I., II., V. and IX. The first line of No. I. is pronounced thus:

tráshis phúnsum thsógspas.

That of No. II. is pronounced

dí chi gúngyi tsúg rgyan.

In consequence of the strict observance of this metric rule many of the sentences are incomplete, and the meaning can only be guessed from the context.

2. **The Dance Song.** — Its language is the dialect of the country: where it is sung religious ideas hardly ever come in; it tells in naïve language the thoughts of people's hearts. It makes use of the **rhyme of sentence,** generally called **parallelism** when occurring in European poetry. Two or more sentences are constructed accordingly, and in the corresponding places different words are inserted. Examples for illustrating this rhyme can be found in Nos. III, IV., VI., VII., VIII., and X. I am told by Prof. Conrady of Leipzig and Dr. Lanfer that this form of parallelism has been observed also in Chinese popular poetry. These are two examples taken from No. IV.:

6. *náchung gyáwe yógkhorla rdés,*
7. *Khyógthong gyávai skyédkhorla rdés,*

15. *gúnla rdzéspe gúndses shig in,*
16. *yángla rdsespe yángdses shig in.*

In many cases the Ladâkhî Dance Song reminds us of Hebrew poetry; but as the principles of poetry among these two nationalities are not the same, occasional conformities may be taken to be a matter of chance. Whilst the Ladâkhî rhyme is, as many examples prove, a rhyme of sentence, the Hebrew form of poetry may be called a rhyme of thought.[1]

The Dance Song generally also has a **metre,** which is not of so strict a uniformity as that of the Court Song. In it only the accentuated syllables are counted. The number of the unaccentuated syllables between them varies from one to three. As regards the accentuated syllables, the number 4

[1] Dr. Laufer also speaks of end-rhymes as occurring in Ladâkhî songs. I feel doubtful about this. As regards my practical observations the Ladâkhîs do not seem to be able to hear end-rhymes at all. At least in my English class, when studying English poetry, the Ladâkhîs could take hold only of the metre; the poetical form of the end-rhyme was entirely lost on them.

is predominant, but not of exclusive occurrence. Though No. IV. is a Dance song in particular, all the other songs, mentioned above (with the exception of No. III.), may be sung at a dance. To show the exactness of the metric rule, examples may be given from the other songs also.

III. 1. *sámgul nang námgul có in léi,*
2. *jópa gár shêgsed léi.*

Not observed in all verses, for instance not in ll. 12, 21.

VI. 1, 2. *thóse nang thónpo gun,*
námstod gun thólonpoi.

VII. *Khyérri yádo ngás mi shés,*
yádo Thséringskyid ngás mi shés,
mígsma gákhai náro még,
dágsa ína sólongséd.

X. *yúzhung dágse, máne sgángla bíngba.*

Because the number of the unaccentuated syllables is not limited, suffixes are hardly ever left out, and the sentences are complete.

Of the same form as the Dance Song is the **Song of the Fairy Tale.** In fairy tales direct speech is generally given in the form of a song.

3. **The Wedding Song.** — It is a kind of **catechism of the Pre-Buddhist Religion of Ladákh.** One verse contains many mythological questions, the next answers all of them. Its language is a more ancient form of the dialect, not quite the classical language. Nine of the wedding songs were published *ante*, Vol. XXX., pp. 131 ff.

4. **The Drinking Song** *(chang glu).* — It is of the same type as the Wedding Song and of a very different character from what we should call a Drinking Song. It may also be called **a catechism of the Pre-Buddhist Religion.** At weddings it is the continuation of the Wedding Song, but may be sung at many other feasts too.

5. **The Pre-Buddhist Hymn** *(gling glu).* — It is of the same type as the Dance Song and praises Kesar and other Pre-Buddhist deities. It is sung at the time of the Spring- or Kesar festival, when everybody exercises himself at archery.

In Song No. X., which is an **acrostic,** the first letters of every line are arranged according **to the order of the Alphabet.** In another song the first letters of the verses show **the Alphabet in inverted order.** This form of poetry might have led to arranging the initials of the lines so as to represent a name, but I have not yet discovered such a song.

As regards **the age of the popular poetry of Ladákh,** I should not have entered into the question, had not Mr. Hanlon raised it in his paper (*Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists*, II., London, 1893).[2] According to Mr. Hanlon the whole of the Ladákhî poetry is of modern origin, the oldest of the songs being about 100-200 years old. He comes to this conclusion, because several persons, mentioned in the songs, have actually lived 100-200 years ago. First of all, I think it necessary to state, that this method of fixing the age of a Ladákhî song is not at all reliable. Just as the words of the national anthem 'God save the Queen' were originally 'God save the King,' the names, which Mr. Hanlon found in the Ladákhî songs, need not be those the poet had first put in. In some of them the names of the kings and ministers have been altered continually, until at present we find in them the present ex-king and ex-minister of Ladákh! If at the present time the power of the ex-king is praised in a song, it sounds like irony, but as the Ladákhîs are still very loyal to their old royal family, they would never think of composing ironical songs regarding it.

[2] As regards my knowledge of the Rev. Mr. Hanlon's paper, I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Leumann of Strassburg, for kindly sending me a brief review and to Dr. Laufer for occasional notes in his criticism.

Such songs can only be explained as having been handed down from ancient times and adapted to the present members of the once famous family.

But there are certain ideas occurring in some of the songs, which suggest a very high antiquity. Thus, as has already been mentioned, the Wedding and Drinking Songs treat of the probably Pre-Buddhist Religion of Ladâkh.

The orthography of the Ladâkhî and Pûrig dialects has always kept as near to that of the book-language as possible. As to the verb, the idea of the Ladâkhîs is that its stem agrees fully with the perfect stem of the classical language, though in reality there are many exceptions. For this reason all the silent prefixed letters which the classical perfect stem shows, are written with the Ladâkhî verb, even when used for the present and future tenses. I thought I had better succumb to this general custom, and thus the orthography of my songs is in accordance with the orthography of modern Ladâkhî letter-writing.

Song No. I. — The King's Garden at Leh.

Text.

1. bkrashis phunsumthsogspas
2. bde ldan karbzoi skyed thsal
3. ma bzhengs lhundu 'agrub byung
4. thsangs sras nyimai phobrang
5. gung γsal nam mkhai ltongsnas
6. nyi zlai γdugs dang ldan byung
7. ngo mthsar dgabai ltadmo
8. γzabkhang kaba zung ldan
9. nangna senggei khrii steng
10. γnya khri btsanpoi γdung brgyud
11. chos rgyal thse dpal yum sras
12. zhabs pad bskal brgya brtancig
13. ljonshing stargai stengna
14. 'adab chags pho moi γsungs snyan
15. 'ogna stag shar 'adzompos
16. bkrashis skyidpai glu dbyangs.

bstod thsigs 'adi karbzoi γzabkhangla slel blon dngos grub bstan 'adzingyis brispai dge.

Translation.

1. Through perfect good fortune
2. The happiness containing garden *karbzo*
3. Not being built, was completed by itself.
4. It is the house of the gods and the sun.
5. Having in the zenith of the clear sky
6. Sun and moon like umbrellas, so it arose.
7. It is a wonderfully pleasing sight.
8. It is like a fine room with pairs of pillars.
9. Within on the lion's throne
10. Sits **γNya khri bstanpo's** family.
11. That is **Choszgyal Thsedpal** with mother and son.
12. May their feet on the lotus stand 100 *kalpas !*
13. On this magnificent high nut tree
14. Male and female birds sing melodious songs.
15. Underneath the youths, having gathered,
16. Sing a song of happiness and welfare.

This song of praise was written by the Leh **Minister dNgosgrub bstan'adzin** in the fine castle within the *karbzo* garden.

Notes.

2. *Karbzo* means "risen by itself," see dictionary *karlangba; skyedthsal* = principal garden, see also *skyedsgo.*

4. *Thsangs sras,* holy sons, name of the gods (*lhas*).

5. *Ltonga,* a high point (here zenith).

13. *Ljonshing,* the tree of paradise, any beautiful tree.

According to Dr. Laufer's criticism in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* XV. p. 98-107, this song consists of four strophes of four verses each. As regards the translation of vv. 10, 12, 14 and 15, I am indebted to Dr. Laufer's suggestions.

Notes.

10. *γNya khri bstanpo* is the name of the first king of Ladâkh.

11. The King's name means 'religious king, glory of the time.'

12. *Kalpa,* a fabulous period of time, at least 100,000 years. Skr.

13. The royal family is compared with this high walnut tree, under whose shelter happiness dwells; walnut trees do not grow in Leh. 9. The lion's throne points to the King's castle, which was built in the middle of the garden. This garden is at the present time the British Joint Commissioner's grounds in Leh.

Notes.

1. *Nang*, governs the accusative in Purig, and is used as a suffix of the Locative and instrumental. Dr. Laufer together with Mr. Hanlon translates this verse by 'the earth is quaking, the heavens thundering.' However, the natives understand this verse in the above given sense: 'With an earthquake we shall make a shaking of the sky.'

2. *Shagssed*, present tense of *gshegspa*.

3. *Shagaran*, Purig for polo-ground.

6. *Khanpa*, the Turki *Khan*; Mr. Hanlon has *mkhanpo* instead. I do not believe in the originality of *mkhanpo*, because the title *khan* or *khanpa* is very common among Muhamedan Purigpas.

8. *Graphog*, at the beginning of a new game one of the players throws the ball in the air in full gallop and hits it with the stick.

10. *Hal, halka*, goal, *srangnged*, present tense of *srongba*, pass straight through.

13. *Yarri*, contraction of *yarrangngi*, Purig for *nyerangngi*, your.

15. *Olla* = *olba*, black.

17. *Asta*, a certain part of the village (Purig).

18. *Skompa* in Purig has the meaning of protect.

19. *'aDin 'adi* = *'adi adi* = thus.

20. *Khamo* = fame.

21. *Lob stong* = 1,000 years, with a word *lob*, year, instead of *lo*, I have met also in several other connections.

Notes.

15. Horses are of different value according to their colour, those described in v. 15 are about the most valuable.

The tune of this song is played at every game of Polo in Ladakh.

Of this song several different versions seem to exist. The above version was brought from the actual **Village of Cigtan,** belonging to Purig. Mr. Hanlon's version, which apparently was taken down in Chushod near Leh, mentions a certain rGyaripa instead of Raim Khan (v. 21).

Song No. IV. — The Goldsmith (a Dance Song).

	Text.		Translation.
1st party.	1. yser mgar mkhaspai blugs phorpai nangna	**1st party.**	1. In the melting pot of the clever goldsmith
	2. yser nang ragan thsang cig yod lei		2. There is gold and brass together.
	3. yser ning rgyalpoi khognor rig yin lei		3. The gold is the life-wealth of the king.
	4. ragan nganpa thangla skyur		4. The bad brass throw on the plain!
2nd party.	5. thangla ma skyur sdig re che lei	**2nd party.**	5. Do not throw it on the plain, it would be a great sin.
	6. nachung brgyabai yogkhorla brdzes		6. Fasten it to the *yogkhor* of hundred [poor] girls.
	7. khyogthong brgyabai skyedkhorla brdzes.		7. Fasten it to the girdle of hundred [poor] youths.

1st party.
8. dngul mgar mkhaspai blugs phorpai nangna
9. dngul nang ronya thsang cig yod lei
10. dngul ning rgyalpoi khognor rig yin lei
11. ronya nganpa thangla skyur

2nd party.
12. thangla ma skyur sdig re che lei
13. nachung brgyabai yogkhorla brdzes
14. khyogthong brgyabai skyedkhorla brdzes
15. kunla brdzespai kun brdzes shig yin
16. yangla brdzespai yang brdzes shig yin.

Notes.

2. *Nang*, within the gold there is brass, they are mixed.

3. *Rig* = *cig*, indefinite article.

5. *Re*, assumes here as sometimes in Purig the meaning of the indefinite article.

1st party.
8. In the melting pot of the clever silversmith
9. There is silver and lead together.
10. Silver is the life-wealth of the king.
11. The bad lead throw on the plain.

2nd party.
12. Do not throw it on the plain! It would be a great sin!
13. Fasten it to the *yogkhor* of 100 [poor] girls!
14. Fasten it to the girdle of 100 [poor] youths!
15. It is a general ornament to be used by many,
16. It is a most general ornament to be used by many more.

Notes.

6. *Yogkhor* = lower wrappings, name of the sheep skin, which is worn over the shoulders, formerly it may have been wrapped round the waist.

Song No. V. — The Alchi Monastery.

Text.

1. bde skyid phun sum thsogspas
2. bzangpoi rten 'abrel 'agrig song
3. blamai thugskyi smonlam
4. bzangpoi rten 'abrel 'agrig song
5. skam shing lo 'adabs rgyas song
6. thugskyi rgya mthso legs byung
7. bsgrub thabs γzabmoi dgonpa
8. ladvags yongskyi chos skor
9. ka γlung sengge γzong bsgrubs
10. rimo nor 'adzin pātra
11. zhalchad brtanpoi chos srung
12. ming grags rdo rje chenmo
13. ming grags rdo rje chenmos
14. bstanpa yul srung mdzod cig
15. yul ngos yongskyi γzabmoi
16. bstanpas yul srung mdzod cig
17. byang chub shinglas rkos bsgrubs
18. sgo bsgrigs yongskyi γzabmo

Translation.

1. Through the most perfectly happy circumstances
2. The good auspices were fulfilled.
3. Through the spiritual prayers of the Lamas
4. The good auspices were fulfilled.
5. Green leaves came out of the dry wood.
6. The spiritual ocean has been blessed.
7. The carefully built monastery is completed.
8. All Ladakhis may make the meritorious circumambulation.
9. With the chisel lion-like pillars were formed.
10. [Also] pictures and treasure-holding book-shelves.
11. The promise-keeping protector of religion
12. Is the famous great thunderbolt.
13. Oh, famous great thunderbolt,
14. Protect the country through the teaching!
15. Through a careful teaching in all directions
16. Protect the country!
17. From the wood of the holy fig tree sculptures were cut.
18. The folding doors more carefully than any other.

19. γyas bzhugs γsergyi blonpo
20. γyon bzhugs yum ni lha mdzes
21. skyil bkrung sa dang bsnyams bzhag
22. shag thub bstanpai nyima
23. yul ngos yongskyi γzabmor
24. rdo rje γdangyi γnas bzhugs
25. nyima sharnas phebs song
26. blamai slobma rnam γnyis
27. dbus γtsang γzhungnas phebspas
28. drung rams thse brtan rnam γnyis
29. rnam γnyis mthar phyin bsgrubs byung
30. rnam snang γserla bsgrubs byung
31. chos nyid dadpai ngangnas
32. bkā 'agyur bstan 'agyur phebs byung
33. glu dbyangs rkyengyis ma rdzogs
34. bkā 'agyur rim γnyis bsgrubs byung
35. alci dad ldan bud med
36. blo sems chosla sgrubs mdzod.

19. There on the right side sits the golden (rich) minister.
20. On the left sits mother lHa-mdzes
21. On the plain ground with pious attitude.
22. Buddha, the sun of the teaching,
23. Dwells better than in any other country,
24. On the place of the thunderbolt's throne.
25. From the east came
26. The disciple of the Lamas, the two-fold way
27. Arrived from the middle of **dBusgtsang,**
28. The doctor **Thsebrtan** [with the] two-fold way.
29. [Through] the two-fold way the salvation was fulfilled.
30. It was fulfilled to the golden Dhyani Buddha.
31. Out of (through) the great faith into religion itself
32. The holy scriptures and the commentaries have arrived.
33. With songs
34. The two endless rows of the scriptures were finished.
35. Oh, thou believing **Alci,** unceasingly
36. Fulfill with heart and soul the religious teachings.

Notes.

10. *P'atra*, originally 'begging bowl' Skr., is used for any religious receptacle, here book cases; but probably, as I am told by Prof. Dr. Leumann, the Indian *pattra*, leaf, book, is meant.

11. *rDorje-chenmo*, seems to be *Phyagrdor*, one of the Ladakhi popular Boddhisattvas.

21. *sKyilbkrung*, a religious posture; a man whom I asked to sit down in this position, also folded his fingers in a religious way.

22. *Shagthub*, the powerful *shagkya*, comp. determ.

26. The first edition contained a mistake: *rnams* was given instead of *rnam*.

Notes.

9. According to Dr. Laufer's suggestion the word *sengge*, lion, probably refers to sculptures, showing lions' heads. Perhaps he is right; but people understand it to mean 'strong like lions.'

19. The man who chiefly built the monastery.

20. His wife.

26. This two-fold way is, as I am told, the *bKa 'agyur* and the *bsTan 'agyur*.

33. Because singing of religious songs is also considered to be meritorious.

34. This line may refer to the fact that the whole of the *bKa 'agyur* was copied and thus two endless rows of books were obtained.

Song No. VI. — The Joy of Youth.

Text.

1. mthosai nang mthonpo kun
2. γnam stod kun mtholonpo
3. bya rgyal menne ldingspa rig min 'adng
4. dbyar zla γsum γsum ci yasnayang gang yas
5. dbyar zla γsum menne mentog wa med

Translation.

1. The high ones (live) in high places.
2. Into all the heights of the sky
3. Besides the king of birds none flies.
4. During the three summer months, whatever can bloom, blooms.
5. Except in the three summer months, oh, there are no flowers.

6. mi thse γcig cig menne bomo nga amala med lei
7. mi thse γcig cigpo ci skyidnayang gang skyid lei
8. mi thse γcig cigpo ci γyangsnayang gang γyangs shig.

Notes.

2. After *kun* a silent *nang*, corresponding to the first line must be supposed.

3. *Menne*, lower Ladakhi for *mannas*, besides; *ldingspa* means originally to soar; *min adug:* the silent *'a* of *'adug* is sounded as a nasal, as is often the case.

7. *Skyid* must here be taken for a verb corresponding to *yangs*.

6. Besides this one life-time I shall not belong to my mother.
7. In this one life-time, whatever can be happy, is happy.
8. Enjoy this one life-time as ever you can enjoy it.

Notes.

6. Dr. Laufer remarks that the proper translation would be 'I, the girl, do not belong to my mother.' He is quite right.

Song No. VII. — The Beautiful Thseringskyid.

	Text.		Translation.
First girl.	1. ngari yado ma mthongssa wa	First girl.	1. Have you not seen my companion?
	yado thseringskyid ma mthongssa.		Have you not seen my companion Thseringskyid?
Second girl.	khyeri yado ngas mi shes	Second girl.	Your companion I do not know,
	yado thseringskyid ngas mi shes		Your companion Thseringskyid I do not know.
	sgobongs γserla bzhangsmkhan meg		A girl, whose body was built as of gold
	dagsa 'adina solongssed.		Was passing by here just now.
First girl.	2. ngari yado ma mthongssa wa	First girl.	2. Have you not seen my companion?
	yado thseringskyid ma mthongssa.		Have you not seen my companion Thseringskyid?
Second girl.	khyeri yado ngas mi shes	Second girl.	Your companion I do not know,
	yado thseringskyid ngas mi shes		Thseringskyid I do not know.
	skralo, γyubai rgya lcang meg		A girl with a mass of matted hair [full of] turquoises
	dagsa 'adina solongssed.		Was passing by here just now.
First girl.	3. ngari yado ma mthongssa wa	First girl.	3. Have you not seen my companion?
	yado thseringskyid ma mthongssa.		Have you not seen my companion Thseringskyid?
Second girl.	khyeri yado ngas mi shes	Second girl.	Your companion I do not know,
	yado thseringskyid ngas mi shes		Thseringskyid I do not know.
	dpalpa hco lngai zlaba meg		A girl, glorious like the moon on the 15th
	dagsa 'adina solongssed.		Was passing by here just now.

First girl.	4.	ngari yado ma mthongssa wa	Have you not seen my companion ?
		yado thseringskyid ma mthongssa	Have you not seen my companion Thseringskyid ?
Second girl.		khyeri yado ngas mi shes	Your companion I do not know,
		yado thseringskyid ngas mi shes	Thseringskyid I do not know.
		mig sma kakhai naro meg	A girl with eyebrows like the *O* of the (Tibetan) Alphabet
		dagsa 'adina solongssed.	Was passing by here just now.
First girl.	5.	ngari yado ma mthongssa wa	Have you not seen my companion ?
		yado thseringskyid ma mthongssa	Have you not seen my companion Thseringskyid ?
Second girl.		khyeri yado ngas mi shes	Your companion I do not know,
		yado thseringskyid ngas mi shes	Thseringskyid I do not know.
		sozho har nang mutig meg	A girl with teeth like curdled milk and pearls
		dagsa 'adina solongssed.	Was passing by here just now.
First girl.	6.	ngari yado ma mthongssa wa	Have you not seen my companion ?
		yado thseringskyid ma mthongssa	Have you not seen my companion Thseringskyid ?
Second girl.		khyeri yado ngas mi shes	Your companion I do not knew,
		yado thseringskyid ngas mi shes	Thseringskyid I do not know.
		skyedpa rdo rje drillu meg	A girl with a waist like a monastery bell
		dagsa 'adina solongssed.	Was passing by here jnst now.
First girl.	7.	ngari yado ma mthongssa wa	Have you not seen my companion ?
		yado thseringskyid ma mthongssa	Have you not seen my companion Thseringskyid ?
Second girl.		khyeri yado ngas mi shes	Your companion I do not know,
		yado thseringskyid ngas mi shes	Thseringskyid I do not know.
		sikims rkyang zhud sal mkhan meg	A girl, who is spinning a silk thread,
		dagsa 'adina solongssed.	Was passing by here just now.
Another person.	8.	khyozha thsangka shipi re	You all belong to the shoemaker caste,
		ngazhai khangpala cila yongs.	Why did you come to my house ?

Notes.

1. *Ngari* and *khyeri* are Lower Ladakhi abbreviations of *ngarangngi* and *khyedrangngi*; *syobongs* = *sgobo*, body; *meg* = *ma ig* = *mazhig*; *solongssed* = *songs sed* = *songste yod*, has gone; *lo* is inserted only for creating one more syllable.

4. *Migsma* = *sminma*, eye-brow.

5. *Har* is either pearls of a rosary or as in Lower Ladakhi = white as if never used.

6. *rDorje-drillu*, a bell dedicated to the Boddhisattva *Phyagrdor*.

7. *Sikims* = silk from Sikim. *rkyangzhud* = *rkyangskud*.

8. *Shipi* the shoe-maker caste of Purig.

Since the first publication of this song I have discovered **four more verses** with the following new lines: —

(*a*) ossko choskyi poti meg dagsa 'adina solongssed.

(*b*) khurthsogs padmai mentog meg, *etc*.

(*c*) snakhung zangskyi puri meg, *etc*.

(*d*) lcemo dargyi mdudma meg, *etc*.

Notes.

(*b*) khurthsogs = khurthsos.

Notes.

The whole is not to be taken seriously, the girls are teasing each other; all the same, the description of the girl who had passed by, is in accordance with the Ladakhi ideal of beauty. Dr. Laufer is of opinion that the companion Thseringskyid, who is asked for, was a boy. But Thseringskyid is a name for girls.

2. Or 'hair like a willow.'

3. On the fifteenth of the Tibetan month there ought to be full-moon.

8. This verse is either part of a different song, or it may be taken to express: — "Now we have had enough of this nonsense, go away!"

(*a*) A girl with a chin like a pile of religious books was passing by here just now.

(*b*) A girl with cheeks, red like a lotus-flower, *etc*.

(*c*) A girl with nostrils like a copper tube, *etc*.

(*d*) A girl with a tongue like a silken knot, *etc*.

Notes.

(*a*) refers to a double-chin. It looks like the folds of many books.

Song No. VIII. — Secret Love.

Text.

The girl says:
1. spangla spang gongma spang
2. gongma spangla mentog yassed
3. wa yadopa
4. yzugscan yassed wa yadopa
5. mentog sdus shig yadopa
6. yzugscan sdus shig jamadssag
7. lag nang sduna mentog ldudpa chen
8. sems nang sduste mentog yidla tog wa
9. sems nang sduste mentog yidla bor.

Notes.

6. *Jamadsag* is said to mean 'together,' 'gather together,' see No. X., note.

7. *lDudpa*, Lower Ladakhi for ruffled, faded.

Translation.

The girl says:
1. On the meadow, on the upper meadow,
2. On the upper meadow there is a flower in bloom.
3. Halla, my boy!
4. A flower of very fine shape is in bloom there, my boy!
5. Gather the flower, my boy.
6. Gather the well-shaped flower!
7. If you gather it with your hand, it will fade.
8. Gather it with your soul and keep it (fasten it) in your mind!
9. Gather it with your soul and keep it in your mind!

Notes.

Song N. IX. — The A B Co Song. (Acrostic.)

		Text.		Translation.
k	1.	bka dag semskyi γnas lugs	1.	The disposition of the teacher's soul
kh	2.	kha ltar drimed chos sku	2.	Is pure like snow, his transient body
g	3.	gsna bltas kyang mdzes byung	3.	Is beautiful, wherever you look at it.
ng	4.	ngayi rang sems 'adika	4.	This my own soul,
c	5.	caco chosla bsgyur kyang	5.	Though it agrees with religion as regards speech,
ch	6.	cha lugs yid dang mthunpar	6.	May my behaviour also agree with my mind!
j	7.	ja chang mchodpa mchodgin	7.	When bringing the offerings of tea and beer,
ny	8.	nyara semsla mdzod dang	8.	Give that I may take care of my soul!
t	9.	talai thugskyi 'od γzer	9.	When the clear light of the Dalai Lama's spirit
th	10.	mthamar semsla 'aphogna	10.	Finally touches the soul,
d	11.	dalta yidkyis rtogsna	11.	All that at present I perceive in my soul,
n	12.	na rga 'achiba mi 'adug	12.	Illness, old age, death, become nothing.
p	13.	dpabo shagkya chenpo	13.	The great and powerful Shakya
ph	14.	pharol nyon mongs kagnon	14.	Is the hinderer of misery in the other world.
b	15.	ba glang bzhindu ma nyal	15.	Do not sleep like an ox,
m	16.	ma γyengs dranpa skyong zhig	16.	Unchangingly, watch your soul!
ts	17.	rtsa phran ba spui buga	17.	The fine arteries have pores.
ths	18.	mthsan ldan blamai dkyil 'akhor	18.	Excellent is the sphere of the Lama.
dz	19.	mdzabo rang sems 'adika	19.	Friend! Also your own soul
w	20.	walei ngangla zhog dang	20.	Keep in clearness!
zh	21.	zhva ltar rtenpai blamas	21.	When the Lama to whom I stick, as to my cap,
z	22.	zagmed mchodpa 'abulna	22.	Brings a spotless offering,
'a	23.	'ala thsorbai 'adu shes	23.	Oh to have this sight (perception)
y	24.	ya mthsan semskyi ltadmo	24.	Is a wonderful spectacle for the soul,
r	25.	rarva ltabui sems brgyud	25.	Oh mankind, with hearts like the wind!
l	26.	la 'ur thulbai dpabo	26.	Oh, thou hero, who subduest even a passing storm
sh	27.	bshad sgrol dus snyoms mdzod dang	27.	Teach and at the same time explain (thy teaching)!
s	28.	sa lam myurdu sgrub cig	28.	Fulfil quickly the path of perfection,
h	29.	halarigpai rang 'agrol	29.	The Self-salvation of sPyanras γzigs!
a	30.	ama rdo rje phagmo	30.	Oh, mother rDorje Phagmo
	31.	yum chen kyed dang nga γnyis	31.	Oh, great mother, thou and I,
	32.	'adu 'abral medpar shog cig.	32.	May we without any separation always remain united!

Notes.

14. *Kagnon* in Lower Ladakhi means hinderer.

23. *'Ala* is an exclamation.

29. *Hala-rig* is a name of *sPyanras gzigs.*

25, 26. Dr. Laufer translates as follows:— 'The soul of the speedily conquering hero is in almost intoxicated condition.' But as this translation necessitates several alterations of the text and is not in agreement with the people's conception of it, I cannot accept it.

Notes.

9. This verse proves, that the name of Dalai Lama is not perfectly unknown to Ladakhis.

17, 18. The translation of these lines is by Dr. Laufer.

29. The Boddhisattvas name means 'Sees with a clear eye.'

30. The mother's name means 'sow thunderbolt.'

Song No. X. — The Bride's Farewell.

Text.

1. γyu zhungbo btagse māne sgangla bingba
2. khrug dkarpo btagse māne sgangla bingba
3. skyespai pha ma bsamse loggin loggin bltaspin
4. mnyampai jamad kun bsamse phyi mig logste bltaspin.

Translation.

1. The little turquoises being fastened, we arrived (came out) on the hill with the *manè*.
2. The bright turquoises being fastened, we arrived on the hill with the *manè*.
3. I thought of father and mother, to whom I was born, and I looked back again and again.
4. I thought of the friends, with whom I was together, and I looked back.

Notes.

1. *Se* = *ste*, gerundial termination in Purig; *māne*, a stone wall covered with stones bearing the inscription *Om maṇi padme hum.*

2. *Khrug dkar* is a turquoise of a very light-blue colour.

4. *Jamad* friends = *jama'ad*, Hindustani for 'company.'

Notes.

The bride generally receives many of the turquoises, which her mother had worn, on the wedding day.

1. *γyu zhung* = *γyu chung*, little turquoises. I am inclined to believe that Jäschke's name of the forget-me-not ought to be spelled *γyu zhung metog*, not *γyu γzhung metog*.

Song No. XI. — The Three Seasons.

Text.

1. chagssed wa chagssed γser mdog rig chagssed lei
2. ston ni ston zla γsumpo γser mdog rig chags
3. chagssed wa chagssed γyu mdog rig chagssed lei
4. dbyar ni dbyar zla γsumpo γyu mdog rig chags
5. chagssed wa chagssed dung mdog rig chagssed lei
6. dgun ni dgun zla γsumpo dung mdog rig chags
7. dung mdog chags na yul chung pacarii bsod bde.

Translation.

1. There grows, oh there grows, there grows a golden shade.
2. In autumn, in the three months of autumn, there grows a golden shade.
3. There grows, oh there grows, there grows a turquoise shade.
4. During summer, during the three months of summer, there grows a turquoise shade.
5. There grows, oh there grows, there grows a pearl-white shade.
6. During winter, during the three months of winter, there grows a pearl-white shade.
7. If it grows pearl-white, it is for the welfare of the little village of Pacari.

Notes.

1. *Chagssed*, present tense of *chagsces*.

Notes.

3. If the green colour of vegetation in summer is compared with that of a turquoise, it looks rather, as if the Ladakhis could not see any difference between green and blue. The idea is, that if in winter much snow has fallen, the water for irrigating the fields will not run short.

According to Dr. Laufer's suggestion the idea of three seasons only, instead of four, may have been imported from India.

Song No. XII. — The Brahman Beggar.

Text.

1. sharri khacul yzhungna tamāshā yod lei

ci molled bramzele

2. sala mentog yang 'adzin tamāshā yod lei

gang molled bramzele

3. sharri khacul yzhungna bras dkar'ollo yod lei

ci molled bramzele.

Translation.

1. In the middle of the town of Kashmîr there is a festival.
What do you say [to that], oh Brâhman?
2. On the ground there is the festival of the *yang'adzin* flower!
What do you say [to that], oh Brâhman?
3. In the town of Kashmîr there is milk-white rice!
What do you say [to that], oh Brâhman?

Notes.

1, 3. *Sharri* = *shahr*, town, Hindust.; *tamāshā*, Hindustani for show, festival.

2. *Yang'adzin*, a certain flower of Kashmir; which, people cannot tell.

3. *'ollo*, milk-white, compare *'Olgong* in "The Golden Boy."

Notes.

Brâhmans, on their pilgrimage to the source of the Indus, often pass through Ladakh and ask alms from the people. The Ladakhis, who cannot understand the Brâhman's aims, ask, if they had not better stay in Kashmîr, where there is so much better food and pleasure.

Song No. XIII. — The Ibex.

Text.

1. atabai skyin sabai nangna
2. skyin chen brgya dang stong bsdussed
3. lha klu kun ma 'athadna su 'athad 'adug
4. yzhi bdag kun ma 'athadna su 'athad 'adug
5. ruba khyerri chongla 'adug
6. spukha khyerri yserla 'adug.
7. atabai dan sabai nangna
8. danmo brgya dang stong bsdussed
9. lha klu menne su 'athad 'adug
10. yzhi bdag menne su 'athad 'adug
11. ruba khyerri chongla 'adug
12. spukha khyerri yserla 'adug.

Translation.

1. In my father's place of (hunting) the ibex
2. There gather hundreds and thousands of large ibex.
3. If the *lhas* and *klus* do not enjoy (this spectacle) who would enjoy it?
4. If the deities do not enjoy it, who would enjoy it!
5. The horns are thy carnelian ornament.
6. The colour of the hair is thy gold.
7. In my father's place of (hunting) the female ibex
8. There gather hundreds and thousands of female ibex.
9. Besides the *lhas* and *klus*, who enjoys [this spectacle]?
10. Besides the deities who enjoys [this spectacle]?
11. The horns are thy carnelian ornament.
12. The colour of the hair is thy gold.

Notes.

1. *Ata*, father, in Lower Ladakh, Purig and Baltistân. 4. *yzhibdag* = owner of the ground, local deities. 5. *Chong*, beads, made of carnelian stone. *Khyerri* = *khyedrangngi*, thine. 9, 10. *Menne* = *mannas*, besides.

Notes.

3. *Lha*, a god, *klu*, a water-spirit, pre-Buddhist godling. The meaning is that man hardly ever visits those regions and therefore cannot enjoy the spectacle. 5, 6. 11, 12 are addressed to the ibex. 11. Also the female ibex has small horns.

Song No. XIV. — The Girl of Sheh.

Text.

1. rgyabri shel dkar mchod rten
2. mdunna γyu mthso sngonpo
3. mth'a na metog 'abar byung
4. phayul skyid mnyam chags
5. mth'a na γser chen 'abar byung
6. shel mkhar 'oma 'akhyil byung
7. yasteng rtsena bzhugspa
8. rtsebai rtse lha snyanpo
9. brtses rgyallu gar skyodna
10. lhayis sku srung mdzod dang
11. mi dbang sde skyong rnam rgyalla
12. thseyi dngos grub stsol dang
13. nomos mospai blama
14. lha khang lha bris 'adra
15. bzangmos mospai blama
16. lha khang lha bris 'adra
17. dam thsig γtsangmai ngang dang
18. dkon mchogla mchodpa 'abul
19. dam thsig γtsangmai ngang dang
20. ngan slongla sbyinpa γtong.

Translation.

1. On the hill in the back there is the *mChod rten* of white crystal
2. In the front there is the lake, blue like a turquoise.
3. On the shore flowers are in bloom.
4. They grow in my fatherland together with its fortune.
5. On the shore large yellow flowers are in bloom.
6. In the **Castle of Sheh** the milk flows.
7. On the high summit there lives
8 The well speaking *lha* of the summit.
9. Wherever our gracious prince goes,
10. Oh *lha*, protect his life!
11. To **Midbang sdeskyong rnamrgyal**
12. Give blessing during his lifetime!
13. **The Lama, who is loved by the girl**
14. Is like a picture of the gods in the temple.
15. The Lama, who is loved by **bZangmo**
21. Is like a picture of the gods in the temple.
76. With pure and holy words
18. Bring offerings to God!
19. With pure and holy words
10. Give alms to the poor!

Notes.

This song was composed after the fashion of the court song, but the metre is not always strictly observed. 14. *Lhabris*, the written god, a picture of a god. 11. The name of the prince means 'power of man, protector of the nation, ng of all.'

Notes.

1. *mChod rten*, a Ladakhi *stūpa*. 2. There used to be a lake in front of the Castle of Sheh. 6. Milk, a sign of abundance. 7, 8. Originally the *lhas* were supposed to live above the clouds and to descend only occasionally on certain hills, where little white altars were erected. Later on hill tops were believed to be the dwelling places of certain *lhas*. 13, 15. The girl who loves the Lama, is the poet of the song; *bZangmo*, the girl's name, means 'the good one.'

Song No. XV. — Harvest Festival at Skyurbuchan.

Text.

All. 1. zhag nang skarma 'adzoms yod
mentog ltanmo lei.
2. skarma rgyal stod sharbai zhag yod
mentog ltanmo lei.
3. yar ngoi bco lnga gangbai zhag
mentog ltanmo lei.

First party. 4. mentog ltanmo gangnas shags
mentog ltanmo lei.

Translation.

All. 1. This is the day of the constellation of the stars:
The flower show, hurra!
2. It is the day of the finest of the lunar mansions:
The flower show, hurra!
3. It is the 15th, when the first half of the month is full:
The flower show, hurra!

First party. 4. From where do you bring these showy flowers?
The flower show, hurra!

Second party.	5.	mentog ltanmo sharnas shags mentog ltanmo lei.	Second party.	5.	These showy flowers we bring from the East ! The flower show, hurra !
I.	6.	sharri skadcha cinda 'adug mentog ltanmo lei.	I.	6.	What news do you bring from the East ? The flower show, hurra !
II.	7.	rgyalpoi dbu rmog mthonpo 'adug mentog ltanmo lei.	II.	7.	There the king's helmet is very high ! The flower show, hurra !
I.	8.	mentog ltanmo gangnas yongs mentog ltanmo lei.	I.	8.	From where do you bring these showy flowers ! The flower show, hurra !
II.	9.	mentog ltanmo lhonas yongs mentog ltanmo lei.	II.	9.	These showy flowers we bring from the South ! The flower show, hurra !
I.	10.	lhoyi skadcha cinda 'adug mentog ltanmo lei.	I.	10.	What news do you bring from the South ? The flower show, hurra !
II.	11.	lhona 'abru sna 'adzommo 'adug, *etc.*	II.	11.	In the South there is abundance of all kinds of grain, *etc.*
I.	12.	mentog ltanmo gangnas yongs, *etc.*	I.	12.	From where do you bring these showy flowers ? *etc.*
II.	13.	mentog ltanmo byangnas yongs, *etc.*	II.	13.	These showy flowers we bring from the North ! *etc.*
I.	14.	byanggi skadcha cinda 'adug, *etc.*	I.	14.	What news do you bring from the North ? *etc.*
II.	15.	byangna thsva bal 'adzommo 'adug, *etc.*	II.	15.	In the north there is abundance of salt and wool ! *etc.*
I.	16.	mentog ltanmo gangnas yongs, *etc.*	I.	16	From where do you bring these showy flowers ? *etc.*
II.	17.	mentog ltanmo nubnas yongs, *etc.*	II.	17.	These showy flowers we bring from the West ! *etc.*
I.	18.	nubkyi skadcha cinda 'adug, *etc.*	I.	18.	What news do you bring from the West ? *etc.*
II.	19.	nubna thsos sna 'adzommo 'adug, *etc.*	II.	19.	In the West they dye with all kind of colours ! *etc.*
All.	20.	azhangpai ma zhingla lo lagssed, *etc.*	All.	20.	From our uncle's mother's fields there will be a good harvest ! *etc.*
	21.	azhangpai ma zhingla ljang 'akhrungssed, *etc.*		21.	In our uncle's mother's fields the first green appears, *etc.*
	22.	brgya bang gangste stong bang gang, *etc.*		22.	The barns for 100 and 1,000 bushels will be filled, *etc.*
	23.	mentogpa mgyogssa ltanmopa mgyogs, *etc.*		23.	Hasten, you flower boys, hasten, you dancers, *etc.*

24. dramanpa mgyogssa haribpa mgyogs, *etc.*
25. gangs stod mthonpoi steng dena, *etc.*
26. gangssi singge γyuralcan bzhugs, *etc.*
27. sing phrug legsmoi dg'abala γzigs, *etc.*
28. brag stod mthonpoi steng dena, *etc.*
29. skyin chen ba rgan brag stengdu bzhugs, *etc.*
30. sha phran 'adzommoi dg'abala γzigs, *etc.*
31. mkhar stod mthonpoi steng dena, *etc.*
32. mi chen gongma khrii kha bzhugs, *etc.*
33. grags zhan 'adzommoi dg'abala γzigs, *etc.*
34. makhang gru bzhii nang dena, *etc.*
35. skyid khang gru bzhii nang dena, *etc.*
36. yab yum γayiska bdemo nang 'adug, *etc.*
37. γnyen drung 'adzommoi dg'abala γzigs, *etc.*
38. ngazha thsangkai mentogla γzigs, *etc.*
39. phrugupa thsangkai mentogla γzigs
mentog ltanmo lei.

24. Hasten, you drummers, hasten, you clarinet players, *etc.*
25. On the top of the high ice-hill, *etc.*
26. There sits the ice-lion with the turquoise mane, *etc.*
27. Look at the joy of the lion's good child! *etc.*
28. On the top of the high rock, *etc.*
29. There sits the big ibex, the old ox, *etc.*
30. Look at the joy of all the young deer! *etc.*
31. There high up on the castle, *etc.*
32. All the king's family is sitting on thrones, *etc.*
33. Look at the joy of all the other famous men! *etc.*
34. Inside the four-cornered mother's room, *etc.*
35. Inside the four-cornered room of happiness, *etc.*
36. Father and mother live in comfort, *etc.*
37. Look at the joy of all the assembled friends! *etc.*
38. Look at all our flowers! *etc.*
39. Look at the flowers of all the children!
The flower show, hurra!

Notes.

4. Originally: from where does the flower show come? 6. *Cinda* ought to be spelled according to the views of Ladakhis *ci mda;* a parallel is *minda nyis, mi mda nyis,* about two men; thus a word mda [or perhaps *'ada*] 'about' seems to exist. 15. *'adzommo = 'adzompo,* gathered, abundantly. 20. *Pa* used as emphatic article; *lo lags sed,* it is a good year, the adjective used as a verb. 23. *mGyogspa,* quick, is also used as a verb. 26. *Ralcan,* having locks of hair. 34. *Makhang,* mother's room, is a certain part of the house near the fireside. 39. *Phrugupa,* the children as a body of dancers.

Notes.

The scene is the following: The village boys, who all through the summer have lived a shepherd life in distant secluded valleys, have to come down for the festival and dance whilst singing the above song; in their hands they carry long sticks covered all over with alpine flowers.

In v. 4-19 we have a little play of answering questions, which almost exactly corresponds to Wedding Song No. IV. The variations are the following: in the Wedding Songs the abundance of colours is attributed to the North, and the West is considered famous for medicines. 20. "Mother's fields" are very fertile fields.

26, 27. The ice lion and his child are originally the glacier and the brook, later on they developed into fabulous beings thought to be living there.

Song No. XVI. — A Dance.

Text.	Translation.
1. sgobongs nomoi γserla bzhangs mkhan yod lei	1. The body of the girl is as if it was built of gold :
2. skralo nomoi γyubai rgyal krang yod lei	2. The hair of the girl is like a turquoise willow.
3. γyasla 'akhor 'ang amai bomo	3. Now turn to the right, mother's daughter !
4. γyonla 'akhor 'ang bskal bzang rolma	4. Now turn to the left, **Skalzang Rolma** !
5. rgyab de la chog 'ang lei	5. Then break off backwards !
6. rgyab ri bzangpola ltaste rgyab de̱la chog	6. In the direction of the good hill in the back break off backwards !
7. mdun de la bsus ang lei	7. Now again advance, meeting [your companion]!
8. mdun la bsuste yar khodas la sesdar cos.	8. Advancing again give honour to God on high !

Notes.

1. *Sgobongs* = *sgopo*, body. It is remarkable, that the genitive *nomoi* is placed after the word it is related to ; *lei* to be pronounced like Dutch *lij*. 4. *Rolma* = *sgrolma*, see *Ladakhi Grammar*, Laws of Sound 3 ; the name means good *kalpa*, deliverer.' 5. *Chog*, imperative tense of *gcogpa*, a sudden move backwards in a dance. 8. *Khodas* = Khuda, God, Hindustani ; *sesdar* = *sijda*, prayer, Hindustani.

Notes.

In this song we have a queer mixture of Buddhism and Muhammadanism. Whilst the word *Khodas*, God, is only used by Muhammadan Tibetans, the name of the girl is quite a Buddhist one : also the idea of paying homage to a god by an ordinary dance is perfectly Buddhist.

Song No. XVII. — Tobacco from Kashmir.

Text.	Translation.
1. khaculli damagpo hazarri damag	1. Tobacco from Kashmîr is the tobacco o lords.
2. spyilimla skang dogs 'ang med	2. There is no fear of its being filled into a general [pipe].
3. buthsa ngarang khaculla cha zana	3. When I, a boy, shall go to Kashmir,
4. skompala skom chu rig yin	4. Then it will be water for the thirst.
5. ali buthsa dbus γtsangla cha zana	5. When Ali, the boy, will go to Central Tibet,
6. ngalbari ngal 'athso rig yin	6. It will be like rest to the weary.
7. khaculli damagpo culibai mentog	7. Tobacco from Kashmîr is like apricot blossom.
8. spyilimla skang dogs 'ang med	8. There is no fear of its being filled into a general [pipe].
9. buthsa ngarang dbus γtsangla chana	9. When I, a boy, will go to Central Tibet,
10. sunna sun rogs yin lei.	10. It will be my comforter, when I am homesick.

Notes.

1. *Damag* = *thamakha*, tobacco; *hazar* = *huzur*, Hindust. 2. *Spyilim* = *spyim*, compare First Series VII., *solongssed* = *songssed*. 6. *Ngalbari*, in some villages, for instance Phyang, the genitive of the participle ends in *pari* instead of *mkhanni*.

10. The verb *sunces* is used in Ladakhi mostly for 'being homesick.'

Notes.

2. This general pipe is the *hukka*, which is given round. 5. *Ali*, the boy, is the poet. The name is a Muhammadan one, the inhabitants of Purig being Mohamedans.

Song No. XVIII. — Good Wishes to the Bridegroom.

Text.

1. zhag bzangpola bltaste
2. amai buzhungugi bagston btangnged lei
3. skar bzangpola bltaste
4. dngos grub bstan 'adzinni bagston btangnged lei
5. amala bu zhig skyena
6. ngari blon chen thsogs shig skyes shig
7. stangscan rig skyena lei
8. dngos grub bstan 'adzin thsogs shig skyes shig.

Translation.

1. Looking out for a good day,
2. We shall celebrate the wedding of mother's little son.
3. Looking out for a good star,
4. We shall celebrate the wedding of **dNgosgrub bstan'adzin.**
5. If a boy should be born to the mother,
6. A boy like our great minister be born!
7. If a clever boy should be born,
8. A boy like dNgosgrub-bstan'adzin be born!

Notes.

2. For *buzhung* = *buchung* see *Lad. Grammar*, laws of sound ö; the boy is not a very little one, the diminutive is only a sign of affection.

6. *Ngari*, contraction of *ngaranggi*, our.

Notes.

1 and 3 refer to a good constellation of the stars. 6. The minister is the bridegroom himself.

Song No. XIX. — Good Wishes to the Bride.

Text.

1. dman mthsarmo nyerang bltams tsana
2. stang lha yulla cang zhig brdungssed lei
3. dman mthsarmo nyerang bltams tsana
4. yyog klu yulla dung cig rang phus
5. dman mthsarmo nyidkyi pangla dpalle nang sras shig skyes lei
6. dman mthsarmo nyidkyi pangla dpalle nang sras shig skyes lei
7. phod re rig songna 'ang lei
8. yserri nang golus sal 'ang lei
9. ma phodpa rig songna 'ang lei
10. mdzomo nang ru yon kun sal 'ang lei.

Translation.

1. When you, beautiful girl, were born,
2. How many [drums] did they not beat then in heaven.
3. When you, beautiful girl, were born,
4. They blew on a shell in the underworld.
5. Oh beautiful woman, from your womb may be born a son like **dPalle.**
6. Oh, beautiful woman, from your womb may be born a son like dPalle.
7. If you should be able to do so,
8. Kindly give me a golden coat.
9. If you should not be able to do so,
10. Give me the crooked horns of a female DZO.

Notes.

2. *Sed* = *ste yod*. 4. *Kluyul*, the realm, not only of the watersnakes, but of the whole lower world.

5. *Nang* is said to stand for *dang*, which in certain cases may be translated by 'like.' 7. *Phodre* = *phodres* = *phodces*, parallel to *rig* = *cig*. 10. Here the *nang* seems to have been added only for the sake of the metre.

Notes.

5, 6. dPalle is one of the most famous heroes of the Kesar Myths. 10. Although horns are often offered to the *lhas*, it is difficult to see what the musician and singer wishes to do with them; people take this line for a joke.

Song No. XX. — Preparations for a Dance.

Text.	Translation.
1. γyogmabai nachung kun rtsesla mkhaspa	1. The girls of the lower village are clever in dancing.
2. rtsesla bzhangs 'ang nachung thsangka	2. Get up then for a dance, all you girls!
3. sgobongs bdemoi 'abog chung zhig gon	3. To improve your appearance, put on a shawl!
4. sha mdog bdemoi shoglo γsum skus	4. To improve your complexion, smear your face three times with *shoglo!*
5. 'abog chungbo gonte ltanmola yong	5. Having put on the shawl, come to the dance!
6. shoglo γsum bskuste ltanmola shogs 'ang.	6. Having smeared your faces, come to the dance!

Notes.

4. *Shoglo*, a herb, the yellow juice of which is smeared over the face

Notes.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from Vol. XXX., p. 551.)

Carabansara; ann. 1404: *s. v.* Caravanseray, 772, ii.

Carabeli; ann. 1598: *s. v.* Carambola, 123, i.

Carabus; ann. 638: *s. v.* Caravel, 124, ii.

Caracal; ann. 1813: *s. v.* Shoe-goose, 629, ii.

Cracatis; ann. 1548: *s. v.* Carrack, 127, i.

Caracca; ann. 1566-68: *s. v.* Carrack, 127, i, twice.

Carack; ann. 1684: *s. v.* Carrack, 127, ii.

Caracoa; *s. v.* 122, ii, *s. v.* Carrack, 127, i, *s. v.* Karkollen, 363, ii; ann. 1613: *s. v.* Orankay, 492, i; ann. 1711: *s. v.* 122, ii.

Caracoli; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Porcelain, 549, i.

Caracolle; *s. v.* Caracoa, 122, ii; ann. 1606: *s. v.* Caracoa, 122. ii.

Caracora; ann. 1606: *s. v.* Caracoa, 122, ii.

Caraffe; *s. v.* 122, ii, *s. v.* Carboy, 125, i.

Çarafo; ann. 1560: *s. v.* Shroff, 630, i.

Carajan; *s. v.* Caréns, 773, i.

Carake; ann. 1611: *s. v.* Langasaque, 384, i.

Caramania; ann. 1727: *s. v.* Sophy, 649, i.

Carambola; *s. v.* 122, ii, *s. v.* Cumrunga, 216, ii; ann. 1563 (twice), 1598 (twice) and 1672: *s. v.* 123, i.

Carambolage; *s. v.* Carambola, 123, i.

Çarame; *s. v.* Cerame, 138, i; ann. 1551: *s. v.* Cerame, 138, i.

Caranchies; ann. 1823: *s. v.* Cranchee, 211, i.

Caranja; ann. 1536: *s. v.* Salsette (a), 594, ii; ann. 1644: *s. v.* Panwell, 511. i

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON MALAGASY CURRENCY BEFORE THE FRENCH OCCUPATION.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

From the Notes of the Rev. C. P. Cory.

ALL payments were made in *vakim-bola*, "broken money," made up of **chips of the five-franc piece.** Every chip had to have some recognisable portion of the five-franc piece on it to pass as currency. With that proviso a chip of any size would be accepted, however small. The chips were weighed out by the purchaser.

The **currency of the country was in fact such chips of silver by weight.** But, as an exception, the full five-franc piece would be accepted in payment, and dollars of sorts were also passed. The number of the only coins thus in circulation being naturally limited, as there was no native mint,[1] the Native Government put a factitious value on the whole coin, which was 1/12th or $8\frac{1}{3}$% in excess of the value of the pieces of the coin cut up and passed by weight: *i. e.*, the five-franc piece untouched was worth $8\frac{1}{3}$% more than its weight when cut up. This was done in order to prevent the reckless cutting up of the coin.[2] The above percentage was thus arrived at. **The Malagasy unit of currency was a red seed called voamena :** 24 *voamena* went to the five-franc piece : the excess value of the whole coin over its parts by weight was made to be 2 *voamena.*

For the purposes of its currency the Native Government issued **standard weights,** and any tampering with these weights was a grave offence. A man using a false weight in any of the large markets would in all probability have been immediately stoned to death without trial.

Scale of Weights.

10 variraiventy	make	1 eranambatry
3 eranambatry	do.	1 voamena
3 voamena	do.	1 sikajy
2 sikajy	do.	1 kirobo
2 kirobo	do.	1 loso
2 loso	do.	1 ariary or farantsa
—		—
720 variraiventy	do.	1 ariary or farantsa

In the above scale, up to the *voamena*, the units are native Malagasy seeds : beyond that they represent parts of the dollar. Thus : **ariary is the Spanish dollar or real,** through the Arabic *ar-riâl*, while the **farantsa** merely represents the name "French" and is used for the **five-franc piece.** The term *ariary* is used usually, but not always, for the dollar made up of cut parts, *i. e.*, for the dollar of account. *Loso* (pron. *lûshu*) is for the Arabic word *nisf*, half, through Swahili *nusf* : *kirobo* (pron. *kirûbu*) is the Arabic *rub'*, a quarter, with the common Malagasy and Swahili prefix *ki* : *sikajy* (pron. *sikâdz*) is the Turkish *sekiz*, eight (*sekinji*, an eighth) through Arabic and Swahili. There are other and false derivations current for *kirobo* and *sikajy* : *viz.*, that *kirobo* represents the Arabic coin *kharrûbah*, and that *sikajy* represent the Italian *scudo* or crown. But these identifications do not fit in, because the *kirobo* obviously weighed 90 grs., whereas the *kharrûbah* was only 3 grs. The *kirobo* corresponds in reality to the Arabic great copper *fels*, which was 90 grs. Again, the *sikajy* at 45 grs. is only an eighth of the Italian *scudo* of 360 grs. Whereas the Spanish dollar and its parts came naturally to Madagascar from the slave-dealing Arabs, who had their head-quarters on the Swahili Coast.

[1] Latterly the Government had begun to coin five-franc pieces on its own account.

[2] It was effected by *adding* to the standard weights made for weighing the parts, not by *adding* a value to the uncut coin.

Out of this scale we get one or two very interesting facts. The dollar and five-franc piece were to the Malagasy obviously convertible terms for the same money unit. The weight of this money, as a theoretically standard coin, may be taken as 360 grs. Troy. Now the *ariary* or *farantsa* weighed 720 *variraiventy* or rice-seeds: therefore **the lower unit of the Malagasy ponderary system was practically half a grain Troy.** It was so in daily practise; thus, when a grain of quinine was required as medicine, it was weighed out by 2 *variraiventy*.

Specimens of the standard *loso*, *kirobo*, *sikajy* and *voamena*, small cubes of good steel accurately made and stamped thus, have been weighed and were found to weigh as follows :—

double voamena	34	grs. Troy
sikajy	52	
kirobo	103	
loso	210	

Taking these weights first as proportional parts, it will be found that they do not exactly (though they very nearly do) work out correctly. Beginning at the bottom of the scale we find

1 voamena should be	17 grs. and actually is	17 grs.
1 sikajy	51	52
1 kirobo	102	103
1 loso	204	210

By reversing the process we find

1 loso should be	210 grs. and actually is	210 grs.
1 kirobo	105	103
1 sikajy	52½	52
1 voamena	17½	17

By the theory of the scales already explained they should run thus :—

1 voamena	15 grs.
1 sikajy	45
1 kirobo	90
1 loso	180

But the actual specimens of the standard weights we have been examining are intended to mark the difference between the weight in silver of the five-franc piece cut up and the five-franc piece uncut, for the reasons above explained. That is, they are enhanced weights: the enhancement being two *voamena* in the five-franc piece. Now, if we are to accept the enhancement as being intended to be 1/12th or 8⅓%, then the enhanced *voamena* would weigh 15 grs. plus 1¼, *i. e.*, 16¼ grs.: or in other words something less than the standard *voamena* seems to have been intended to weigh. At any rate we get thus **a clear reason why the standard voamena is what we find it to be.**

And this leads us to some interesting facts. The actual five-franc piece which the Malagasy cut up (or made at their mint) must have weighed 366 grs. as nearly as may be, and when cut up its weight value was enhanced by two *voamena*, i. e., to 32½, 34 or 35 grs. So that the weight of the cut up piece was made to be 398½ to 401 grs. The Spanish dollar of commerce weighs 401 grs., and we thus see **why it was that ariary was the term usually employed for the cut up dollar, while farantsa stood for the uncut piece.** And we further see the reason for the particular enhancement ordered by the Native Government. It

simply made the cut up dollar equal in weight to the big Spanish dollar and left the small uncut French dollar as it was, helped in this aim by the fact of the actual difference being about two of their standard seeds when proportionately enhanced. The people naturally muddled the two denominations in speech and practice.

The seed weights theoretically work out thus: the **variraiventy or rice seed** equals ½ gr, Troy : **the eranambatry or seed of the Cajanus Indicus** (pigeon-pea, Congo-pea, cadjan-pea, no-eye — the universal *dâl* of India) equals 5 grs. : **the voamena, the red-seed** of the (?) equals 15 grs. There is nothing Indian or Far-Eastern about this seed-unit system, but taking the old rupee or *tôlâ* (the representative of the rupee as a weight) at half the theoretical dollar or 180 grs. Troy we get a suggestive scale :—

8 Indian ratîs[3] make		1 voamena
12 voamena	do.	1 rupee
—	—	
96 ratîs		1 rupee

which is the fact in the modern popular Indian scale. Again taking the old *ratî* as 1,875 grs. (its standard) and equal ⅛th *voamena*, we get the *voamena* as equal to 15 grs., which is its Troy weight. However, this analogy, unless a trade with India of sufficient volume can be established for long years back, will not bear further following up.

Like all peoples of their class of civilisation **the Malagasy divided their currency into very small portions**, the mental operations of which are most clearly brought out by the following tabulations.

The *eranambatry*, the *dâl* seed or pea, consisted of 10 rice seeds (*vary*). Each of these seeds had its separate name, consisting of the word *vary*, rice, plus the numeral, plus *venty*, lump or piece : thus :—

var-irai-venty	... rice 1 piece
vari-roa-venty	... rice 2 pieces
vari-telo-venty	... rice 3 do.
vari-efa-benty	... rice 4 do.
vari-dimi-venty	... rice 5 do.
vari-enim-benty	... rice 6 do.
vari-fito-venty	... rice 7 do.
vari-valo-venty	... rice 8 do.
vari-sivi-venty	... rice 9 do.
eranambatry	... 1 full ambatry (pea)

Of these, however, only the *varidimiventy* or five rice seeds, the *varifitoventy* or 7 rice seeds and the *eranambatry* of 10 rice seeds were in common use and parlance. The *varidimiventy* was the half *ambatry* and the *varifitoventy* was the conventional half *ilavoamena* (itself the half *voamena* or red seed).

3 Seed of the *abrus precatorius*, known as Black-eyed Susan in St. Helena among its many nick-names—*vide Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 314.

The full scale ran thus:—

Full Scale.

varidimiventy (half ambatry)	... ...	5 rice seeds.
varifitoventy (quarter voamena)	... ...	7 „ „
eranambatry (a full pea)	... ...	10 „ „
ilavoamena (one side of a red seed)	... ...	15 „ „
roanambatry (two peas)	... ...	20 „ „
voamena (red seed)	... ...	30 „ „
efatrambatry (four peas)	... ...	40 „ „
lasiray (one side and one)	... ...	45 „ „
dimimambatry (five peas)	... ...	50 „ „
roavoamena (two red seeds)	... ...	60 „ „
lasiroa (one side and two)	... ...	75 „ „
sikajy (an eighth)	... ...	90 „ „
lasitelo (one side and three)	... ...	105 „ „
venty (substance, volume, (?) the lump)	... ...	120 „ „
iraimbilanja (the full weight)	... ...	150 „ „
kirobo (a fourth)	... ...	180 „ „
loso (a half)	... ...	360 „ „
ariary (a *real*, dollar)	... ...	720 „ „

The multiples of the *ambatry* cease at the *dimimambatry* of 50 rice seeds and for the intermediate quantities between those given in the scales the terminology is to some extent mixed up between the *ambatry* and the *voamena*, thus it is correct to say :—

roavoamena-sy-eran, two red seeds and one (ambatry), = 70 rice seeds.

sikajy-latsaka-eran, a sikajy wanting one (ambatry), = 80 rice seeds.

roavoamena-latsaka-varifitoventy, two red-seeds wanting 7 rice seeds. = 53 rice seeds.

roavoamena-latsaka-varidimiventy, two red-seeds wanting 5 rice seeds, = 55 rice seeds.

voamena-sy-varidimiventy, a red-seed and 5 rice seeds, = 35 rice seeds.

voamena-latsaka-varidimiventy, a red-seed less 5 rice seeds, = 25 rice seeds.

It would be incorrect to say :—*roanambatry-sy-varidimiventy*, two peas and 5 rice seeds, for 25 rice seeds, or *dimimambatry-sy-varidimiventy*, five peas and 5 rice seeds for 55 rice seeds, though theoretically correct.

All this shows that **the full Malagasy scale was made up of three separate scales** based respectively on the *ambatry* or pea, the *voamena* or red seed, and the dollar, but all mixed up in their subdivisions and multiples. Thus we have

(1) The Ambatry Scale.

varidimiventy	... ...	5 rice seeds	or ½ ambatry
eranambatry	... ...	10 „ „	or 1 „
roanambatry	... ...	20 „ „	or 2 „
efatambatry	... ...	40 „ „	or 4 „
dimimambatry	... ...	50 „ „	or 5 „

at which point the scale stops, the missing point of 3 *ambatry* being superseded by the *voamena*, the unit of the next scale.

(2) The Voamena Scale.

varifitoventy	... ... 7 rice seeds	or	¼ voamena[4]
ilavoamena	... ... 15 „ „	or	½ „
voamena	... ... 30 „ „	or	1 „
lasiray	... ... 45 „ „	or	1½ „
roavoamena	... ... 60 „ „	or	2 „
lasiroa	... ... 75 „ „	or	2½ „
lasitelo	... ... 105 „ „	or	3½ „

Here again the missing point of 3 *voamena* has been superseded by the *sikajy* of 90 seeds of the next scale. As also have those of 4 *roamena* and 5 *voamena* by the separate terms *venty* and *iraimbilanja* (pron. *bilândza)*. The **venty**, I take it, corresponds to the upper Troy weight, "the lump" or full amount put into the scale :.and the **iraimbilanja** to the greater lump or increased upper Troy weight, the term meaning "full weight," *i. e.*, the extreme amount put into the scale.[5]

(3) The Dollar Scale.

sikajy	... ... 90 rice seeds	or	⅛ dollar
kirobo	... ... 180 „ „	or	¼ „
loso	... ... 360 „ „	or	½ „
ariary	... ... 720 „ „	or	1 „

The available evidence seems to give **a clear history of the full scale**: as if the Malagasy had by degrees raised their upper unit in the Troy scale from very low beginnings. Thus, it would be arguable that the original scale had been 10 rice seeds to the pea, with the rice seed as the lower and the pea as the higher denomination, while the pea itself gave way to the red seed of three peas, which, in its turn, was superseded by the imported trade dollar of 24 red seeds, the final upper Troy weight. **In the full scale, in fact, we seem to see reflected the extension by degrees of Malagasy trade and huckstering operations.**

The English in Madagascar had no difficulty in reconciling the local scale to the money they had been accustomed to, by taking standard dollar at 4s. This made the great unit of all weighments, **the voamena,** to be **two-pence** and henceforth there was no difficulty in making the rest of the scale fit in with the English monetary system. In their dealings it was customary to weigh out payments as low as the half-*voamena* or a penny in silver; below that denomination values of the minute pieces of silver were guessed or assumed by appearance or feel.

The cowry was once also in currency, but it has long been confined to the savage tribes of the West Coast. However, it seems to have left traces in the nomenclature of the more civilised currency. Thus we have *akorambola*, uncoined silver currency (*akora*, shell: *vola*, money): *akorambolamena*, uncoined gold currency (*mena*, red). Silver money went by the name of *volafotsy*, white money.

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[4] Conventionally that is.

[5] *Iraimbilanja* is a regular derivative of *iraika-vilanja*, in the sense of "one full-weight," through a common root *lanja*, a weight, derived from the Swahili *mlanza*, to carry.

THE WRECK OF THE "DODDINGTON," 1755.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXX. p. 499.)

Transactions on Bird Island.

Monday 25th. The Wind W^{t}erly and Fair Wea^{r}. This Morning the Boat Went out a Fishing and Made two Trips with [caught] 23 Fish [ ].[31] The Carpenter Employ^{d} on the Timbers; Smith Mending a Saucepan; people Carrying Over Plank.

Tuesday 26. Wind and Wea^{r} as p^{r} Day past. Had great Success to day. Catched 45 large Fish, Weighing one with Another About 6 pound apiece. Lickwise Fetched the Pork from **the Other Island** & am in great hopes Smoaking will Keep it from Growing Worse. Carpenter as before. Smith Finish'd a Saucepan & Made a Frying pan out of a Copper [Pot] and Some Fish Hooks. Boil^{d} Salt Water all day and Made About ½ a pound of Salt.

Wednesday 27th. Light Variable Winds. In the Morning, Went Out the Boat a Fishing and Brought in 27 Fish. In the Afternoon I went Round the Island in the Boat to See if I Could Find the Ships Bottom, but did not. Caught 11 Fish & Came in. Carpenter Employed on the Timbers, Smith Making a Maull. This Turn'd out a Fine day to go to the Main, but looking Dirty [in the Morn]: was the Reason we did not attempt it. Raised a Tent On the Building place to Smoak Our Pork in. The Salt we Made is so Copperish Cannot Use it.

Thursday 28th. Fresh Breezes E^{t}erly, this morning **M^{r} Collett & 2 men Sett out for the Main** in the Small Boat, but the day did not Turn out so good as it promised; for before they got one third of the Way Over, the Wind Freshened & looked Dirty, which Soon Made too Much Sea, for that little Babble of a Boat, So was [were] Obliged to Return. They had not landed ¼ of an hour Before the Barr Broke so Much that it would be [have been] Impossible for them to [have] Come in; however, Shall have the Other Tryall [Tryal] the First Oppertunity Made Some More Salt but is [prov'd] as bad as the First.

Friday 29. Variable Wind & Cloudy Weather, the people Clearing away the Wreck, to come at a Sail to Cover Tent we Intend to Raise on that Side the Boat is Building, to gett our things in Readiness, when please God, we shall be Ready to go Away, which I fear want [will not] be this 3 Months. Made a Dam to Hold Salt water. We Are in hopes the Sun will Make Salt. Notwithstanding Put in Some Tons None will Remain one the Top 10 Minutes, so gave Over all Thoughts of Success in this Affair.

Saturday Aug^{t} 30th. Wind W^{t}erly and Cloudy Wea^{r}. Carpenter at Work on the Timbers people Carrying round Sparrs to Build Tents, the Boat went [out] a Fishing & Caught 20 Fish.

Sunday Aug^{t} 31. Wind Southerly & Cloudy Wea^{r} & Rain. Our only want now is Bread.

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31 A word erased after 'fish.'

Monday Sept^r 1. Moderate Breezes Easterly and Some Rain which Hinders The Carpenter from Working.

Tuesday 2^d. Light Breezes W^terly and Cloudy Wea^r with Some Rain. The Boat went Out a Fishing. Return'd with Only 3 Fish. The Carpenter at Work on the Timbers, the people Opening the Kiln, and Carrying Wood for Another.

Wednesday 3^d The first part Light Airs E^terly and hazey Wea^r. Latter wind W^terly. About 8 o Clock this Morning **Neale Bothwell and 2 Others, Sett** [set] **Out for the Main in the Small** [Jolly] **Boat,** & 4 Men on the Cattamaran a fishing. In About 2 hours the Cattamaran Came in, not liking the looks of the Wea^r and Brought in 3 Dog Fish & a Shark. An Ugly Accident happened to the Carpenter, by Cutting his Legg to the Bone and it was with much Difficulty Stopp'^d the Blood. Kept a Fire in the Highest part of the Island all Night for a Signall to the Boat, but She is not Returned.

Thursday 4. Fresh Gales from N W to S W, so that I did not Expect the Boat. Carpenter at Work on the Timber, people Carrying Plank round. In the Evening it Blew so hard that our large Cattamaran broke loose And by having no Boat, to Send out, Lose [Lost] her.

Friday 5^th. Fresh Breezes & Variable. People Employ'd Bringing Over peices of Topmasts in Order to Make a Cattamaran Large Enough to Bring Any thing from the Main, in Case the [Jolly] Boat Succeeds.

Saturday 6^th. Light Airs & Calm all Day. [Are] So am in great Hopes [therefore] of Seeing The Boat. At Noon Grew Very Uneasy at not Seeing of her, but Just as we Were going to Dinner, two of the people Came Running Over the Island, Calling out the Boat, the Boat, which I was greatly Rejoyced at, and Indeed Every Body Else. But [our Joy] it was Soon lessen'd: for Upon looking with the Glass, Could See but one man Rowing with Both Oars. [We] Therefore Conjectured immediately that the Other Two was [were] detained; but Soon After Saw Two [in the Boat] which Gave us Spirits Again, thinking the Other might not be well. So [we] Rest Myself Satisfied, till [She came] the Boat comes in, Which She did [was] in About an Hour after, With two only [2 of them] which was [were] **Rosenburry & Taylor.** As Soon as they Stept Out [they] of the Boat fell on their Knees to Thank God for their Deliverance [& safe Return to] this Island Again, Bad as it was. They Were Very Much Spent with Rowing And want of water & provissions. [We] Therefore helped them to the Tent & Gave them some Fish, which we dress'd Against [their Coming in] they come in, which They Eat Very hearty [heartily] & Went to Sleep. [We] Did not Care to Ask any Questions till they Awoke; when **they Gave the Following Account.** When th[e]y Were $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way Over [they] let go their Killock and Each Took half a Cake & a draught of water; and then Rowed Again. About 3 o Clock got Round The point where I was in hopes, was a Harbour (the Land Appearing Double were) but it Proved no Such thing. [They] Row'd round Another but Still Found no Harbour. [Only][32] A Very Large Surf all along Shore. About 4 o Clock, they Pull^d in Shore. Detrimin'd [Detrimining] to Land [which they did], but it proved **Fatal to Bothwell:** for as Soon as

[32] 'Only' written over word erased.

they got in the Surf the Boat Fill'd & he was Drown'd. The Other two, Just got on Shore with Life [their Lives]. The Boat was on Shore as Soon as they Were, but without their Provisions & [the] things they had for to Trade with. The first thing they Endeavoured to do was to get the Boat up from the Water Side in Order to Oversett her, & Sleep under her [that][33] Night; but being so tire'd [fatigued] with Rowing & Swiming was [were] not Able Stirr her [to do it]. By this time it was Dark. Therefore Took their Lodgings under a Tree, and by what they Told me After was [were] Surprizd they Were not Devour'd by the Wild Beasts.[34] As Soon as it was Day light, they went to the Place Where they Left the Boat, but to their great Surprize Found She was Gone, but Walking a little way [farther] Upon the Sand they found her. She had been Taken off by the Surf & [was] washed on Shore Again.[35] In looking round them they Saw a Man which they Walked towards. He no sooner perceived [them] than he ran into the Woods, which are [were] Very thick there. However, they went to the place Where they Saw the Man [him], & there Found Part of Bothwells Body.[36] This frightned them much, [especially] as They Saw the print of the feet of a Great Many Beasts. They then would have Gladly Return'd, without seeking [making] any Further Discovery, & Attempted to do it, but Blowing fresh and [having] a Large Sea Against them[37] the Boat Over Sett a Second Time with them. Being Drove on Shore together [again they] hauld her up & assoon as they Gathere'd a Little Grass to Eat, Over sett the Boat [her] in Order to Shelter them from The Wild Beasts. [In looking about][38] They found a Root as Big as a large Apple & not much Unlike a potatoe, Which Was Very Watry & [not so well][39] Tasted. However, they were Glad of that, Bad As it was, having Nothing Else to Subsist One [On]. They Saw Neither Man nor [or] Beast all this day; and at Night got under ye Boat, but did not Sleep much, for they Heard the Beasts Close to the Boat all [by them the whole] Night, which by the description, they give of them, must be [have been] Tygers. As Soon as they Perceivd day Light, they haul'd Some of the Sand from Under the Boat's Gunnell to See if the Tygers were [still] About them for they had not heard them for Some Time before and tho they Saw None was [Nothing of them, were] Afraid to Venture out, till a while After. But upon Seeing a Mans Foot they Lifted the Boat & Gott out [got] from under. The man [soon ran][40] to two Others & a Boy at Some distance. At First they made a Sign for Our people to go away, which they Complyed With Immediately by going [endeavouring] to Launch the Boat, tho' it Blew Very hard at The Same Time.[41] The Natives [they say then] Ran to our people [them] with their Launces in their hands & Rosenburry Imprudently took up a pistol (which Was Washed Out of the Boat when first Oversett, & found on the Sand Afterwards with the best [Boat s] Mast) and advanced towards them thinking to Frighten Them away, But was Mistaken; for they Spread themselvs and Immediatly Surrounded them Both Whetting their Lances,[42] Rosenburry Ran into the Sea, and Taylor fell on his Knees & Beggd for Mercy. But they began beating him about the Back & Head With a Short Stick and Beat him till he Lay down for Dead. Then They pulld of His Shirt and Waistcoat and was [were] pulling of his Trousers, but being recovered from a Blow that Stune'd him, would not let them Take his Trousers, crying [making Signs] for Mercy. They at last desisted. Rosenburry Was all this Time in the Water. They now made Signs for Him to Come on Shore, which he Refused Signifying to them that they Would kill him; on Which they Pointed to Taylor as Much as to Say, They had not Kill'd him. He then Throwd [them] the pistol, [his] waiscoat & & *(sic)* Trousers, and Every thing but his Shirt, and then Came to them. They did not Touch him, but Took the Boats Mast & pistol & Shew'd him how he Ran after them, & Laugh'd, Seemingly well pleased with Their Clothes, which they put one Immediately, Some [snatching] one thing & Some Another. They Took Every bit of Rope they found in the Boat. They Seemed very fond of the Iron Work & Took

[33] '& . . . . that' written over words erased.
[34] A line and a half erased here.
[35] A line erased here.
[36] 4 words erased here
[37] Half a line erased here.
[38] 'In looking about' written over words erased.
[39] 'Not so well' written over words erased.
[40] 'Soon ran' written over words erased.
[41] 2 words erased.
[42] Half a line erased here.

off the Pentle of the Rudder, & was [were] going to Break the Stem of the Ring that was in it, but as Soon as Our People Perceiv'd it [that]. they Cry'd & fell on their Knees, Making Signs to them Not to do it; on Which they desisted. They then Made Signs to the Natives for Some what [thing] to Eat, on which they pointed their Lances to Our Peoples Breasts & Repeated the Same as Oft [Often] as they Ask'd. Rosenburry Took up Some Grass & Eat; Upon which, One of the Natives took up Some of the Roots, that lay by them, which I mentioned before, & Gave to Our People. When they found there was Nothing More to be got, they made Signs for Our people to go, but the Wind Blowing Strong, W'terly, they made Signs that they Could not go. They then Made Signs for Our people to Cover themselves with the Boat and go to Sleep under her: and so left them. The Next Morning Proved fair Weather and a Light Breeze Eterly. They Launched the Boat As Soon as it was Day. With Much Difficulty got through the Surf And row'd along Shore, till they Saw the Island and then pull'd for it. By their description, **the Natives are Hottentots**, Wearing a Skin like them [those] at The Cape of Good Hope & Clacking When they Speak like them. In the Morning the Cattamaran went went *(sic)* out a Fishing and Returned at Noon with a few. In the Afternoon the Boot went out a Fishing but did not Catch more than Serv'd for Supper. This Morning the Sun Was Eclips'd from 8 o Clock till 11 : ¾ of it Obscured. In the Evening Killed a Hogg.

Sunday 7 Sept^r^. Fresh Gales W^t^erly & Cloudy Weather. Nothing Done this day.

Monday 8. The First part a fresh Breeze W^t^erly. The Last Light Airs Southerly, Carpenter Employ'd on the Timbers. People Employ'd Carrying Round Plank, Smith Makeing a Handle to a Sword Blade. We Intend having one Each Man, Made out of Iron Hoops; also a Launce To Defend Ourselves, in Case Should be Obliged to Land to get Water And provissions. This Day had great Success in Catching 75 Large Fish which wou^d^ last Some Time, if had Salt to Cure them, for want of which Intend to Smoak Them. in Hopes That will Preserve them.

[43]**Tuesday 9th.** Hard Gales at S W. The Carpenter Employed as before, People Carrying round Plank and Making a Kiln for Warming the Plank for The Boats Bottom, **on the Same place where Some Unhappy people had Made their Tent as we Suspected Some time ago, by Reason of A parsell of Stones being Gathered** as I Imagine to Skreen their Covering from Blowing of. **Their** [*sic*] **was Some Deal Boards Lay'd as a Platform under which we Found a Great deal of Iron Work,** Such as Bolts Hooks & Nails, which Suppose was Burnt of the Wood, they made Theire Fire With. There is Some peices of Timber About the place, Where we Are Building Our Boat, the thick end of a large Sparr and Some Railers & Boards. There was Also Some Bolts, and Other Iron Work, found On the Other Island, but not so Much Decay'd as that Were the Tent Was One. Lickwise the Stanchin going down the Hatchway, with the Steps On it, which is Much Fresher than the Wood on this Island **which Convinces me that Severall Ships has Shared the Same Fate of The Doddington, & I made no doubt but Capt^n^ Sampsons Conjectures of the Dolphin[44] was Very Just.**

Wednesday 10th Sept^r^. Strong Gales at S W with SomeShowers of Rain, Saved 2 Butts of water; This Morning the Smoak Tent Blew down, the Weather prevents the Carpenter from doing Much, the Smith Making Nails Built the Smoak Tent.

[43] See this Day's Work in the Paper of References. [Note in MS., but the Paper is not now forthcoming.]
[44] [Wrecked in 1748. See footnote, Vol XXX. p 465, *ante*. — ED.]

Thursday Sept^{r}. 11. Fresh Gales Easterly and fair Wea^{r}. The Carpenter Finished the Timbers, People Carrying Over Sparrs to Build the Tent, Smith Making Nails.

Friday 12th. Light Airs & Calms. Carpenter Dubbing the Outside of the Timbers. for Planking, the people Building the Tent and Carrying round Sparrs for the Same; Smith Making Nails. There is too much Surf On the Barr to go a Fishing, therefore have recourse too [to] Our Old Diet Pengwin Broth.

Saturday 13. Wind W^{t}erly and Fair Wea^{r}. The Boat went a fishing And Brought in 24 Fish. Carpenter as before, People Building the Tent, found a Grapnail washe'd on Shore in a Shroud Hawser.

Sunday 14. Wind N W & fair Wea^{r}. The Cattamaran went to the Other Island And Brought 25 Gallons of Brandy: and the Boat Brought in 24 Fish.

Monday 15th. Moderate Breezes S^{o}erly, Carpenter Employ'd Planking The Bottom. The Boat Brought in 24 Fish, Smith Making Nails; people Carrying round Cordage & Cleaning of it.

Tuesday 16. Light Breezes & Calm. The Boat went out and Brought in 12 Fish. Carpenter & Smith as Before. People Cleaning the Tent that We Intend Moving into to Morrow.

Wednesday 17th Sept^{r}. Light Breezes W^{t}erly and fair Wea^{r}. This Morning Moved Every Thing Over to the Other Side of the Island to the New Tent. Carpenter & Smith Employ'd as before. Being Very Smooth Water I went Round the Island to look for the Ships Bottom, Which I Imagine is Kept out by the Dead Weight that is in it, but Could See Nothing of it. However had good Success in Catching 30 Fish & Came in. The Boat went out Again & Brought in 25 More. Sent the Cattamaran To the Other Island for the Remainder of the Brandy.

Thursday 18. Fresh Gales W^{t}erly & Cloudy Wea^{r}. In Clearing the before Mentiond Grapnail Found another. [We] Cleared them Both, and got them up: Cleared [also] a peice of a Hawser for a Cable.

Friday 19th. The First part Moderate Breezes Easterly and Cloudy Weather the Latter fresh Gales at N W. The Carpenter & Smith as Before. Two men went out a Fishing, but Returned without any, being too much Sea for the Boat to Ride.

Saturday 20. Fresh Gales Westerly. [Too] To Much Sea to go a Fishing. Carpenter Finished 4 Streaks on the Starboard Side. People Employed Opening the Kiln and made another also. Kill^{d} a Hogg.

Sunday 21st. Fresh Gales and fair Wear.

Monday 22d. Fresh Gales Westerly and Cloudy Wear with Rain. Saved 2½ Tons. Carpenter Could not Work.

Tuesday 23d. The First part Light Airs Wterly & Calm. The Latter Fresh Gales Easterly. The Carpenter Employ'd Planking, Smith making Nails. The Boat Brought in 12 Fish.

Wednesday 24th. Wind and Wear as pr day past. Carpenter & Smith as Before. The Boat Brought in 12 Fish.

Thursday 25th. Wind & Wear as before. Carpenter as before, People Bringing Round Water for a Sea Store. Boat went out & Brought in 8 Fish.

Friday 26. The First part Wterly and Rain, latter Fair Wear. This day Caught 48 Fish. The Carpenter Planking, the Smith not at Work for want of Coals, the People bringing Round Water.

Saturday 27th Septr. The First part Fresh Gales Easterly the Latter More Moderate. The Boat went a Fishing and Brought in Only 3 fish. People Carrying Round Plank.

Sunday 28th. Fresh Gales S W & Rain. This Morning Found the Chest of Treasure Broke Open and above ½ Taken out and hid. Every body Denies doing of it, but Refuses taking an Oath Which Mr Collett Offered first.

Monday 29th. Fresh Gales Wterly. This day Several Birds Settled on The Island. Knock'd Several Down for Dinner.

Tuesday 30. Fresh Gales Easterly. Carpenter Employ'd Planking, Smith Making Nails.

Wednesday Octr 1. Wind & Wear as pr day past. Carpenter & Smith as Before. People Opening the Kiln and making another.

Thursday 2d. Strong Gales Easterly & fair Wear. Cutting Lengths of Junk off the Cable for Spunyarn.

Friday 3d. Light Breezes Easterly & Cloudy Wear. The Boat went out & Brought in 30 fish. Carpenter as before.

Saturday 4th. Fresh Gales at W S W & fair Wear. the Carpenter Finished the 8th Streak on the Starboard Side, Smith Making Nails, the People Brought Over the Butt of water for Sea Store, the Boat went a Fishing but Return'd without Success.

Sunday 5th. Light Variable Breezes, in looking about the Rocks. One of The people Found a Fowling Peice, the Barrell Bent. The Carpenter Straighted it and Shott Some Birds with it.

Monday 6th. Fresh Gales Eserly & Cloudy Wear. People Employ'd Knotting of Yarns.

Tuesday 7th. Wind & Wear as pr day past the Boat went a Fishing and Returned without Enough for Dinner. People Employ'd picking Oakum.

Wednesday 8. Light Variable Winds & Cloudy Weather. The Boat went Out 3 Times & Could not Catch one fish. Three men went to the Other Island in Search of Eggs & Brought Over a Buckett Full.

Thursday 9th Octr. Fresh Gales at S W & Some Rain Cannot go a Fishing, but Providence Provides for us Otherwise; for the Birds Settle in Great Numbers. Knockd down 60 and Could have got More.

Friday 10th. Strong Gales at W S W with Cloudy Wear & Rain. The Birds Settle Still in great Numbers. We Take care not to disturb them, hoping they are Come to Lay their Eggs.

Saturday 11th. Wind at S W & fair Wear in the Morning the Boat went a Fishing and Returnd with 18 Fish. This Last Week the Carpenter Finished 6 Streaks.

Sunday 12. Moderate Gales Easterly. All hands Trying to Catch Small Fish amongst the Rocks.

Monday 13th. Fresh Gales Eterly and fair Wear Carpenter Employed Planking: Smith Making Nails. One of our men Endeavouring to Make An Oven, in Order to Bake our Bread for Sea Store when [against the time] we go away. Finding the Birds dont lay knockd down about 200 of them for their Livers, it being the part that is Tolorable to Eat.

Tuesday 14. Light Breezes Wterly and pleasent Wear. To [too] much Sea To go a Fishing. Went to the Other Island and got about 70 Eggs.

Wednesday 15. Strong Gales Westerly & Cloudy Wear. Carpenter Thinning Plank for the Bottom, Smith Making Nails, People picking Oakom And Knotting Yarns. In the Afternoon the Smoak Tent Caught Fire, but it being Discovered Immediatly was Extinguished: one End [only] being burnt.

Thursday 16th. Winds Variable and pleasent Wear. People Employd Carrying Over Plank & Spinning Spun Yarn; 2 Went out a fishing & Brought Enough for Dinner & Supper.

Friday 17th. Fresh Gales Easterly & hazey Wear People Employed Spinning of Spun Yarn & Carrying up Wood for the Kiln.

Saturday 18. Light Breezes Westerly & fair Wear Carpenter planking, People Picking Oakum, & Spinning Spun Yarn. The Boat went a Fishing and Brought Enough for Dinner, & Went out Again but not Meeting with Success, they Landed on the Other Island & Brought Over 100 Gulls Eggs.

Sunday 19th Octr. The First part Light Airs W:erly, the Latter a fresh Gale. In the morning 2 men went a fishing and Brought in 26 Fish. Afterwards went Over to the other Island, & Brought Some Shag's Eggs, but Not being Satisfyed, Mr Collett & 3 Others went Again on the Cattamaran & 2 More in the Boat, but it began to Blow Suddenly so that Those that went on the Cattamaran were Obliged to Take up their Lodgings Amongst the Seals. The Carpenter & Mr Powell Returned in the Boat.

Monday 20th. The First part Fresh Gales Westerly with Some Rain, The Latter More Moderate. About Noon the Boat went Over for Mr Collett And the rest of the people; but as She wou'd Carry no More than 4 at that [a] Time, Those that went to fetch them. Stay'd and the Other 4 Came Over having Been 24 Hours without Eating or drinking. The Cattamaran Broke adrift before the Boat Came Over Yesterday, but Luckily drove on Shore again.

Tuesday 21st. Fresh Gales Easterly and fair Wear. Cut Some Lengths of Junk for Spun Yarn. Opened the Kiln and Made Another. The Birds Continue on the Island; Therefore, am in great Hopes they will Lay.

Wednesday 22d. Hard Gales Easterly and Hazey Wear. People Employed Knotting Yarns. This Day Tryd the Oven which does Extreemly [Extremely] well Making our Bread as Large Again With the Same Quantitys of Flower [Flour] Than the day we did before, which Was in a pan Over the Fire: but I am Sorry to Say it, there is not above a fortnight's More Flower at the Small [Flour even at our Small] Allowance[45] besides What Allowance we Keep for Sea Store [Stock]: & I Fear have 3 Months More to Stay on this Island, before we are Ready to go away [shall be Ready to depart].

Thursday 23d. Winds &c as before, Carpenter at Work on the Kelson, Smith Making Nails, & People drawing of Yarns.

Friday 24. Light Variable Breezes the Boat went to **Egg Island,** And Brought 40 Gulls Eggs. We pick'd up 30 on this Island. People Fitting the Rigging for the large Boat which we Intend to Make a Sloop off [of].

45 2 words erased here.

Saturday 25. The first part Light Airs & Calm, the Latter a fresh Gale Easterly. The Boat went a fishing and Brought Enough for Supper & dinner To Morrow. As they Came in, Landed on Egg Island, & Got 30 Gulls Eggs. Gott 30 More on this Island.

Sunday Oct^r 26. Wind and Wea^r as p^r day past. The Boat went a Fishing and Brought in 16 Fish. Some went to y^e Other Island in Order to gett the Cattamaran afloat which they did, but it Blows [blew] too hard to get her Over; they got 30 Gulls Eggs and we got as Many on this Island.

Monday Oct^r 27. Variable Winds & Cloudy Wea^r. The Carpenter Employed Planking, Smith Making Nails. In the Morning Some of the people went to Fetch the Cattamaran. The Boat went a Fishing, but Neither proved Successful, there being too Much Sea for the Boat, and the Cattamaran was a Ground.

Tuesday 28. Little Winds at N W and Hazey Wea^r. The Boat went out 3 Times to day without Success: 2 Men Employ'd Mending the Oven.

Wednesday 29^th. Light Breezes Easterly. The Boat went a fishing and Brought in 8 Fish. In the Mean Time Raised the Birds and found 6 Eggs: So that We are Convinc'd they are going to Lay. Therefore, am Sure There will be No fear of Starving: for there is a great [are] many Thousands of them. They make the Island quite Nausous in Calm Weather. Three Men went and Brought the Cattamaran over. Sett Fire to Some of the Wreck to get [burn out] Some Bolts.

Thursday 30. The First part Light Airs Easterly. The Boat went Out and Brought in 9 Fish. Two Men went to **Shagg Rock** in Search off [after] Eggs, but Found None. **This Rock is about 2 Miles to the Westward of our [the] Island [we are upon].** They got 30 Gulls Eggs from Egg Island.

Friday 31^st. The First part Light Airs Northerly, latterly fresh Gales Westerly. The Boat Brought in only 3 fish at 3 [diff^t. Times].[46]

Saturday Nov^r 1^st. Fresh Gales Westerly & Cloudy Wea^r with Some Rain, Which we have been Praying for Some time; having only 2 Butts left, besides Our Sea Store, which Lastes [Lasts] but 13 Days by Living Entirely on Broth, when we dont Catch Fish. Saved $^1/_8$ of a Butt. Carpenter Employ^d Thinning Plank.

Sunday 2^d. The first Part Moderate Gales Westerly the Latter Wind at S E And Cloudy Wea^r in the Night. [Fell] A few Showers of Rain. Saved ½ a Butt of Water. Raised the Birds & Gott 97 Eggs.

[46] 'diff^t Times' written over a word erased.

Monday 3d. The first part Moderate Breezes at N W latter fresh Gales at S E. Carpenter Planking, Smith Making Nails. The Boat went to Egg Island & Got 160 Gulls Eggs. People Bringing Timber Over for to Make Beams for the Boat.

Tuesday Novr 4. Fresh Breezes and Variable with Cloudy Weather. Carpenter Employd on the Inside. Smith Making Gimbletts. Got 40 Gulls Eggs.

Wednesday 5th. A Strong Gale Wterly. The Carpenter Fitting C Timbers, Smith As Before. People picking Oakam. Got 60 Gulls Eggs.

Thursday 6. Wind and Wear as pr day past. Carpenter &c as before.

Friday 7th. Strong Gales Westerly, Carpenter Employe'd Planking gott 60 Gulls Eggs from Egg Island.

Saturday 8th. A Fresh Breeze Easterly and Hazey Wear. Carpenter Finishd The Outside, Smith Making Fishing Hooks. People Knotting Yarns and Spinning Spun Yarn.

Sunday 9th. Strong Gales Westerly Nothing Else Remarkable.

Monday 10. Fresh Gales Westerly and Rain. Carpenter Employed on the Inside. Open'd the Kiln, & Gott up Wood for to Make another: 2 Men went to Egg Island and Brought Over 36 Gulls Eggs.

Tuesday 11th. Moderate Gales Easterly. In the Morning Some Showers. Saved ⅓ of a Butt. Carpenter as before, Smith Making Nails, people Picking Oakum. For Some Time past, has been too much Surf to go a Fishing in the Boat. Tryd to go on the Cattamaran but Could not.

Wednesday 12. Moderate Gales Easterly: People Employed Splitting Wood for the Kiln. Some on the Sails for the Boat.

Thursday 13th. Light Breezes Variable & foggy Wear. Carpenter Employd On the Inside: People Making a Kiln and Carrying round Plank. Raised the Birds & Got 800 Eggs. The Boat went Over & Brought in 17 Fish.

Friday 14th. Light Airs Westerly with pleasent Wear. About 5 Weeks ago I heard Some talk of Going to the Main, which I gave but Little Credit to; but all of a Sudden 3 Men took it in their heads, & Accordingly Sett off. About Noon they Returned Again, having been Close to the Shore, but did Not See any of the Inhabitants, Nor any thing Worth Mentioning. They Talk of going Again with the Cattamaran & Boat, the first favourable Opportunity.

Saturday 15. Fresh Gales Easterly & Hazey Wear. Carpenter Employed Making The Beams; people picking Oakum, and Bringing Plank Over.

Sunday 16 Novr. Fresh Gales Wterly and fair Wear. In the Morning Rais'd the Birds and Gott 1600 Eggs. In the Afternoon discovere'd a Little Salt upon the Rocks, Made by the Sea, Which Encourage'd us to Look further & found about a pound. This give me great Hopes that a Weeks Fine Weather will produce Plenty.

Monday 17th. Moderate Gales Southerly & pleasent Wear. Carpenter Laying The Beams, Smith Making Nails. In the Afternoon the Boat went to Egg Island and Brought from thence 86 Gulls Eggs.

Tuesday 18. A Fresh Gale Eterly & fair Wear. Carpenter as before. In the Morning When the Tide was Out, all hands went to Cleaning away the Rocks, in Order to Make a Channell for to Launch the Boat. Finished the Mainsail.

Wednesday 19th. Wind & Wear as pr day past Carpenter Employed Fixing Knees to the Beams. At low Water the people at Work in the Channell, And Afterwards picking Oakum & Knotting Yarns.

Thursday 20th. The first part Calm, the latter a fresh Gale Easterly. [Ye] Carpenter Employ'd as before. The Cattamaran went out & Brought in 17 small fish and a Shark Raised the Birds & Got 12 Firkins of Eggs. Saw a large Smoak on the Main. Right Opposite to us, and not far in the Country: But the People Seems to be quite off about going to the Main, tho' they seem'd [were] Detirmind to go a few days Ago.

Friday 21. Moderate Gales Westerly and fair Wear. Carpenter Fixing Ledges, Smith Making Nails: The poeple Carrying Plank and Making a Kiln: 5 Men Went to Egg Island & Returnd with 60 Gulls Eggs.

Saturday 22d. Light Variable Breezes. Carpenter as before. The Boat and Cattamaran Went a Fishing and Caught plenty. One of which, Served all Hands for a Meal.

Sunday 23. Light Winds Variable. 5 Men went to Egg Island and Knockd down Some Shaggs, Which is [are] Much the Best Eating, of any fowl kind we gett and also Brought [over] Some Gulls Eggs.

Monday 24. Fresh Gales at S W with Rainy Wear, but Saved no Water People Employed Picking Oakum.

Tuesday Novr 25th. The First part a Light Breeze Westerly, latter Eterly. In the Morning 2 Men Went out a fishing and in About 2 Hours Returned with 45 Large fish. This Success is Owing to the Bait, which we now Use, Calle'd a **Scuttle fish,** we get them from the Birds, when

we Raise them [in order to take] to gett their Eggs: at Which Time, they Vomit up the fish. So that now we Are Wholly Obliged to the Birds for Our Subsistence. The Carpenter Employd On the Larboard Gunnell. Removed the Store Tent from the Other Side.

Wednesday 26. Fresh Gales Westerly and fair Wear. Carpenter as before. People Employ'd Opening the Kilns & Made Another, Smith Making Nails.

Thursday 27. Moderate Breezes Westerly & fair Wear. Carpenter Laying The Deck · people picking Oakam. The Boat went a fishing and Brought in 20 Fish: [but] and lost all their hooks with the Sharks.

Friday 28. Light Variable Breezes & hott Wear. Carpenter Laying the Deck: Smith Making Hooks. 4 Men went a fishing on the Cattamaran and Return'd at Noon, with 70 Fish. 4 Men went to Egg Island to get Some Shaggs but did not Succeed.

Saturday 29. Light Breezes and Foggy Wear. We are in great Hopes it would have Turn'd to Rain, being Reduced almost to our Sea Stock. Carpenter on the Starboard Gunnell [Gunwale], Smith Making Nails, People Opening Marline to Sew the Sails with.

Sunday 30. Wind Easterly & fair Wear. The Boat went out a Fishing & Brought in Only 3 Small Fish & lost 2 Hooks. Raise'd the Birds for Baits & Gathere'd 3 Firkins of Eggs.

Monday Decr 1st. Light Breezes & pleasent Wear. Carpenter as Before: Smith Making the Rudder Irons, People Opening Marline. 2 Men Went a fishing lost 4 Hooks, but Caught no Fish. In the Afternoon had Better Luck, Caught 2 dozen of fish. We are this day Obliged to Broach Our Sea Stock of Water; & Served Each Man a pint & Intend to go to an Allowance of 3 pints a Day. At low Water went to a Clearing [Clear] the Channell.

Tuesday 2d. Fresh Gales Easterly & fair Wear. Providence has prevented us going to Allowance of Water, having Severall Showers in the Night we Saved ½ a Butt of Water.

Wednesday 3d Decr. Fresh Gales Eterly & Hazey Wear. Carpenter Employ'd Laying the Deck, Smith Finished the Rudder Irons. At Low Water went to Clearing of the Channell.

Thursday 4th. Fresh Breezes Wterly & Hazey Wear. Carpenter as before, Smith Making a Goose Neck for the Boom: People Clearing the Chanell & Picking Oakum. Rais'd the Birds for Bait & Got 3 Firkins of Eggs. 2 Men went a fishing.

Friday 5th. Light Breezes Wterly & fair Wear. Carpenter as before: Smith Making Bolts for the dead Eyes of the Shrouds. People Clearing the Channell.

Saturday 6. A Fresh Gale Easterly and fair Wear. In the Morning 2 Men went [out] a fishing and Caught 15 Fish, Smith Making Caulking Irons: People Open'd the Kiln & Clear'd the Channell.

Sunday 7th. The First part Moderate, Latter fresh Gales, Westerly & Fair Wear. 2 Men went [out] a fishing and caught only 4 Small Fish.

Monday 8. Light Variable Breezes & Cloudy Wear. The Carpenter finish'd The Deck Smith as Before, People Carrying up Plank for the Kiln. 2 men went out a fishing & Caught Plenty; In the Evening to our great Joy had Severall Showers of Rain. Saved 3 Butts of water; having this Morning Served 3 pints a man pr Day.

Tuesday 9th. Moderate Breezes Southerly & Some Rain. Saved a little more Water. Carpenter Fitting Comings to the Hatchway; Smith Making fishing Hooks, People picking Oakum.

Wednesday 10th. A Strong Gale Easterly. Employd as pr day Past.

Thursday 11th. Moderate Breezes Westerly & fair Wear. Carpenter Fixing Ledges & Making Scuttles. 2 Men went [out] a fishing & Caught 20 Fish. Set Fire to Some of the Wreck to gett [burn] the Iron out. Rais'd the Birds and got 4 Firkins of Eggs.

Friday 12. Light Variable Breezes and Cloudy Wear. Carpenter Caulking the deck; Smith Making Caulking Irons. 3 Men Went [out] a fishing & Caught 6 dozen [of] fish.

Saturday 13th. Wind S W the first part Cloudy, the latter Rain. 3 Men went a Fishing and Caught Enough for Dinner.

Sunday Decr 14. The first part Moderate Gales Sotherly: the latter Fine Wear. 2 Men Went a Fishing & Caught 4 Dozen of fish. Rais'd The Birds and Gott 300 Eggs.

Monday 15th. Strong Gales Eterly & hazey Wear. Carpenter Lining [ye] Inside, Smith Making Iron for the Bowsprit.

Tuesday 16. Mostly Rainy Wear. Carpenter as Before: Smith Making Chain Plates out of the Phuttuck [futtock] Plates, that Came ashore in the Tops. At Low Water Employ'd Clearing the Channell.

Wednesday 17. Moderate Breezes Westerly. Carpenter & Smith as before. 2 Men went a Fishing & Caught 4 Dozen & ½ fish. The Ret Employ'd Opening the Kiln, and Afterwards went to Egg Island to get Some Shaggs, but did not Catch any, so return'd with Only a few Eggs.

Thursday 18th. Wind, &c as pr day past. 3 Men went a fishing & Caught 5 Dozen, of fish. Carpenter Employ'd as before, People Clearing [ye] Channell.

Friday 19. Light Variable Breezes & thick Wear with drizling Rain. Carpenter Employ'd as Before, Yesterday 5 Men went to Egg Island & Stayd all Night in Order to gett Some Sgs: and Return'd this Morning with 14: two Men Went a fishing & Caught 5 dozon of fish.

Saturday 20. Fresh Gales Easterly and Hazey Wea^{r}. Had Such plenty off Eggs for Some time past, that we afforded the two Hoggs [each] a Peice 50 p^{r} day. They Seem to like them so well that we are [were] Obliged to look well After them to keep them from Raising the Birds; tho' they Gett among them Sometimes & fill their Bellys before we [can] get them Away. And [They] would have paid Dearly [Dear] for it, Ere now, had we not Great Dependance on them for a [our] Sea Store.

Indeed[47] it is Not for what they Eat themselves but the prodigious Number of Gulls that give due Attendance [48]And as Soon as any thing disturbs the Birds off their Nests, they Are Down as Quick as Thought and Devour the Eggs, but we Are Pretty Even with Them for they will have no Young this Year; for Their Eggs Being much the Best, Every Body looks Sharp for Them, tho' we Run a Great Risque of having our Eyes Pluckt out by them, so Inveterate are They Against us, that when we Are in Search of their Eggs they Come About us in Great Numbers & Fly Close down to you making a terrible Noisy Cry,[49] & Sometimes Take their Own Eggs & fly of with them. At Low Water Went to Work on the Rocks.

Sunday Dec^{r} 21. Mostly Little winds & fair Wea^{r}.

Monday 22^{d}. Light Southerly Breezes & Calms. The Cattamaran & Boat went a Fishing and Gott plenty. This Morning our Cook's Tent took Fire and Burnt down, and Burnt most of our furnture. In the Afternoon Built Another.

Tuesday 23^{d}. Light Breezes Southerly & Cloudy Wea^{r}. Two men went a Fishing & Caught 8 Dozon of fish.

Wednesday 24 Light Variable Breezes and fair Wea^{r}. Carpenter Employ'd Caulking the Deck, Smith Making fish hooks. Caught 60 Small Fish. Rais'^{d} the Birds & Gott 950 Eggs.

Thursday 25. D^{o} Wea^{r}. The Gulls have Done Laying. The Pengwins have Begun. 3 Men went to Egg Island & Brought 44 Eggs.

Friday 26. Wind Variable and fair Wea^{r}. Carpenter finished the deck Caught 40 Fish.

Saturday 27. Mostly a fresh Gale Easterly & Cloudy Wea^{r}. Carpenter on the Upper Work Smith making a Scraper.

Sunday 28. Fresh Gales Easterly with thick Squally Wea^{r} & Rain. Rais^{d} the Birds & Got 9 firkins of Eggs. 2 men went to Egg Island & Brought over 30 pengwins Eggs.

Monday 29. Wind & Wea^{r} as Yesterday. Carpenter Employed about The Stern.

[47] 'Indeed' written over a word erased.

[48] The remainder of this para. is first corrected and then scored through; it is given as first written.

[49] Four words erased here and rendered illegible.

Tuesday 30th. Light Variable Breezes & fair Wear. Carpenter Planking The Boats Quarter.

Wednesday 31. Carpenter as before. Caught 4 Dozon Small fish.

Anno 1756 Thursday 1st Janry. Light Breezes Westerly & Calm: got 2000 Eggs & Caught 8 Dozon of Small fish.

Friday 2d. The first part Light Airs Easterly latter Westerly. Caught 7 Dozon Small Fish.

Saturday 3d. Fresh Gales Easterly and Pleasent Wear. Carpenter Employ'd Caulking, People Clearing the Channell. Our Brandy all Expended but 3 or 4 Gallons [which we] kept for the Carpenter.

Sunday Janry 4th. Light Breezes Westerly and Cloudy Weather. 3 Men went out a fishing & Caught 14 but lost all their hooks.

Monday 5th. Light Breezes & fair Wear. Carpenter Lining the Boats, & People Clearing the Channell.

Tuesday 6. The first a fresh Gale Easterly & fair Wear. Latter Variable and Cloudy weather. In the Night with Thunder & Lightning. Carpenter Caulking. People Carrying up wood for Another Kiln.

Wednesday 7. Light Variable Breezes. Carpenter as before. Smith Mending the Grap Nails being much Straitned. The Boat went to Egg Island and Brought 176 Pengwins Eggs & 2 Shaggs.

Thursday 8. Mostly Calm & foggy Wear. Carpenter &c as before, People Sawing Blocks, to lay the ways for the Boat.

Friday 9th. Light Airs at N W & fair Wear. Carpenter as before. In the Morning Raisd the Birds & got 12 firkins off Eggs. Two Men went a fishing but had no Success. In the Afternoon 4 Men went on the Cattamaran to Seal Island & Killd 4 for their Blubber to Make Oil. 2 Men Employd Mending the Oven in Order to Bake what Bread we have left for Sea Store.

Saturday 10. Light Breezes & Variable, with some Rain. Carpenter as before, Smith Making an Iron for the Jibb Boom. 2 Men went a Fishing and got plenty for Dinner.

Sunday 11. The first part a Moderate Gale Westerly & Cloudy Wear the Latter Fair.

Monday 12. Fresh Gales Westerly Carpenter as Before. In the Evening 2 Men went [out] a Fishing and Brought only 5 Small [Fish].[50]

[50] 'Fish' written over a word erased.

Tuesday 13. Moderate Breezes and fair Weather. 2 Men went a fishing and caught 4 Dozon Small fish. 5 Men went on the Cattamaran to **Seal Island** for Blubber. Carpenter Caulking, Baker getting his Flower [Flour] Ready for Baking; one Cask of Which proved Sower [Sour] Nevertheless we mix it : tho am Sure a well fed hogg in England Wou'd not Touch it.

Wednesday 14 Jan^ry^. Light Variable Breezes. Carpenter Finish'^d^ The Starboard Side; Smith Making Fish Hooks. 2 Men went out & Caught 5 fish.

Thursday 15. Fresh Gales Easterly and fair Wea^r^. Carpenter Begun to Caulk the Larboard Side: Smith as before: People Picking Oakum.

Friday 16. Light Breezes Westerly and thick foggy Wea^r^. Carpenter as Before: People Clearing the Channell. 2 Men went a fishing & Caught 92 Small Ones.

Saturday 17^th^. Fresh Breezes Variable & fair Wea^r^. Carpenter Employ'd Lining the Boat, people picking Oakum, 2 men went a Fishing & Caught 136 Small Ones, Rais^d^ the birds and Gott 1800 Eggs, 400 of Which we Eat Every Day.

Sunday 18. Fresh Gales Westerly & fair Wea^r^.

Monday 19^th^. Moderate Gales Westerly & fair Wea^r^. Carpenter Employ'd Caulking: People picking Oakum. 3 Men went a fishing & Caught 60 Small Ones.

Tuesday 20. The first part a Moderate Breeze S^o^erly; the Latter a fresh Gale Easterly. Carpenter as before; people Clearing the Channell & picking Oakum. 2 Men went a fishing and Caught 4 Dozon Small Ones. Rais^d^ the Birds & Gott 286 Eggs.

Wednesday 21. Mostly Light Variable Breezes. Carpenter as before: People Clearing the Channell. 3 Men went to Egg Island and gott 380 Pengwins Eggs & 44 Shaggs Eggs.

Thursday 22^d^. Moderate Breezes Westerly & fair Wea^r^. Carpenter as Before: People Open'd the Kiln. 3 Men went a fishing & Caught 148 Small fish.

Friday 23. Fresh Gales Easterly & Hazey Wea^r^. Carpenter Empl^d^ as before.

Saturday 24. Light Variable Breezes & hott Weather. Carpenter as Before. This Morning 5 Men went to Egg Island & Gott 100 pengwins Eggs. The Boat went a Fishing but Return^d^ without Success. In the Evening She went Again & Return'^d^ Laden Quite deep with Fish. In the Morning Went among the Parcell of Birds we lett Sett [gave leave to Set], and Took About 50 of their Young, and [We] Dress^d^ [them] for dinner, but find them Very Indifferent food; Their flesh Being as Blew [blue] as Indigo and Quite Spongy. Carpenter Finished Caulking the Larboard Side.

Sunday 25 Janry. Moderate Breezes and Variable, with Some Showers of Rain.

Monday 26th. Wind and Wear as pr Day past. Carpenter Employ'd Lining the Boat. 2 Men went a Fishing and Caught 2 Dozon Small Ones.

Tuesday 27. Moderate Breezes at S E & Rain: gott 9 Eggs from Egg Island.

Wednesday 28th. Moderate Breezes & Variable. Finishd Lineing the Boat.

Thursday 29. Fresh Gales Easterly with Hazey Wear. Carpenter Employ'd Fixing Hanging Knees to Some of the Beams.

Friday 30th. Wind and Wear as before. Carpenter Enploy'd about the Stern; People Making a Kiln and Clearing the Channell.

Saturday 31st. A Pleasent Gale Westerly and fair Wear. The Carpenter Employed Making the Rudder: People Getting of Iron out of the Wreck for Ballast.

Sunday Febry 1st. Moderate Breezes and fair Wear. Raisd the Birds, and to Our great Disappointment, got [gathered] only 2 dozon of Eggs, which I believe will Be the last we Shall gett. In the Afternoon 2 men went out a fishing And Caught 3 dozon of Small fish and One large One.

Monday 2d. Moderate Breezes Easterly, with Some Rain. Carpenter about the Rudder: People Employd Bringing Over Iron for Ballast.

Tuesday 3d. Fresh Gales Easterly & fair Wear. Carpenter Employed Fitting the Pump; People Bringing Over Billett Wood for to Burn [our Burning] at Sea.

Wednesday 4th. The First part Light Breezes Westerly & fair Weather. Latter Cloudy [with] and Some Rain. Carpenter Employ'd Caulking the Stern: Smith Making Rudder Irons.

Thursday 5. Light Breezes Westerly and Fair Wear. Carpenter and Smith Employd as before. 3 Men went a Fishing and Caught a Large Shark, and One dozon of Other Fish.

Friday 6. A Pleasent Gale Easterly and fair Wear. Carpenter Employd Nailing on the Rudder Irons: People Employd Watering the Boat. Found her pretty Tight.

Saturday Febry 7th 1756. The First Calm with Sultry Wear Latter a Fresh Breeze Easterly.

Sunday 8. Light Breezes and Pleasent Wear. 3 Men went a Fishing And Caught a Stingrey, 3 Sharks & 2 Dozon of Other Fish.

Monday 9th. A Fresh Gale Easterly and Fair Wear. Carpenter at Work Upon the Stern.

Tuesday 10th. The First and Middle Parts Wind Westerly with Cloudy Wear & Rain, Latter Variable. Carpenter Employd Making the main Boom, People Bringing Over Iron, & Burning the Remainder of the Wreck. Got 100 Pengwins Eggs from Egg Island.

Wednesday 11th. Moderate Breezes Westerly with Cloudy Wear & Rain. Carpenter Making the Mast. Saved 2 Butts & a Hgshead of Water.

Thursday 12th. Wind and Wear as pr day past. Carpenter Finishd the Mast and Made a Bowespritt & Crossjack Yard.

Friday 13. Wind & Wear as Before. Carpenter Making a Gaffe, People Employed [about] at Sundry Jobbs.

Saturday 14. A Moderate Gale Easterly. Carpenter Finished the Gaffe and Pay'd the Larboard Side of the Boat with Pitch. 3 Men went a Fishing, And [afterwards] to Egg Island. Gott 10 Fish and 80 Pengwins Eggs.

Sunday 15. Light Variable Breezes and fair Wear. Carpenter Payd The Starboard Side. [We] and Got Ready for Launching to Morrow Morning. 3 Men went out a fishing & Caught 3 dozon.

Monday 16. The first part a Light Breeze & fair Wear Latter a Fresh Gale. At 4 A M Began to Lay the ways for Launching, and at 1 o Clock Got the Boat in the Water and [gave her the Name of][51] **The Happy Deliverance.** Got The Mast in and Some of the Iron for Ballast and all Our Water.

Tuesday 17. Moderate Breezes Westerly, People Employed getting their things into the Boat. At High Water, Hauld out. When we Came to the Mouth of the Channel the Grapnail Came home, and She drove Upon the Rocks, which had like To have Domolishe'd her, but Thanks to the Almighty we got off Again. Soon After Ran Over to the Barr and Came to an Anchor, to gett the Remainder of Our things on Board; and then Weighd and Stood to Sea, having on Board 2 Butts & 4 Hogsheads of Water, 3 Weeks Salt pork, & 6 lb of Bread pr man, and 2 Live Hoggs

See for this Mark ☩ in the Paper of References.[52]

(To be continued.)

[51] 'gave her the name of' written over two words erased.
[52] This note is in the same hand as the corrections and additions. See above note.

LETTERS FROM MADRAS IN 1659.

BY WILLIAM FOSTER.

Introduction.

THE following letter — interesting alike for its narrative of **the shipwreck of the "Persia Merchant" on the Maldives,** and its **account of Madras** at a little known period of its history — was first brought to notice by a brief entry in the report of the Royal Historical MSS. Commissioners on the Welsh MSS. preserved at Mostyn Hall (*Parliamentary Paper* C. 8829 of 1898, p. 195). It occurs in the middle of a volume of miscellaneous Welsh poems (*Mostyn MS.* 147, pp. 676-9), into which it has been copied by some unknown (contemporary) hand, presumably on account of its interest to the family of Middleton, to whom most of the poems refer. The copyist has mangled some of the names of places beyond recognition, and the folding of the paper has damaged a few other words; but on the whole the loss has been less than might have been expected. The letter is now printed from a transcript recently made by Mr. Edward Owen, with the courteous permission of Lord Mostyn, for incorporation with the India Office collection of Madras Records.

Of the writer, **Captain Roger Middleton,** little is known beyond what he tells us himself. He had evidently seen military service, probably in the Cromwellian army; and as he speaks of himself as "part of mariner," he must have had some maritime experience as well. Our first notice of him, however, is on the 12th February, 1658, when the *Court Minutes* of the East India Company record his engagement as "Lieutenant," *i. e.*, commander of the garrison, "of Fort St. George at 25 *l.* per annum." He was allowed a sum of 4 *l.* to expend in fresh provisions for the voyage, and was assigned a berth on board the good ship **"Persia Merchant," Captain Francis Johnson,** bound for Madras. His fellow-passengers included four factors, *viz.*, Jonathan Trevisa, Ambrose Salisbury, William Vassall and Stephen Charlton, besides four soldiers — Roger Williams, Samuel Dorman, William Lloyd and Richard Middleton (a cousin of his) — engaged to serve under him in the garrison. The vessel **sailed about the middle of March, 1658,** and from this point we may allow Middleton himself to take up the story.

A few facts about **Middleton's subsequent history** may be of interest. We hear of him next in January, 1661, when the Madras authorities wrote home that he had been granted leave to repair to Surat, and had accordingly embarked on the *Madras Merchant* in February, 1660. They appear to have been glad to get rid of him, "being faine a little before to restraine his person upon some misdemeanours." He had been invited to Surat, it seems, with the view of utilising his services at Maskat, in the Persian Gulf. Sultan bin Seif had recently expelled the Portuguese from that city, and negotiations had been set on foot for the transfer thither of the English staff at Gombroon. An English garrison, not to exceed one hundred men, was to be posted in one of the forts; and of this body it was intended to make Middleton commandant. The scheme, however, came to nothing, as the Surat factors found they had quite enough on their hands without interfering further in Maskat affairs.

In November, 1660, Middleton was sent in the Swally pinnace to Danda Rajpuri, Karwar, and Goa. The authorities at Surat had for some time been anxious to find some spot, outside the Mogul's dominions, suitable for the establishment of a fortified depôt, to which they could retreat should the exactions of the native officials become unendurable. This was shortly after secured by the acquisition of Bombay: but in 1660 the Portuguese were turning a deaf ear to all suggestions of parting with one of their ports. The factors' attention was then turned to Danda Rajpuri, a fort on the coast about fifty miles south of Bombay, held by the Janjira Sidis, nominally on behalf of the King of Bijapur. Middleton was accordingly deputed to pay a visit to the governor of the fort, ostensibly to compliment him and request his assistance to any of the Company's shipping in need of his help, "but our maine scope is that under this forme hee may take a veiw of the strength of the place how scituated, the best way to be assailed, that if wee cannot fairly obtaine it, wee may forcibly

per our shipping, and that lawfully, considering them as Pirats" (*Surat Consultations*, June 22nd, 1660). From Danda Rajpuri he was to proceed to Karwar, and survey two islands at the mouth of the Karwar River, which were reported to be suitable for a settlement; and coming back, he was to call at Goa, and inquire casually regarding the possibility of obtaining permission to reside on "the island called the Ellephant, lying in Bombay."

Nothing can be traced as to the result of this mission; but Middleton was back by the 9th April, 1661, for on that date he witnessed two declarations at Swally (Forrest's *Selections from Bombay Records*: *Home*, Vol. I. pp. 190-1).

In a commission to Richard Craddock, proceeding to Persia, dated 3rd March, 1662 (*ibid.* p. 199), the Surat factors mention that Middleton had been sent to Gombroon, apparently to seize the native broker and send him to Surat for punishment. This is the last entry that can be found relating to him; and it seems probable that, like so many of his contemporaries, he found a grave at that most unhealthy settlement.

Roger Middleton's Letter.

Loving Brother and Sister,

I am betwixt too opinions wheather to write unto you or not; though I be silent, yet the newes of my misery will soone come to your eares. Five monthes after our departure from England our shipp was cast away and many weare drownd, amongst the rest Cosen Richard Myddelton; but my selfe miraculously saved (praysed be God of my salvacon), being sick of a feaver at that Instant, but had nothing about me but my shift, and of all I had in the shipp I saved not the worth of 2 d. I can not expresse the miserablenesse of our condicon, the shipp beating upon a Rock under watter, and after four howers fell in peeces; this in darke night, not knowing where to looke for Land, our boate sunck under the shipp side, having but it and another, into which I, being parte of Mariner, was admitted, but the Merchants was faine to stay on board that night and most of the next day. Att breake of the day wee saw land, at which wee conceaved noe small joy, which wee with much danger recovered, for the sea broake upon us and fild us twise with watter. Although I was sick yet I laboured to save my skin; nothing but life endeavoured for. Wee went unto **the Island called Ingramrudco,** haveing noe living thing upon it for the use of man, wee haveing neither meate, drinke nor clothes, noe armes for defence nor anything to keepe life. Wee fitted our boate as well as wee could to save some men; some they tooke up swimming upon broaken peeces of the shipp, which stuck fast in the Rock, amongst whom was Captain Roger Williams and arch deacon Lloyd son, who are both my soldiers. Thus having as many as wee could save, being without food, wee ranged about the Island. Wee found a well of watter, of which wee dranke like pigeons, lifting head and harts for soe greate a mercy. Thus drinkeing watter, by good providence wee found **coker nutt trees,** which is both food and rayment; soe wee went by the sea side and found little shell fish and the like, but wanting fire wee tooke sticks and rubbed them togeather untill they kindled; thus wee lived heare ten or twelve dayes, not knowing wheather it was better for us to be seen by the Neighbouring Islanders, for some of the ancient seamen sayd they would cutt our throats. Att last there arived three of their boates full of men, which wee dreaded but could not resist. One of our men swam a board of making singes [signes ?] and signifieing our condicon, by hiroglipbicks they did seeme to comiserat us. Thus they did once or twice, and broug[ht us] **Toddy** to drinke and rice to eate, which was a greate refreshm[ent], promising us a boate to transport us to **the King of Maldiv[ ]**, who stiles himselfe the welthiest king in the world; but they juggled with us and carried us into another **Island called Corwmbo,** where wee had fish and other good things, as hony and rice, on which wee fedd like farmers. But they lorded over us sadly, telling us wee were att theire mercy, takeing from us what they would. Soe after a long tyme they brought a rotten vessell and bid us begon, murmuring against us, which created in us much jelouzie, fearing [for] our lives both day and night. Att last two of their Vice Royes came, saying if we would send the king a Regalo[1] or **Piscash** they would give us a vessell. Soe one of the Merchants had a gold chayn

[1] A gift (Portuguese).

and 100 dollers. Soe wee left them. We sayled in this vessell towards **Columbo, being a Citty in Zelon which the Dutch lately tooke from the Portugalls.** Meeting a storme att sea in our tottering egshell wee were put by our port, being in greate danger. Wee putt into **Caliputeen,**[2] being a small harbour **in the King Candies countrey,** an utter enemie to all whyte men. Wee not knowing, for wee can not heare of any English that were ever in those seas, sent some of our best Merchants to treat with them for a pilot, which they detayned, as it is thought, to a perpetuall imprisonment, and I scaped very hardly. Soe wee tooke too of their men and sayled away as fast as wee could having [leaving ?] behind us fifteene[3] men wandering in the woods, which can not possibly scape the Tirants hands. Now wee sayle towards the mayne Land of India, but theese two Rogues did pilate us upon a bae [bar ?] of sands, called by the Portuguees **Adams bridge,** fondly conseyving that once to be paradice — I am sure now it is the purgatory, for they have lost almost all their power in India by there pride and cowardice. Here wee sustayned a nother shippwrack, but these two doggs were either drowned or gott away in the dark night. My selfe was faine to swim a greate way for my life, but by the hands of providence I recovered shore, and, amongst the rest, came to **Monar** [Mannar], a **garison of the Dutch,** where I gott victualls enough. And from thence to the Generall my Lord Rickloff [Rijklof van Goens], who made much of mee, and his Major generall proffered mee to take Armes, but I refused, saying I would hazard an other shippwrack before I would be entertayned in any other service then that of my honourable Masters the East India Company. Soe that they sent me 200 Leeagues in a small open boate, and that in winter. Soe wee mistooke our port, and with noe small trouble and danger wee came to the **Coast of Cormadell,** to a place called **Porta Nova,** from whence wee travelled five hundred miles upon bulls; thus comeing safe to **St. George,** where I was much commiserated. The President gave me a peese of flowered satten to make me clothes, and many other things; and findeing me inclyning to recreation he gave me a cast of brave falcons, which have killed many. Herons sence; alsoe greyhounds. I must not omitt how the foxes come to the Castle gates to kill our poultry. They have here good fighting Cocks, and they fight them with penknive blades instead of gavelocks. This is a place healthfull, using all kind of recreation save hounds; all sort of provisions being to cheap; onlly sack is too deare, yet wee have other good drinke to remember our freinds. Withall I have the absolute comand of the soldiers, within and without, and have divers Captaines under me, for wee have 600 men in dayly pay, *viz.* 100 white[4] and 500 black. This place was beseedged twise within this too years. But my fine boy is dead, which has been very neare the occason of my death, for I lay sick hopelese above a moneth and am not yet recovered; and to add to my griefe, my honorable freind the President [Henry Greenhill] is very sick and can not live ten dayes, and in his stead is one Mr. Chambres, who claymes kindred with those [of] our country. He is worth 50,000 *l.* as I am credibly informed, yet a batcheler. He hath shewed me divers curtesies in my sickness and bids me not question but that he will be as loving to me as his Predecessor. Deare Sir, I have noe more but my prayers for you and my good sister, with the sweet pledges of your Love. I shall not tempt providence soe as to say but that I hope I may be unto them servisable, though att present I want the assistance of others. It is heare as in other places: "empty hands never catch hawlkes." I have here signified unto you misfortunes which I beleeve few men can paralell, as my shippwrack twise in one voyage, my one sicknesse, losse of Estate and freinds, continuall feare of being murthered, soe that I need not any thing to add to

[2] Kalpitiya, or Kalpentin, about 90 miles N. of Colombo.

[3] This should be 'ten,' making thirteen in all left behind (see Trevisa's narrative, given later).

These unfortunate men became fellow-captives of Robert Knox, who often mentions them in his well-known narrative. Eleven of them were still living in 1670. Repeated efforts to procure their release proved unavailing; but two (Thomas Kirby and William Day) managed to make their escape in April, 1683. William Vassall and Thomas March wrote to Madras in March, 1691, that they and Richard Jelf, of the *Persia Merchant's* company, together with eight other Englishmen, were still alive, but "in a very miserable condition;" and this is the last that was heard of them.

[4] These probably included a large proportion of Portuguese and Mestizoes or halfcastes. A return of the Madras garrison, dated January 18th, 1659 (I. O. Records: O. C. 2643), gives 24 English soldiers (including a sergeant, a gunner and two corporals) and 49 "Portugalls and Mistazaes."

my affliction. Now I shall begin to confort my selfe with the hopes of your being all in good health, for which I shall ever pray. Remember me to all my freinds as if I should name them; bid my Cosen J[ ] write unto me, and Roger alsoe. I doe not take any felicity [of *or* in] my life, though I live in greate pompe, eating and drinkeing and wearing noe worse then the best in this Town, yea, rather Citty, for it is built to a marvelous biggnesse in few years. Wee have a Citty of the Portugalls within three miles [St. Thomé]; but they leave that famous place, for the Moors have it, and they are come to us for protection against the Dutch. Theire is a brave Church built for them heare, and they have a convent of franciscans in it, very learned men. The Moors army are round about us; yet wee feare them not. They have beaten our king out of his country; they have gallant horses and are good horsemen, well armed; they have gunns, both greate and small. They bring up theire youth heare to Letters, fencing and dancing, and all sort of the Liberall Sciences, a thing I thought very strange att my first comeing; exelent Astronomers. If I live long among them I shall not onely give you, but all that read English, a larger accompt of them. If a man have in this place but two or three hundred pounds he might quickly raise an Estate, but he that is poore lett him be soe still. I pray lett me heare of all passages in the Country. Tell cosen Chambres that his namesake and I remember him oftener than he doth any of us; alsoe Champers of Petten.

[*P. S.*] The President, my noble freind, is dead,[5] and I have been soe busie this five dayes, that I could [not] close my letter in all that tyme. He hath left me tenn pounds to buy mourning, and a gould Ring. Besides, this is an expensive place, and from the drunkenesse thereof good Lord deliver me — all gamsters and much adicted to venery. I lost yesterday my best ffalcon. Tell Cosen Samm Andrewes one Gurnay[6] remembers him, whom, with his wife, I alsoe salute; alsoe att Coddington Brumbo my good cosen Meredith with her family. I should write to my uncle Lloyd. but this may serve for an Epistle generall. Comending me to Cosen ffoulke, Ann, Betty, and Mall; remember me to Cosen Peeter ffoulkes and Mr. Parry and all our parishoners; unto whom with your selfe, bed fellow, and children, be peace from God your father and the Lord Jesus Christ. both now and ever.

From my lodgeings in the Castle
within Fort St. George,
12° January, 1658 [*i. e.*, 1659].

Your ever loving }
ever serving } Brother,
ever praying }
ROGER MYDDELTON.

Jonathan Trevisa's Account.

As supplement to the foregoing narrative, a second and fuller account of the two shipwrecks may be quoted from a letter written to the East India Company by Jonathan Trevisa, dated from Madras, December 30th, 1658 (India Office Records: O. C. 2682), and first printed by Mr. Donald Ferguson in a privately issued work on Robert Knox, the Ceylon captive. It is as follows :—

" It will be my unhappiness to begine my Correspondensy with you Relatinge **the sad disaster of the losse of the Percia Merchand,** on which my selfe, Mr. Vassell, Mr. Chorleton and Mr. Salsburey Imbarked; which shippe **on the Maldiva Ilands was cast away** the 9th of August last, at about ten of the Clocke at night. Our first sight of these Ilands was the night before, when ware almost in the Breach before did see it, or could sertainely tell what Breach it should be, for every one accounted themselves 100 leages and more past said Ila[n]d. But in the mor[n]ing we see to our great greef our selves to windwards of them. All this day was used wat dilligence they could to weather them, and did before night gaine some thinge, and hoped next mor[n]inge to be Cleare of them. But Contrary to expectation about ten of the Clocke at night (by reasent of a Corrant or tyde that sett into the Ilands and a gust of winde at about eight of the Clocke) our ship was Close on the

[5] Greenhill died January 4th, 1658-59.
[6] William Gurney, a factor employed in Bengal in 1644 and in Madras itself (as accountant) in 1652 (*Hedges'* Vol. III. pp. 182, 195).

Breach, and before she could tacke strucke, and by the extreame forse of the said Breach in a short time fild her hould with water, to the terrer of us all, expectenge death, which we provided for the best we could. In this Condission we Continued four howres, Indeveringe the saiety of our lives, gettinge out the skeele, but she was sodonly sunke by forse of men. At last got out the longe boate, and in her went as many as she could carrey, all which (god be praysed) got ashore one of the nighest Ilands, being above two leages distance from thence; who landinge and findinge it uninhabetd, sent our boate to save the rest of our men and what Treasure they could of your worshipps. For the first in parte effected; but for the tresure, could not gett any, the Breach beinge soe violend that Contenually broake over the shipp, and at last broak out her quarter next the sea, soe that one of the natives Cominge aboard with severall others boates and people nigh her, dived into the hould, but never was seene more. These Boats did sease on what they Could of oures; and our seamen ware to us as bad, for they had the first sharch of all our trunkes in the Cabbing and did strubb us of all we had thare, which was considerable. At this time of Castinge away we lost but six men; soe fifty of us came safe to the Iland where we ware. And after six dayes stay we ware, upon our Pittifull Complaint which we made them by signes, brought to a Iland, where we had a howse to keepe us dry, and Rise and honey to eate. Heere we gott a boate after 24 dayes stay, and [the natives ?] seeing our salers had money, demanded 150 peeces of eight for thare boat; to which we agreed, seeinge [they ?] would not take of cloth Mr. Madeson had, which we requested him to bringe us. This money he saved in a bagge with 230 peeces more; and, seeinge his money must goe. did obledge my selfe with all others your worshipps servants for the Repayinge said 150 peeces for the boate, the which we did: and then delivered me the bagge to tell the money. Which Indeveringe to doe, was by one of the cheef taken from us all with the Cloth, tellinge us that [he ?] had power to doe more; if pleasd with to take our lives alsoe. On this we had order to enter the Boate, which when we rowed found unsuffisient to Carrey us; so againe did desire him for a better; and on promise to gett more money [he ?] would, the which we did. Soe the next day brought us a very good boate, and agreed for her in 200 peeces of eight, which I towld him would procure if possible, but at present had hopes of but 50, besides a hatband [*lungî* ?] which I had, and that they would have to supply the 150 peeces, wantinge which I Consented to, the hatband costinge me but 10 *l.* or thare about. Soe beinge fitted with **Cocar nutts** and water, sett saile for **Calombo on Zeland**; but fell to leward, and soe after greate hazard came to **a place Caled Calleputt, aboute mid way betwixt Calomba and Manar,** both duch [Dutch] factorees. Heere is a harber for smale vessells, where we found about 16 saile, **all Malabars,** who came thare laden with Clothes and other Comodities. These people, beinge afraid of us, though without Armes and strenth to use them, left thare boates and goods; but we, wantinge provisions onely and a pilott to Carrey us over the flatts to the Duch, tooke nothinge from them, desiringe onely the forenamed, the which, after some difficulty in speakinge to them, was granted. And sendinge Mr. Vessell, Mr. Morgason, the third mate, and Mr. March, the Gonnour, [they] ware all seased on by the malabars; and presenly ten men left us, goinge by land for Calomba. [We] ware forst to sett saile, fearinge [they] might take the rest of us; but, before did saile, had thare promise to se[n]d them, out performed not. These Malabars had one Mr. Edward Omes Passe, **the Cheefe of Tregenbar** [Tranquebar], **a duch factorey on the Coast,** to which towne these people belonged that tooke our men. This night with our two boates got to a plasé Caled **Adams bridge,** havinge two pilotts we seased on thare and gave them 20 pieces for thare paines. These men at light brought us nigh a shore, soe that at night was in the breach, and then againe ware forst to swime for our lives, Coming a shore naked and our great boate broken, but (god be praysed) none lost. Heer in the morninge found some of the Duch to reside, which used us kindely and sent us to Manar, a plase newly taken from the Portegeses; and from thense ware sent to **Yaflapatam** to thare Generall Ricklift, who was verey curtious to us, assistinge us with what we wanted for our cominge here [Fort St. George], which was the 6 of October, two mount[h]s after our shippes losse."

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 86.*)

1793. — No. XV.

Fort William 22nd March 1793.

His Majestys Frigate **the Minerva** being to proceed from hence to the Andamans, Ordered that the following **Letter** be written **to Major Kyd.**

Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir, — I am directed by the Governor General in Council to signify to you that, if **Commodore Cornwallis who is proceeding to the Andamans,** should have occasion for the Services of any of the Company's Vessels, belonging to this or the Bombay Establishment, Directions, corresponding with his Excellency's application, are to be immediately given.

You will receive enclosed an Extract of a **Letter,** dated the 9th Instant, which has been **received by Lieutenant Colonel Ross from Lieutenant Wells** Every Inquiry has been made for a proper Vessel to convey to Port Cornwallis the People whom Mr Wells was under the Necessity of sending back to Fort William, and the Quantity of Rice which you left; and if a proper Vessell had been found, there would have been no objection to adding a few hundred Bags to this Quantity; but Freight is so much in demand at present, and the Terms that have been offered were so high, in Ships that most have been wholly taken up, if taken up at all, that the Board, considering that the Service did not indispensably require them to send the People and the Rice, immediately, have thought it better to detain both until Freight on more reasonable Conditions can be procured.

Fort William **22nd March 1793.** I am &ca.

1793. — No. XVI.

Fort William 27th March 1793.

The following **Letter** and its enclosure were received this Morning **from Major Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.**

My Lord. 1. I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship that I arrived here in the **Ranger** on the 5th Instant after a speedy passage of eleven Days from Calcutta during which we experienced the finest Weather possible.

2. I found here **Captain Blair** to whom I delivered a Letter from the Secretary of Government, and he has given over the Charge of the Settlement to me.

3. He has already cleared a sufficient space of ground on **Chatham Island** for Hutting all the Europeans and Natives who are nearly now under Cover, and there is a temporary Hospital erected and a Store House in a good state of forwardness there is also a sufficient spot of ground cleared for a Nursery Garden in which have been put all the Plants from **the Old Harbour** and those that have been lately sent from Bengal.

4. I am very sorry to acquaint your Lordship that there has been **no account of the Juno Snow** so that there is every reason to fear that, that vessel has been unfortunately lost in the Gale of the end of December which in addition to the other losses that this misfortune entails deprives the Settlement of the Services of the a great many useful Artificers and Labourers and necessary Stores which at this period will be much felt.

5. I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that the Europeans and Natives are in general Healthy, the principal Complaints amongst the Natives being from hurts contracted in clearing the ground which from the Scorbutic habit that many of these people have already acquired from the privation of all Vegitable diet are very difficult to cure.

6. **In rounding the North end of the Andamans** in the Ranger at about three Miles from the Shore we discovered **a shoal of Coral Rocks** upon which there was not more than 2½ fathoms this shoal was discovered some time ago by the Captain of a Countrey Ship who reported it to Captain Blair, and as it is in a very dangerous and inconvenient Situation for the approach of this Harbour from the Northward and Westward **Captain Blair of the Union Snow,** with one of the other Vessels went immediately to examine and lay its Situation exactly down.

7. About a Month ago **the Viper Snow** was returning from the Coco's, where she had been for a Cargo of Coconuts, was in a Calm hazy night by an unexpected set of a Current carried so near the Shore a few Miles to the Northward of this Harbour before it was discovered that she grounded on a lidge of Rocks from which she was with difficulty got off with so much damage to her bottom that she has been deemed obliged to be layed on Shore at this place to be repaired, which is now nearly effected, in consequence of this accident Captain Blair was obliged to detain **the Sea Horse** Pilot Vessel then ready to sail for Bengal, to bring up the remaining part of the Labourers Stores. and Planks from old Harbour, from which place She arrived on the 7th Inst.

8. As the Sea Horse is one of the vessels that is Esteemed too large for the Pilot Service but peculiarly well Suited as a Transport for this Settlement, I have in concurrence with the Wish of the Master Attendant at Calcutta exchanged the officers and Crew of the Ranger into her and now dispatch the Ranger under Command of **Captain Pitman** to be taken again into the Pilot Service.

9. Upon consulting with the Captain it appears that three Vessels of nearly the burthen of the Cornwallis or Sea Horse will be necessary to supply the Settlement in its present state with provisions and Stores ; untill another of the large Vessels from the Pilot Service can be spared, it will therefore be expedient to keep **the Union Snow** on freight.

10. On making out the necessary Establishment of People for this Settlement there was an omission of a European and an Assistant to attend the Beach and Superintend the Shipping and reshipping of Provisions and Stores and a Serang and twenty Sea Lascars for manning the Boats employed on this Service, also a Ship Carpenter and Assistant for making repairs on the vessels and for building Boats, these people are exceeding necessary and have been heretotore employed by Captain Blair ; I have therefore taken upon me to continue them on the same salaries that he allowed them.

11. **There is a small decked Vessel and a large Long boat the property of Captain Blair** for the purpose of transporting Stores and Provisions and as they are absolutely necessary for the use of the Service I have requested Captain Blair to leave them. The charge that he makes for them is three thousand Sicca Rupees which I believe to be moderate I have therefore drawn on Government for this Sum in his favor : several more Vessels of this Sort will be necessary but in future, I shall construct them of the Timber of the Island, and with the Workmen of the Establishment

12. I have great satisfaction in saying that there is the greatest abundance of good fresh Water in this Harbour, and that by a very little trouble watering places may be made for supplying the largest Fleet with great expedition and ease.

13. The surface of **Chatham Island** is very uneven but the Soil appears to be rich and there is no mixture of Stones as at the old Harbour, so that there is little part of the Island that may not with ease be cut into Terraces and put into Cultivation.

14. On the neighbouring shores of the main Island there appears much Land of a more level Surface which as it is exactly of the same quality cannot fail of being very productive when cleared, and put in Cultivation and from a first view of things I cannot help entertaining the most sanguine hopes there are few of the Fruits or Grains of Indostan that will not be produced here in great abundance ; I must however observe that the Clearing of the Land from the immense Timber that it is thickly covered with, is a slow and most laborious work, Good Labourers are therefore what we most

want and as many of those sent were in the Juno, and some of those that were first Carried down by Captain Blair are now returning I have to request that no opportunity may be lost of sending as many of this class of people as possible for we can employ a great many to much advantage.

15. In compliance with your Lordships Instructions I beg leave to acquaint you that **we can immediately employ two hundred of the Male Convicts advantageously** ; by putting them to clear several Islands in the Harbour where they could be kept entirely separate from the rest of the Settlement, We could even find employment for more, but with the small force that we have at present it probably would not be prudent to have a larger Number of such Neighbours.

16. I imagine it would be most expedient to freight a Vessel on purpose to bring such a Number down which at the same time could carry six months provisions of Rice Dhall & Ghee the Rice to be of the coarsest kind of that called Cargo Rice. I mention not this simply on principles of Economy but also that it might be well that some difference should be made between these Men and the present Settlers ; when by removing the best behaved to better provisions and a small pay it might prove a stimulus to industry and an inducement to a reform of manner in the rest.

17. Accompanying I transmit the Copy of **a Letter from Mr Wood the Surgeon** requiring some Assistance in the Hospital; as it is likely that there will constantly be a Number of Sick I should suppose that it were best for the Hospital Board to fix on the necessary Establishment of Dressers and Servants at a Station where there will soon be above one thousand work people much liable to accidents.

18. It will be necessary that great Attention be paid to his Indents for Medicens and the necessary articles of comfortable diet that is required where Scorbutic Complaints are common.

19. As soon as Captain Blair has completely surveyed the Shoal at the Northern part of the Island he is to return to this place when I shall dispatch the Union Snow to Bengal for a further supply of Rice and for some Artificers and Labourers who I had engaged in Calcutta but who could not be taken on Board of the Cornwallis and Ranger.

20. The Viper Snow will at the same time return to Bengal as Captain Blair does not think she is in a State to perform the Voyage to Bombay at so late a period of the Season.

I have the honour to be &ca

(Signed) **Alexander Kyd,**

Superintendant at the Andamans.

Port Cornwallis

13th March 1793.

(Enclosed in the Letter.)

Major Alexander Kyd

Superintendant Port Cornwallis Great Andaman.

Sir, — From the number of sores, and other Complaints the people are subject to in clearing the ~~Jungul, the~~ sick list has so much encreased lately, as to make the Assistance of his [? some] Native dressers absolutely necessary.

There are at present a considerable number of Sick in the Hospital I am much afraid the list will be considerably Augmented, on the breaking up of the Monsoon.

The people in the Hospital are greatly distressed for want of proper Attention which they are deprived of as no Establishment for the Service of the Hospital has been made at Port Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be &ca

(Signed) **David Wood**

Acting in a Medical Capacity.

Chatham

March 11th 1793.

Ordered that the following Letter be written to Major Kyd by the Secretary and sent by His Majesty's Frigate the Minerva.

To Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir, — I am directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter Dated the 13th Instant which arrived this Morning by the Ranger.

Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. His Lordship observes with great Satisfaction the progress that has been already made in forwarding the Establishment at Port Cornwallis and that the Europeans and Natives are in general healthy. He is sorry to find that there is too much reason to apprehend **the loss of the Juno Snow,** and instructs me to acquaint you that, when the proper Season returns for Ships to proceed from hence to the Andamans the Number of Artificers and Labourers that can be sent, and the Quantity of stores that you may think necessary to supply the Deficiency occasioned by this Accident will be ordered to Your Settlement.

Para. 6. His Lordship in Council entirely approves of **Captain Blairs having been desired to examine and lay down exactly the Situation of the Shoal of Coral Rocks, that have been discovered in rounding the North End of the Andamans** in the Ranger; and trusts to your sending him the best Account of it for the Information of the Merchants and the Commanders of such Vessels freighted by the Company as may have occasion to pass that way.

Para. 7. The Detention of the Sea Horse Schooner by Captain Blair seems to have been necessary for the reason mentioned in this Paragraph and the Board desire me to say that thay have no objection to your having substituted the Sea Horse in the stead of the Ranger and returned the latter to Bengal to be taken again into the Pilot Service of this River.

Para. 9. Your Resolution to keep the Union Snow on freight is so much the more approved, as one, at least, of the Vessels at the Andamans will probably be employed by the Commodore, and Althou' the Dispatch Brig should be left by his Excellency in her Place you still have no more Vessels on the Establishment than appear to be absolutely wanted.

Para. 10. His Lordship in Council being persuaded that you thought the encrease advised in this Paragraph to the Establishment of People necessary Assents to your having entertained them and he has also no objection to your continuing to them the same Salaries that they received from Captain Blair.

Para. 11. There is likewise no objection to your having made the Agreement you mention with Captain Blair for his small decked Vessell, and large long Boat; and the Bill which you have drawn upon this Account in his favor to the extent of three Thousand Sicca Rupees (Sa. Rs. 3,000) will be duly honored.

Paras. 12, 13, 14. Your report of the Abundance of good fresh **Water in the New Harbour,** and of the Timbers which the Board admit must be a slow laborious Work is extremely Satisfactory and carries with it a powerful Confirmation of the Propriety of Settling the Establishment at Port Cornwallis.

Para. 15. The Court of Nizamut Adawlut will be made acquainted with the Intimation in this Paragraph relative to the number of Male Convicts that can be employed at the New Settlement and you will be informed whenever any Resolution for transporting thither such Description of People shall be passed.

Para. 16. Your recommandation of the best Means of conveying them to **Port Cornwallis** will then also be brought before the Board.

Para. 17. The Governor General in Council desires me to say that his Lordship will consult the Hospital Board on the Subject of Mr Wood's Letter Dated the 11th Instant respecting the Establishment of Servants for the Hospital and he will instruct them to give particular Orders that great Attention may be paid Mr Wood's Indents for Medecenes and the proper Articles of diet recommended in Scorbutic Cases.

Para. 19, 20. His Lordship has observed upon the Communications in these Paragraphs that your Intentions with respect to the Union and Viper may perhaps undergo some Alteration upon your knowing the Commodore's Wishes, as referred to in my Letters of the 22nd Instant and the present Date and that if the Union cannot on this account be sent round to Bengal another Vessell, should it be necessary, will be taken up to carry round the Artificers and Labourers and the requisite Supplys of Rice.

Fort William I am &ca
27th March 1793. (Signed) Govr. Genl. in Council.

The following Resolutions are passed on Major Kyd's Letter dated the 13th Instant.

Para. 8th. Ordered that the Master Attendant be directed to receive the Ranger just returned from the Andamans, into the Pilot Service in the place of the Sea Horse detained at Port Cornwallis and acquainted that the Commander and one such of the Crew as are not already in the Pilot Service are to be discharged, and paid up to the last day of the present Month.

Ordered that Notice of this Resolution be also sent to the Acting Marine Paymaster and Acting Naval Storekeeper.

Paras. 10 & 11. Ordered that Copies of the Paragraphs be sent to the Acting Marine Paymaster and Acting Naval Storekeeper and that the Bill advised in the 11th be duly honored.

14. Ordered that Copies of this Paragraph be sent to the Master Attendant, and to Captain Boswell, also to the Military Board.

15 & 16. Ordered that Copies of these Paragraphs be sent to the Nizamut Adawlut and that they be requested to deliver their Opinion whether any and what number of Convicts shall be Ordered to the Andamans.

17 & 18. Ordered that Copies of these Paragraphs and of Mr Wood's Letter be transmitted to the Hospital Board with Instructions to recommend the necessary Establishment of Servants and Dressers to be kept up under the Surgeon at the Andamans and to give the necessary Orders that great Attention may be paid to the Indents for Medecines and the Articles of Diet required in Scorbutic Cases.

1793. — No. XVII.

Fort William 1st April 1793.

Read a Letter from Mr George Allen.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Understanding that it is the intention of Government to freight four hundred Bags of Rice and also to send one hundred Sepoys or Artificers to the Island of Andaman, I beg leave to offer **the Phenix Snow** for that purpose for the Sum of four Thousand Sicca Rupees.

Calcutta I have the honor to be &ca
1st April 1793. (Signed) **George Allen.**

Agreed that the offer made by Mr allen be accepted, provided that upon a regular Survey made under the direction of the Marine Officers the Phenix shall be found to be a proper Vessell to take 100 Sepoys and Artificers and 400 Bags of Rice to Port Cornwallis at this season of the year.

Fort William 12th April 1793.

The following letter was received from **the Town Major** on the 10th Instant, and Notice was sent to the Owner of the Phoenix, as well as to the Garrison Store Keeper, of the encreased Number of Persons to be accommodated in that Vessell to the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to inform you that of the Troops Artificers &ca that have engaged to Serve at the Andamans there yet remains to be embarked —

1 **Jimindar.**
7 Sepoys.
1 Fifer.
92 Artificers.
36 Women & Children.
In all 137.

Fort William Town Majors Office I am &ca
10th April 1793. (Signed) **A. Apsley.**

Fort William 12th April 1793.

Read a Letter from Captain Allen.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to receive your Letter of this date with one from the Town Major Containing the number of Sepoys &ca to be embarked for the Andamans on board **the Phoenix Snow Hugh Moore Commander.**

The Vessel is now ready to receive on board the necessary Stores, and the accommodations shall be arranged in the best possible manner, I observe the Number of Persons to be embarked amount to 137 which is Thirty Seven above what I at first had an Idea of, however I hope to be able to manage So as that the whole may proceed on the Vessel, there will be no delay on her Side and I have given information to that purport to the Town Major and Garrison Storekeeper.

Calcutta I am &ca
11th April 1793. (Signed) **George Allen.**

Fort William 12th April 1793.

Read a Letter from the Secretary to **the Hospital Board.**

To **I. L. Chauvet Esqre** Sub Secretary.

Sir, — I am directed by the Hospital Board to Acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 27th Ultimo and to acquaint you for the Information of Government that they beg leave to recommend the following Establishment of Servants for the Surgeon at the Andamans Vizt.

One Native Apothecary	at Sicca Rupees	... 10	
Two Compounders	at 8 Rupees each	... 16	
Two Dressers	at 8 Rupees each	... 16	per Mensem
Four Coolies	at 4 Rupees each	... 16	
One Beesty	at 5 Rupees	... 5	
Two Sweepers	at 4 Rupees each	... 8	
		71	

2nd. The Hospital Board have given instructions to the Purveyor and Apothecary that the Indents shall be punctually Complied with.

Fort William Hospital Board Office I have the honor to be &ca
8th April 1793 (Signed) **A. Campbell** Secretary.

Agreed that the Establishment of Servants proposed in the above Letter, for the Surgeon at the Andamans, be Authorised, but that it be made an Instruction to Major Kyd, the Superintendant to Certify to the Monthly Charge, which is not to be allowed for any of the People excepting those who are actually on the Spot & Serving in the different Situations.

1793. — No. XVIII.

Fort William 22d April 1793.

The following **Letter** was received yesterday, **by the Snow Union, from Major Kyd,** Superintendant at the Andamans.

To the Most Noble Marquis Cornwallis K. G. Governor General in Council &c &c.

My Lord, — I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that **the Snow, Cornwallis,** with Lieutenant Wells, and the Detachment of Sepoys, arrived at this Place on the 2(th of last Month.

Captain Blair, in the Union Snow having Compleated the Survey of the shoal that was discovered off the North end of the Island as well as of the Shoal without the Archipelage, that was discovered bye the Honble Commodore Cornwallis, now proceeds to Calcutta in Charge of that Vessell, and if it is your Lordships pleasure that she should be continued on Freight, I have to request she may be dispatched as Soon as possible, with the Artificers and Labourers that could not be taken on board of the **Ranger and Cornwallis,** and the Stores and Provisions that we find most necessary at this Time for which the Commissary has transmitted Indents on the proper officers by this Opportunity.

The Sea Horse Snow which I dispatched on the 16th of last month **to Diamond Island, and the little Cocos,** arrived on the 30th, with Sixty one Turtle and Two Thousand Coconuts. The first an excellent Article of Provision for the Europeans, and the last for the Natives. **The Cornwallis Snow** will be immediately dispatched **for Acheen and the Coast of Pedeir,** for a Supply of Rice and Live Stock, and for Such usefull Fruit Trees as can be procured; and on her return will touch **at the Carnicobars for Coconuts,** which are of a far Superior kind to those at the Cocos, and therefore more proper to introduce in Culture here. By the time of her arrival, I hope to have a proper Spot of Ground prepared, for Planting any number she may bring.

The Viper Snow has been Completely repaired, and is now fit for Sea. She is to be Sent immediately **to the Cocos for a Cargo of Coconuts**; and on her return, I will immediately dispatch her to Calcutta, in Order that Captain Blair may take her round to Bombay, or that She may be disposed of, in any Other way that your Lordship may think Proper, Observing, that from her small burthen, She is entirely unfit for the Service of this Establishment. As **Lieutenant Roper** who now Commands her, has been on this Service Since its Commencement, and is in every way qualafied for Conducting a Vessell, I hope your Lordship will think it just that he should be permitted to take Charge of the Union, for Captain Blair, untill Such time as another Vessell, the property of the Company, can be Spared for this Service for him to Command.

I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that the Europeans and Natives are in General, very healthy, appear to be Pleased and contented with their Situation, and go on Cheerfully with their Labour. We are now entirely Employed in Constructing a Granary and Store room, and Other necessary temporary Buildings for Covering Settlers of all Descriptions, which I hope will be effected before the Monsoon Setts in.

From the very confined State of the Provisions and Stores, lodged in Different Places without any arrangement, it is impossible to make a regular Survey of them, so as to deliver them over to the Commissary; but before the end of the present Month there will be Buildings for the reception of the Provisions and Stores, when he will be enabled to make due Arrangements thereof, and to prepare the necessary Reports and returns to be transmitted to the proper Officers, conformably to the established Regulations.

I have the honor to be &ca

(Signed) **A. Kyd**

Supt. at the Andamans.

Port Cornwallis

April 4th 1793.

Agreed that the Union be continued on freight for Six Months from this Period, on the former Terms, and that Notice thereof be sent to Captain Blair, who is to be acquainted that, on the Arrival of the Viper at the Presidency, it is intended to put the Union under the Command of Lieutenant Roper.

Ordered that the Military Board and Garrison Store Keeper be informed that the Stores and Provisions, indented for by the Superintendant at the Andamans are to be put on Board the Union, which will Sail for Port Cornwallis in a few Days.

1793. — No. XIX.

Fort William 26th April 1793.

Read a Letter from the Garrison Store Keeper.

Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Having received an Indent by the Union for (1000) One Thousand Maunds of Rice and (100) One hundred Maunds of wheat for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, I request you will advise the Governor General in Council thereof, and communicate to me his Orders whether, and when, it should be provided.

Fort William
25th April 1793.

I have the honor to be &ca
(Signed) **C. A. Robinson** Garrison Store Keeper.

Agreed that the Garrison store Keeper be authorized to Comply with the Indent mentioned in his Letter, and informed that the Rice and the wheat May be sent in the Union, which will be dispatched to Port Cornwallis in a few days.

1793. — No. XX.

Fort William 26th April 1793.

The following Letter and its enclosures were Received on the 24th Instant, from the Town Major.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a list of Sepoys, Artificers and Followers who are to **embark on the Phoenix for the Andamans.**

I am &ca
(Signed) A. Apsley
Town Major.

Town Major's Office
24th April 1793.

Enclosures of Town Major 24th April.

List of Artificers and followers remaining of Major Kydds Establishment to be embarked on the Phoenix for the Andamans.

1 Tindal.
16 Sawyers.
11 Carpenters.
5 Potters.
2 Washermen.
5 Brickmakers.
5 Bricklayers.
Total 45.

Town Major's Office
24th April 1793.

A List of Sepoys, Artificers and followers remaining of Lieutt. Wells's Establishment.

1 Jemidar.
1 Fifer.
7 Sepoys.
2 Bhesties.
3 Shop Keepers.
1 Barber.
23 Women & Followers.
Total 38.

(Signed) A. Apsley
T. M

1793. — No. XXI.

Fort William 26th April 1793.

The following **Letter** was written yesterday by the Secretary, in Consequence of the Boards Orders to **Major Kyd**, Superintendant at the Andamans.

Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir, — The accompanying Letters, dated the 22nd and 27th Ultimo, were put on board His Majestys Frigate, **Minerva**, in expectation that the Commodore would have proceeded **from Bengal to Port Cornwallis**; but Circumstances having afterwards induced him to alter his Purpose, the Letters were returned to my Office.

In pursuance of the intention generally signified in my Letter of the 22nd of last Month, **the Snow Phoenix, Commanded by Captain Moore**, has been freighted for a Trip to **Port Cornwallis** to take thither, a Number of the Sepoys and Artificers, and the four hundred Bags of Rice that were left here on the departure of the Company's Vessels.

It was originally intended that the full Number of Persons with their Families, consisting altogether of 137, should be sent in the Phoenix, and Provisions, Water Cooking Utensils &ca Were put on board accordingly for an expenditure of 50 Days; but as it was afterwards found that they could not all be well accommodated in the Vessels and as the Town Major has discharged Sum of them, in Consequence of an intimation received from you, the Number has been limited to those mentioned in the inclosed Lists.

Whatever Surplus of the Provisions &ca laid in may remain, beyond the expenditure during the Trip, is to be delivered by the Commander of the Phoenix to your Order.

The Governor General in Council has directed me to acknowledge, by this Conveyance the receipt of your Letter dated the 4th Instant, which arrived on the 21st by the Snow Union, This Vessel, which has been freighted for a further Period of six Months, will, on the Arrival of **the Viper**, now daily tide [? to be] expected, be put according to your recommendation, **under the Charge of Lieutenant Roper**, and returned to Port Cornwallis, and by that Opportunity the Stores &ca required by your Indents, received here by the Union will be forwarded.

I am directed to transmit to You a Letter, dated the 4th instant which has been written to the Sub Secretary of Government by the Secretary of the Hospital Board and to Acquaint you that the Establishment of Servants proposed in it, for the Surgeon at your Settlement has been authorized, but that you are to consider yourself instructed to certify to the Monthly Charges, which is not to be allowed to any of the People, included within the Establishment, excepting those who are actually on the Spot and Serving in the different Situations.

I am &ca.

Fort William **25th April 1793.**

Fort william 26th April 1793.

Ordered that the following **Letter** be written **to Captain Allen** by the **Secretary** and that a **Copy** of it be sent **to Major Kyd.**

To George Allen Esqre.

Sir, — You have already been advised of the number of Sepoys and Artificers to embark on board the Phoenix for the Andamans.

I am directed by the Governor General in Council to desire that you will be pleased to instruct the Commander of that Vessel to pay particular attention to the Accommodation of these People, and to give such Orders to his Officers as he May think Necessary, to prevent any improper interference on the part of the Ships Company with them during the Passage. Captain Moore is further to be instructed to deliver to the Order of Major Kyd the

Superintendant all the Cooking Utensils &ca that have been put on Board by the Garrison Store Keeper and also whatever Surplus Provisions and Water May remain beyond the expenditure during the Trip.

Council Chamber I am &ca.

26th April 1793.

1793. — No. XXII.

Fort William 26th April 1793.

Read a Letter and its enclosure from the Acting Secretary to the **Military Board**.

Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Having Submitted to the Military Board the Letter **from Mr Sub Secretary Chauvet** dated the 27th Ultimo with the Extract from Major Kyd's Letter of the 13th March Which accompanied it I have been directed to transmit to you the inclosed Copy of a Resolution of the Military Board containing their Recommendation of the Mode in which Workmen and Labourers from the New Establishment at Port Cornwallis should be provided in future.

I have the honor to be &ca

Military Board Office (Signed) **C. A. Robinson**

22nd April 1793. Acting Sec. M. B.

Resolution of the Military Board the 22nd April 1793.

Agreed to inform Government, that this Board are not Competent from the Application before them. to determine what Number or Description of labourers are required for the purposes Specefied, but understanding that Major Kyd has given some Information upon this Subject to the Town Major the Board recommend to Government to Authorize to engage the Number and description of Labourers and Workmen which Government May think proper to Authorize being Sent to the Andamans in addition to those already there, and Order that it may be affected with the greatest Occonomy, that the Town Major be duly advised by the Secretary of Government of the probable Opportunities of embarking them for the Andamans ; and instructed to engage them in the Service of the Company, as near to that period as possible.

A true Extract. (Signed) C. A. Robinson

Acting Sec. M. Bd.

Ordered that the Town Major be desired to ascertain from **Captain Blair, Now here,** what Number of Labourers and Workmen can be properly accommodated in the Union, after providing for the Stores, Consisting, of 1000 Maunds of Rice and 100 Maunds of Wheat, going to that Vessel to Port Cornwallis and that he be Authorized to engage that Number.

The Town Major should be informed that probably the Union will be dispatched to the Andamans in about Ten Days.

1793. — No. XXIII.

Fort William 1st May 1793.

The following Letter was received on the 27th Ultimo from Captain Allen.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have received a small box and Separate parcel containing Dispatches for the **Andamans** together with a Letter of instruction relating to the Sepoys and Artificers and the delivery of the remaining Stores at the Port Cornwallis, which will be regularly complied with.

The dispatches I have this Moment put on Board the Vessel now lying in the Bight and in readiness to proceed as soon as the Stores from the Fort are put on Board and the Men Embarked.

I am &ca

27th April 1793. (Signed) George Allen.

1793. — No. XXIV.

Fort William 1st May 1793.

Read a Letter from Captain Blair.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to enclose two **Sets of Accounts of the Settlements at the Andamans,** the 1st Marked No 1 are brought up to October 1st 1792 The 2nd Marked No 2 are brought up to the 15th of March 1793, when the remaining Stores and Provisions were delivered to Major Alexander Kyd.

I have to request that you will be pleased to notice to the most Noble the Governor General the charge of Ten per Cent, Commission, on the last purchase of Stores at Calcutta in the Account particular of the 2nd set, Marked No 3 which I hope May be admitted.

Calcutta I am, &ca

April 29th 1793. (Signed) Archibald Blair.

Ordered that the accounts transmitted by Captain Blair be sent to the Accomptant General of his Report thereon, and ordered also that they be entered in the appendix.

(To be continued.)

THE SPRING MYTH OF THE KESAR SAGA.

BY REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

(Concluded from p. 40.)

Philological Notes.

Proper Names in the Kesar Saga.

Introductory Note.

In reference to my list and translation of the names of the Kesar Saga Dr. Laufer makes the following remark : — "In a monosyllabic language, which is abundant in **homonyms,** it is most easy to interpret every name just in that way, which appears to be most suitable for the system." He gives an example : — The name of Kesar's first wife, **'aBruguma,** which I understood to mean 'a little grain,' "could just as well be translated by 'friend, companion' (*grogsmo*) or 'woman from the Steppe' (*'abrogmo*)."

As regards the abundance of homonyms, the case is not so bad as it appears to Dr. Laufer. There may be a great number of homonyms in the dialects of Lhassa and Eastern Tibet ; but that does not concern my West-Tibetan version of the Kesar Saga. Whatever the pronunciation of some of the modern Tibetan dialects may be, the classical language, on which the orthography of everything written in Tibetan at the present day is based, is almost entirely free from homonyms. The reasons are the following: — (1) There is a great number of prefixed letters, which are silent in most of the modern dialects, but which vary the different homonyms as soon as they are written down. (2) Those homonyms, which in several dialects begin with *tr, thr, dr,* appear in writing dissolved into the following variants : *dr* may be written as *br, gr, dr* ; *thr* may be *phr* or *khr* ; *tr* may be *kr, tr* or *pr*. (3) Those words, which in several modern dialects begin with *j, c, ch,* appear in writing to begin with *j* or *by* ; *c* or *py* ; *ch* or *phy*.

As Dr. Laufer must know, it has been proved, with the help of the different West-Tibetan dialects, that the **orthography** of the classical language is in accordance with the ancient pronunciation. The further we advance to the West, the more the actual pronunciation of a word is in accordance with the orthography of the classical language, and the number of homonyms diminishes rapidly. Thus, the pronunciation of the Balti and Purig dialects exhibits signs of very great antiquity and almost compulsorily leads to the correct writing of many words. The fixing of the few doubtful names of the Kesar Saga will probably depend on the Balti and Purig versions of the Saga. Although I do not myself live in Baltistan or Purig, for two years I have been in the enjoyment of the advantages of the dialect of Lower Ladakh, which comes very near to those of Baltistan and Purig.

Here is a list of the most prominent characteristics of the dialect of Lower Ladakh:—

(1) *pr, phr, br, py, phy* and *by* are always pronounced as they ought to be in accordance with the orthography of the classical language.

(2) In many cases the otherwise silent prefixes of Lower Ladakhi words are pronounced, if the preceding word ends in a vowel.

(3) In many other cases, those prefixes are pronounced distinctly as *s*, *r*, and *sh*.

(4) In all other cases the silent prefix influences the pronunciation (*a*) of the following tenuis, as has been stated in my *Ladakhi Grammar;* (*b*) of the following media. My Munshi has often tried to teach me, for instance, the different pronunciation of *bu*, boy, and *'abu*, worm (with a silent prefixed *'a*). Although I was able to hear a slight difference, I never succeeded in imitating his pronunciation, nor in stating what its nature was. Probably many of the Tibetan dialects have still vast fields open to phonetic research.[13]

Now, if we examine Dr. Laufer's etymologies of the name of **'aBruguma**, it becomes evident, that they are not at all well founded. It is impossible to derive the name from *grogsmo*, friend, because the name is never pronounced *Druguma* or *Drugmo* in Lower Ladakh, but *Bruguma* and *Brugmo*. Nor would it be right to derive the name from *'aBrogmo*, woman from the Steppe. Although the scientific treatment of the Tibetan dialects is still in its infancy, it has become evident that vowels cannot be exchanged in them according to one's pleasure. At present only a few suggestions can be made: *a* shows a certain inclination to become *e*; but *e* probably never becomes *a* (thus, if a dialectical form shows *a* instead of *e*, as for instance *stang* instead of *steng*, the dialectical form is perhaps the original). If the perfect stem of the verb could be proved to be the original, we might add that *a* also shows a certain inclination to become *o*. As regards the change from *o* to *u*, or from *u* to *o*, in a closed syllable, *i. e.*, between two consonants, I doubt that it would be possible to produce many examples. I do not know of a single one. But if Dr. Laufer wishes to place *'abrogmo* side by side with *'aBruguma*, he will be obliged to produce a number of parallels to show the probability of the change of the vowel. Here in Khalatse both of the words, *'abrogmo* and *'aBruguma*, can be heard, the one as often as the other; but nobody would ever think of a connection between them.

As regards my translation of the name *'aBruguma* by 'a little grain,' it ought not to be called an etymology, because I leave the word as I find it and simply say what is its meaning according to colloquial Ladakhi. If Dr. Laufer charges me with 'pressing etymologies out of the words just to suit my purpose,' he does not, I think, treat my work fairly.

[13] Dr. Laufer in his *Sühngedicht der Bonpo* attributes some importance to the orthographical mistakes of Tibetan MSS. He is inclined to consider many of them as being influenced by the modern dialects. As far as my experience goes, great caution has to be taken here. In consequence of the inclination of the *tenues* to be pronounced like *media*, the ordinary man is never certain about the actual value of either of them; hence a great number of orthographical mistakes. They are a very unsafe foundation for researches in the field of Sandhi laws and similar questions. The ear of the European student alone will have to decide.

The name **'aBrugmo** is not considered as a contraction of **'aBruguma** by Ladakhis, but is understood to mean 'she who thunders'; this explanation is quite in accordance with *gLing-glu* of Khalatse, No. I., and is not an etymology, but colloquial Ladakhi. If the spelling **'aBrugguma** instead of *'aBruguma* could be supported, it would be possible to translate it by 'a little thunder'; but, of course, it will be necessary to support this by documents.

I wish here to remind the reader of the following fact. **There is a fundamental difference between the Tibetan list of Buddhist names and the Mongolian list of Buddhist names** (compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*). Whilst the Mongolian list in many cases shows the Sanskrit and Tibetan names in Mongolian orthography, the Tibetan list presents most of the originally Indian names in Tibetan translation. The reason is that the Tibetans wish to understand every name. I do not believe that there is a single Tibetan personal name, which is not at once understood by everybody. Names like Henry, Charles, Robert (the meaning of which can be found out only with the help of a dictionary), do not exist in Buddhist Ladakh. If we look at this fact, we do not wonder that the Ladakhis understand almost every one of the names of the Kesar Saga, and when they do not, that they have their own ideas about them.

In the following list, by the letters **C. L.** it will be indicated that a certain name is colloquial Ladakhi, and that from a Ladakhi point of view there cannot be the least doubt about the exactness of my English rendering of the same.

Tibetan Alphabetical List of Proper Names.

K.

Kesar is declared by several Ladakhis to have originally sounded *sKye ysar*, which derivation is supported by the dialectical form *Kyesar*. The falling away of *s* and *y* is very natural. Dr. Laufer calls the form *sKye ysar* a later construction. That is hardly possible, because with regard to Ladakhi phonetics it is an easy way from *sKye ysar* to *Kesar* and *Gesar* (as the Epic has it); but not in the opposite direction. Dr. Laufer suspects me of putting certain ideas into a man by my questions. but with regard to Kesar the case was as follows: — At first I felt inclined to identify the word *Kesar* with *Kaisar* and asked an educated Ladakhi, who knows English, what his opinion was. He at once told me, that the only Ladakhi explanation was the one given above. *sKye ysar* means 'the reborn one (newly born).' I am of opinion that this name possibly refers to Kesar's rebirth each spring, but Ladakhis only think of Kesar's birth on the earth after his death in heaven.

Kraphusse, 'the rat.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him in the wood. — Addition 3. — C. L.

Klurta sngongchung, 'the little blue water-horse,' on which lCogpo rides. — C. L.

dKarmo, 'the white,' name of the she-dog which gives birth to the dog **Drumbu brangdkar.** — Addition 2. — C. L.

bKurdman rgyalmo, 'the venerable queen,' the queen of sTang lha. She comes to the earth at the birth of her son Dongrub, and changes herself into Ma dkarthigmo.

rKyangbyung khadkar, 'the *kiang* with the white mouth.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him in the plain. — Addition 3.—C. L.

sKyabsbdun, 'the seven helps,' a name of the earth. — C. L.

sKyherrdzong snyanpo, 'the euphonious [well speaking] companion of men,' one of the names of the king of heaven. — C. L.

Kh.

Khrudumltumbu, 'he who is born in a skin,' name of an Agu, who is evidently not very well known. — C. L. The name is very well understood in the sense given above; but I cannot offer an explanation according to Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Khromo, 'the angry.' The name is evidently derived from *khroba*, anger, a quality which agrees with the nature of this Agu; but the feminine article *mo* is unusual.

G.

Gogzalhamo. — As Dr. Laufer tells me, this name is spelled *Gogthsa lhamo* in the Epic. This is one of the doubtful names. According to colloquial Ladakhi *gog* means 'ashes,' and *lhamo* goddess.' As regards *za* or *thsa*, I do not offer an opinion.

dG'ani, perhaps originally dG'anyi, 'day of joy,' name of an Agu.

Gar rtsa chos sgrol, 'the smith, pillar of the religious deliverance,' occurs chiefly in the Winter Myth, and is a vassal of the King of Yarkand. Kesar deceives him, pretending to be his relative, whereupon the smith teaches him his trade. — C. L. Other names of the same person are **Nag shang shang**, and **Hemis.**

C.

lCogpo, 'the lower,' name of the King of Yogklu. — C. L. The Epic and several oral versions have **lYogpo.**

Ch.

Chorol = **Chossgrol**, '*helper* in the religion,' name of 'aBruguma's mother. It originated probably in later times, for it sounds quite Buddhist. — C. L.

Ny.

Nyazhung gsermig = **Nyachung**, etc., 'the little fish Gold-eye.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him in the sea. — Addition No. 3. — C. L.

T.

lTaba migrab, 'the seer Clear-eye,' name of an Agu. — C. L.

brTanpa, 'firmness,' name of 'aBruguma's father. — C. L. For **brTanma** see Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary.*

brTan 'adzin dmarpo, 'seizing the red firm support.' This was probably the form of the name **bsTan 'adzin** in pre-Buddhistic times.

Th.

Thurru rkyangbyung dbyerpa, 'the real colt descended from the wild *kiang*,' name of Dongrub's horse. It is born again on the earth with the same name and the same qualities as it had before, and is therefore called 'the real.' With regard to this name, the idea of the Tibetans seems to have been that the horse was a descendant of the *kiang*. The Epic as well as the Winter Myth have the name in this form: **rkyang rgod dbyerpa**, 'the wild real *kiang*.' — C. L.

D.

Darlha go chodma, 'the flourishing goddess who executes her work well,' name of 'aBruguma's handmaid. — C. L.

Darseng dkarmo, 'the white ice-lioness.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to her at the top of the mountain. — Addition No. 3. — C. L.

Dungngi dardkar, 'the silken-white mother-of-pearl horse,' on which Agu dPalle rides. — C. L.

Dungsbal dkarpo, 'the white mother-of-pearl frog.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him on the earth. — Addition 3. — C. L.

Dongrub, 'fulfilling the aim,' name of the third son of the king of heaven, who is born on the earth as Kesar. — C. L. Because the name Dongrub literally corresponds to the Indian Siddhârtha, Dr. Laufer is inclined to believe in Buddhistic influences with regard to this name. But the name Dongrub is used equally instead of the Indian Amoghasiddha, the Dhyânibuddha and Lokapâla of the North, who possibly is of Pre-Buddhist origin. I hope it will be proved in due time that Western Tibet and North India influenced each other in Pre-Buddhist times.

Donldan, 'having a calling,' name of the eldest son of the king of heaven. — C. L.

Donyod, 'having a calling,' name of the second son of the king of heaven. — C. L.

Drumbubrangdkar, 'the lascivious [dog] with the white breast,' name of the dog to whom the she-dog dKarmo gives birth. — Addition No. 2. — C. L.

Dromo, 'heat,' name of the ewe which gives birth to mThsalmig. — Addition No. 2. — C. L.

aDrelha btsanbogs, 'the elf-god strong profit,' mentioned in Additions No. 9; the male element to 'aBamza 'abum skyid, possibly another name of the devil bDud.

P.

dPalle, 'glory, abundance, splendour,' name of the best-known of all the Agus. *Le* is probably the syllable of respect of the Ladakhi dialect; but it may also represent an abbreviation of *las*, work.

sPrinnag ralchen, 'dark cloud, great mane,' name of Agu lTaba migrab's horse. — C. L.

B.

Bya khyung dkrung nyima. The bird **Khyung,** the disc, the sun. This is the Tibetan **Garuda** and the male element to Byamo dKarmo. There exists an actual bird, a heron, which is called *khyung* on account of his voice. The word *dkrung* also occurs in *dkyil dkrung*, the common Oriental posture of sitting with crossed legs, when the legs, covered by the long coat, form a kind of a disc. *dkrung* is the only word, the orthography of which cannot be proved for certain. As regards *ya khyung* and *nyima*, the orthography is dictated by the Lower Ladakhi pronunciation.

Bya rgyal rgodpo, 'the wild bird-king.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him on the rock. — Addition 3. — C. L.

Byamo dkarmo, 'the white female bird,' probably the moon, the female element corresponding to **Garuda.** — C. L.

Byilphrug rganjar, 'the naked little bird.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to it in the field. — Addition 3. — C. L.

dBangpo rgyab bzhin = *rgya-bzhin* (the *b* of the second syllable, otherwise silent, was pronounced with the first), 'the sovereign with the all-embracing countenance,' name of the king of heaven. Dr. Laufer spells the name *rgya byin*, meaning 'extending splendour' and identifies the Tibetan king of heaven with Indra. I should be very glad if this could be proved. However, if Dr. Laufer's spelling is the original, the name would be pronounced *rgya byin* or *rgya bin* in Lower Ladakh. This is not the case here. This well-known deity is always called **rGya Zhin** or **rGyab zhin** in Lower Ladakh.[14]

'aBruguma, see Introductory Notes.

aBrongbyung rogpo, 'the black wild yak.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him in the meadow. — Addition 3. — C. L.

M.

Ma dkarthigmo, 'the white-spotted mother,' or perhaps, 'she who has conceived,' name of the queen of heaven during her visit on the earth.

Monganni srangphrug, 'the street-boy of bad descent.' *mo-ngan* = *mon ngan*; *mon* is the epithet of a low caste. Instead of *srangphrug*, *srongphrug* is also said. Name of Kesar in his youth. — C. L.

Ts.

Tsetse ngangdmar, 'the reddish-yellow summit,' but perhaps also, 'the red duck of the summit.' Name of the goat which causes Dongrub's death in heaven.

bTsan rta dmarchung, 'the small red earth-horse,' ridden by sKyabsbdun. — C. L.

[14] Professor Dr. Grünwedel explains the name as having been originally *brGya sbyin* = *Satakratu*; but does *sbyinpa* actually correspond to *kratu*?

Ths.

Thsa ldang, 'promptly forwards,' name of the mare which gives birth to Thurru rkyangbyung dbyerpa. — Addition 2. — C. L.

mThsanldan ru skyes, 'the famous horned one,' literally, 'horn-producer,' name of Gogzalhamo's husband. A peculiarity in the word is that a *w* is written instead of a *u*. The Ladakhi pronunciation of the word is *ru*. — C. L.

mThsalmig, 'Red-eye,' name of the sheep to which Dromo gives birth. — Addition 2. — C. L.

Dz.

Dzemo 'abamza 'abumskyid, probably, 'the fairy with a hundred thousandfold happiness.' *abamza* is apparently only an introductory play of syllables to the following word. The female element corresponding to 'aDre lha btsan bogs. Her name according to the Winter Myth is **Mersa 'abum skyid.**

Z.

Za. — Probably contracted from *zaba*, 'the eater,' which name certainly agrees with the character of its bearer.

Y.

gYusbal sngonpo, 'the blue turquoise-frog.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him in the underworld. — Addition 3. — C. L.

S.

ySersbal yserspo, 'the golden frog.' Gogzalhamo gives birth to him in sTang lha. — Addition 3. — C. L.

H.

lHa rta ngangpa, 'the bay horse of the gods,' may also be 'the god's-horse-duck,' or 'Swan. Translated in this way, the name would express most clearly the capacities of flying and swimming. — C. L.

A.

Ane bkurdmanmo, 'the venerable spouse,' a name of the queen of heaven.

Unusual Words and Forms.

I.

1. *gLing*. In the present usage of the language this word denotes a continent. This conception may have been gradually developed. In ancient times it was probably not yet understood. In the Kesar Saga, if we translate **gLing** by "**Earth,**" we shall probably not be far wrong.

2. According to Dr. Laufer the literal translation is: "From the land of the gods there came the lord of the upper gods." He is quite right.

Instead of "All at once," Dr. Laufer proposes 'In the dark.' This is wrong: *srib cig la* is a very common Ladakhi idiom, used always in the sense of 'All at once.'

2. *agu* = *akhu*, see Mythology.

3. *lhabbya*, god-bird. The *b* of the second syllable is pronounced with the vowel of the first; see under Cardinals, Ladakhi Grammar.

4. *bdud bya yinces 'adug*, he is to be (= seems to be) the devil-bird.

6. *Khra* = *khrabo*, variegated. *Zilazila* serves to fill up the line in singing, like our *la-la-la*; *khrazig*, *bizig* is also said.

9. The literal translation of this line is 'Carrying was at the time when I was a boy,' which Dr. Lanfer translates 'I carried it when a boy,' which translation I should have accepted, if I had received it a little sooner.

7, 8, 9. The repetition of the stem of the verb may haye been employed here to fill up the line; otherwise it serves to denote the Durative.

11. The translation of this line, as well as that of several others, contained in songs, is not quite literal. The reason is that I tried to keep up a certain metre in the German translation.

12. Dr. Lanfer tells me that *sogspa* means 'shoulder-blade,' not 'wing.' The upper portion of the wing is called *sogspa* in Ladakhi.

16. *sreste* = mingled = together.

17. *nusgal* = *nugsgal*, *nug*, a little bag in Ladakhi.

18. *pho chen* = *pho rta*, gelding.

20. According to Dr. Lanfer, the literal translation should be 'a thin saddle.' He is wrong: the literal translation is 'saddle and bridle.' The word *srab* or *sra' bs* is colloquial Ladakhi for a horse's 'head-straps.'

21. *snalo*, nose-ring in Ladakhi.

II.

2. *ma sa*, did not eat. The simple present-stem is used for the past, as the time is sufficiently indicated by *ma*.

3. *ysangma*, respectful form for meal, as *y sol ja* for tea.

4. *shangkhu*, Ladakhi for *spyangki*, wolf.

5. *dzara*, a meal in the middle of the day.

20. *chungrtagspo*, he whose sign is smallness, or youth. *po* is the emphatic article, see *Ladakhi Grammar*.

31. *mi phod*, literally 'I am not able,' as correctly stated by Dr. Lanfer.

III.

4. *sdigla*, substituted on account of the metre for *sdigpala*, to the sinful one. As we learn from the Winter Myth, *sdigpa*, is one of the names of the giant of the north.

5. *gri btangba*, to give the knife = to use it to cut or stab. *mD'a btangba*, to shoot arrows, is a parallel form.

11. As Dr. Lanfer remarks, the word *sdigpai*, "of the wicked," or "for the wicked," is left untranslated. Compare note on No. I., 11.

20. *lcibces*, respectful for 'to ride,' derived from *chibs*, horse.

24. *jusnamssi*, take greetings. The *i* cannot be explained.

28, 32, *etc.* *bing*, come out; the Ladakhi verb *bingces* is not to be derived from *'abyingba*, as Dr. Lanfer supposes, but from *'abyungba*, according to the views of Ladakhis.

28. *bors*, kept it; in Ladakhi the verb *borces* is often used in the sense of 'to keep,' as is indicated in Jäschke's *Dictionary* under *'aborba*, 3.

31. *phud*, let go; is not to be taken as an imperative tense of *'abudpa*, as Dr. Lanfer supposes. It is the imperative tense of *phudces*, which is a causative form of *'abudpa*.

32. *dromа*. See also 35 *dras*, from *draba*, to cut.

32. *cangkhog*, Ladakhi for trunk of the body.

36. *zas*, does not mean 'he cried,' as Dr. Laufer takes it; *zas* is the instrumental of *za*, the proper name of the agu. Although *zas* in literal translation only means 'by the agu,' we are obliged to add silently 'was said, was cried.'

41. *spyi shing* Ladakhi for pine (*cf.* 'pineal' gland), the top of the head.

42. *lan ... sngon* [illegible], before (of time).

45. *lag khung* [illegible] Ladakhi for the slight depression below the neck at the commencement of the neck.

47. [illegible], is the Ladakhi form for *skragpa*.

IV.

1. [illegible] Ladakhi for [illegible].

4. [illegible] = [illegible], a well.

4. *nagabelde*. This expression seems to occur only in the context here given. It is pretty clear that the first part means 'black'; *belde* is said by the people to mean 'ugly,' but *be* seems to point to [illegible] 'broad'; *ldemig* seems to be 'squint-eye.' *naggabelde* also is the proper [illegible] in [illegible] mud-fish; thus we might translate just as well 'he had eyes like a mud-fish.'

5. [illegible] *sa* [illegible], pills.

5. *sag* [illegible] = *saqantke*, bad flour.

5. *kag* = *kagpa*, suddenly: see Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*.

5. *games*, perfect of *zamces*, to eat, is only used of sand and flour.

6. *bong stan*, sack-cloth. Dr. Laufer proposes 'ass-saddle-cloth;' but donkeys are not used for riding in Ladakh. A *bong stan* is just what we should call 'sack-cloth.'

8. Instead of 'spouse,' Dr. Laufer proposes 'grand-mother,' because in the Mongolian version *bKur dmanmo* is Kesar's grand-mother. This is impossible, because *bKur dmanmo* is not called 'spouse' in her relationship to Kesar, but in her relationship to the lord of the gods. She is called *Ane*, wife not only because she is his wife, but because she is a model wife.

10. *thsig*, a stone used for building, the word is probably related to *rtsigpa*, wall.

10. *mnante*, pressed: the mother pressed the child with a stone, *i. e.*, she put it underneath the stone.

14. *skyil* was translated by 'fill.' Originally it means 'dam up'; thus 'the food is dammed up by the vessel.'

14. *rdulbo*, a stone vessel: probably derived from *rdoba*.

16. *thsangnga*, child-sack. Jäschke has 'cradle' for this word. In Ladakh it is a sack filled with dried horse-dung to keep the child warm. In this way baby-linen, *etc.*, is spared.

26. *mdadar*, originally a small coloured ribbon, which adorned the arrow; here the name for any small ribbon.

29. Dr. Laufer has difficulties in translating this line. The Tibetan has *stang lha la bltaste mia dar dkarpo zhig dbyugs*. It is true, this text does not tell us who is "blowing up bands"; but people told me that it was the boy. The word *bltaste* does not only mean 'looking,' but is colloquial Ladakhi for 'in the direction of.' The word *dbyugs* also occurs in *dbyug rdo*, sling.

V.

1. *'adug 'adugs pala*, while it so continued; see I. 7, 8, 9, note.

1. ***rgyal lham***, king of the gods. As a rule *rgyal lham* is only used in conjunction with the word ***Kesar***, which fact explains the *m*; *rgyal lham Kesar* is accordingly, 'the king of the gods, or Kesar.'

2. ***andhe bandhe***; as I found out a few days ago, a word *bandhe* is in general use. A *bandhe* is a lama who has not yet been to Lhassa. A *bandhe* is not considered as a full lama; *andhe* I am inclined to consider as an introductory play of syllables to *bandhe*. According to Dr. Laufer there exists a possible connection between ***andhe*** and the Mongol *anda*, friend.

3. ***Khamba*** = ***Khampsa***, a man from Khams. These people are noted for their fondness of travel. The word ***khamba*** has on this account come to mean almost 'vagabond' in Ladakh.

3. ***khangnguma***, little house. The article *ma* is used here similarly to the emphatic article *bo* in other cases.

4. ***ltsangmkhan***, beggar, seems to be derived from *slongba*.

9. ***'akholma***, boiling; adjective, formed from *'akholba*.

11. ***btagga***, bound; contracted from *btagpa*, perf. partic. passive. Similarly *btangnga* in 13. and ***blugga*** in 15.

11-16. Dr. Laufer points out the translation of this song is not always quite literal. He is quite right. Thus in 12 the literal translation should be: 'In four directions four enemies will fall.' In 16 Dr. Laufer suggests the word 'breast' instead of 'heart.' Apparently that part of the breast which covers the heart is meant.

12. ***rabbzhi***, four enemies. The ***b*** of the second syllable, otherwise silent, is sounded with the first syllable. If an ***r*** follows a mute, the mute frequently disappears. Thus *ra* instead of ***dgra***.

17. ***hung***, an interjection, used to accompany great exertion. It is perhaps formed from the well-known ***hum***.

21. ***phalong*** or ***phabong*** = *phalong*, rock.

22. ***skor'ang***, do whirl! ***'ang*** = ***yang***; see Imperative, *Ladakhi Grammar*.

24. ***skorres***, to whirl. ***res*** is perhaps the infinitive termination, which is used instead of ***ces*** in the dialects of the side-valleys. Correspondingly *rig* instead of *cig* in VI. 20, VII. 40. On the other hand ***res*** may be a substantive, meaning 'turn.' 'It is my turn, it is his turn.'

27. ***logs***, quite, all at once, in Ladakhi.

27. ***nyachu***, tendon; Ladakhi for ***chuba***.

28. ***skyerags***, hip-cloth, girdle; Ladakhi for ***skarags***.

29. ***yyojshing***, the same as ***yojshing***, poker.

29. ***munte***, fainted; the word is related to ***munpa***, darkness. When a man faints, everything becomes dark around him.

30. ***phaspun***, father's brother. This word has come to mean in Ladakh 'one who looks after the corpse,' and is used exclusively in this sense. It probably refers to the custom that in ancient times certain relatives had to provide for the burning of the corpse. Such an office of the ***phaspun*** seems to be touched on in IX. 9, where is Kesar stripped of his humble form by them. In the Saga the word has evidently not yet obtained its contemptuous colouring.

30. ***shayin***, will revenge. The word ***shaces*** is never used alone, but always in connection with ***mi***, man.

31. *churabs*, Ladakhi for 'ford.'

37. *thsama*, the meal on the occasion of a death.

37. a betrothal present.

VI.

1. *ngad* does not mean 'to meet,' as Dr. Laufer takes it. *yong ngad thsug* is Ladakhi for *yongbar yod thsug*, meaning 'came.' Compare *Ladakhi Grammar*, Past Tenses.

1. *rugga* = *sgrugpar*, to pluck.

1. *jojo* = *jomo*, distinguished lady.

2. *rtammgo*, horse's head. The *m* of the second syllable, otherwise silent, is sounded with the first.

3. *muchu*, root-string; that is, dry root.

4. *theb*, more; compare *Ladakhi Grammar*, Comparative.

5. *aje* = *ache*, elder sister, the usual mode of addressing older women.

6. *γsobpa* = to arise again.

8. *malkhrigge*, mark of the teeth

10. *drotham*, a meal in which several friends participate and to which each contributes a small sum.

19. *dPallekun*, all the dPalles. Can it be the case that the plural here serves to denote respect? This would be the only instance of the kind in Tibetan. The same usage is found in VI. 28 and 42. In any case it is possible to suppose that not only dPalle or dGani alone is addressed, but their whole retinue. In 19 the right translation may be, 'and so on.'

24. *har*, the ball of a rosary; a foreign word.

24. *bkram*, formed from *agrempa*, here with the signification, 'to touch.'

27. *thoresug*, just in the morning.

29. *bungpa* = *pungpa*, a drinking glass.

29. *yar*, the small piece of butter which is smeared round the edge of a vessel with the thumb to honour a guest.

58. *tsogse* = *thsogse* = *mthsogse*, like. As regards this word, the pronunciation of the tenuis is a variance, even with the same person.

68. *thugssring*, 'wait! an unusual form of respect, as the construction with *mdzadces* is more usual in the case of verbs.

70. *yashaho*, hurrah for love! is shouted at weddings.

VII.

9. *stang* = *steng*, the upper part; see also *stanglha*.

15. *lhathserog*, compos. determ., a shameful sin against the *lhas*. Corresponding expression in 23 and 31.

33. *smug*, from *smugpo* serves here to denote indistinct colours, as brown, violet. It is here intended to mean something beautiful.

83. *seba*, when referring to horses, mane.

41. *lib*, sudden, of actions of the body.

42. *thub*, mighty.

VIII.

2. *stankha*, 'mouth' of the carpet, the edge provided with fringes. Politeness requires that a carpet shall be spread for each guest. In doing so, one must see to it that the 'mouth' of the carpet is placed in front of the guest.

3. *mârig dgurig*, a very wise, a nine-fold wise man.

6. *shangkog*, wolf's-skin, formerly used as piece of clothing.

8. *mduntho*, front edge of the dress.

11. *sngaro* = *sngadro*, morning.

11. *'adzag*, clime, Ladakhi for *'adzegpa*, to clime.

12. *rargan* = *ragan*, copper or brass.

27. *khamslogces*, disgusting; infinitive instead of participle.

27. *sgrumces*, Ladakhi for 'to knead.'

33. *'adon thang*, meal, for *'adonpa* in the sense of 'eat and drink' compare Jäschke's *Dictionary.*

34. *yogskor*, or *yogkhor*, name of the sheepskin which is nowadays worn over the shoulders by the women. The name 'lower covering' suggests that it was formerly thrown around the loins. The hairless side of the *yogkhor* is covered with red and green cloth.

36. *khyodres*, or *khyores*, thou. Both are contractions of *Khyod rangngis.*

38. *ata*, father. The word comes from Baltistan.

38. *jo*, ending of respect, which is employed just like *ji* in Hindustani. It seems to be the same stem as in *jobo*, lord.

IX.

2. *thag*, here in the signification 'firmly.'

9. *yzhal yas khang*, according to the usage of the Ladakhi language a not only great but also very beautiful house.

12. *soga*, teeth; perhaps from *sokha*, tooth and mouth, comp. copul. developed.

14. *chams*, fulfilled, come to the goal, from *'achampa.*

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 108.)

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

UNLUCKY CHILDREN.

THERE appear to be a number of customs and superstitions connected with the place each child occupies in the family which have not been, as far as I am aware, fully recorded or explained These superstitions are apparently quite distinct from any of those which attach to children born under certain stars, or in certain months, or on certain days of the week.

The First Born.[1]

The first born has always held a peculiarly sacred position, especially if born to parents who have long been without off-spring in answer to a

[1] A first-born child (Jesth) must not be married in Jesth. — *P. N. Q.* Vol. III § 10.

vow, in which case sacrifice of the child was common in India.[2] The Mairs used to sacrifice a first-born son to Mâtâ, the small-pox goddess,[3] while Muhammadans throughout Northern India believe that first-born children can stop excessive rain by certain rites.[4] On the other hand a first-born son will in Telingana attract lightning.[5]

Twins, as is well known, are peculiarly uncanny, but in Dahomey a boy born *after* twins has a special name (*dosu*), according to Burton: *Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome*, Vol. I. p. 99, *Memorial Edition*.

But many remarkable ideas cluster round the third conception or round a child of one sex born after three children of the other sex. Thus in the South-West Panjab on the borders of Sindh the former superstition prevails and its results are thus described: — "Trikhal is the third conception after two births (without regard to the sexes of the former children). It is a Jatkî word, literally meaning 'third' and implies contempt. This conception is considered unlucky among Hindus, especially in Jâmpûr. Every effort is made to effect abortion, and many cases of abortion take place. It is suspected that the third child is killed at birth if the attempts to cause the abortion have failed. Dread of the law prevents any attempt to kill the child when it has survived its birth."

The Trikhal.

This, however, appears to be a local variant, as the other superstition is far more prevalent and its effects and the measures taken to avert them are thus described by an intelligent Panjab official: — "A child of one sex born after three children of the other sex is called, in Panjâbî, Trikhal, as, for example, a boy born after three girls. Such a child is considered unlucky, and its birth portends—

(1) the death of a parent;

(2) loss of wealth by the parents;

(3) the taking fire of the house in which the child was born; or

(4) some other calamity, such as lightning or snake-bite.

If this child grows up without the parents suffering any injury, and is taller than the parents, they are benefited instead of injured by the birth, *i. e.*, their lives are prolonged, or if poor they become rich and are protected against all misfortunes. Many Hindus believe that the children born after a Trikhal cannot live long.

The following remedies are adopted at the birth of such a child to avert the evil effects of birth: —

(1) The father pours a quantity of *ghî* down the gutter of the roof of the room in which the child was born.

(2) A brass tray is broken in the centre and the child passed through the hole.

(3) A horse-shoe is painted with *sandûr* (red oxide of mercury) and scented with *gûgal* (a drug) and attached to the bed of the mother. The shoe is re-painted with *sandûr* and scented every Tuesday.

(4) If the third day after the birth be a Sunday a ceremony known as Trikhal Shanti (propitiation of the Trikhal) is performed. Green leaves from seven trees are collected and put in an earthen pitcher with 101 holes in its bottom. Another pitcher is filled with water taken from seven wells. The mother, with her child, sits under the drain of the roof of the house in which the child was born. A Pandit recites to her a *kathâ* from the *Trikhal Shantî Shâstra* while a female relative of the mother holds a sieve over her head. The pitcher containing the green leaves is placed on the sieve, and the father pours the water of the seven wells down the drain of the roof, so that the water passing through the pitcher and the sieve may trickle slowly over the mother's head.

(5) If the charm, whose figure is given below, be set in gold and tied to the neck of the mother all evil is avoided.

Têrî jis meṅ yâ us jan meṅ mêrê kharnê kôjagâh dê.

yâ mêrî sunnat	*yâ mêrî sunnat*	*yâ mêrî sunnat*
yâ mêrî sunnat	*yâ mêrî sunnat*	*yâ mêrî sunnat*
yâ mêrî sunnat	*yâ mêrî sunnat*	*yâ mêrî sunnat*

The belief relates chiefly to the first Trikhal born in the family: it applies to boys more than

[2] Moore's *Hindu Infanticide*, pp. 108-9.

[3] Sherring: *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol III. p. 65.

[4] *Panjab Notes and Queries*, 1883, Vol. I. pp. 116 and 463.

[5] *North Indian N. & Q.* 1891, Vol. I. p. 378.

to girls (and indeed it is said in Kasûr[6] that a *girl* after three boys is not unlucky at all[7]) and evil is to be feared by both parents, but principally to the parent of corresponding sex. Moreover, a boy born after three girls is also apt to be himself unlucky.

The ceremonies used to avert the evil effects are often those employed when a child is born under an evil *nakshatra*, but L Lachmî Narain (Gurdâspur) states that for a *trikhal* :—

Five earthern pitchers filled with water containing gold images of Brahmâ, Vishnu, Mahêsh, Indar and Rudar are worshipped, whereas in the case of a birth under the asterisms of Jestâ, Mûlâ, Ashlêkhân and Magân the leaves of 7 trees[8] are used as described in para. 6 (4) above, and in the case of a child born in Khâtak :—

Four images of Brahmâ, Indar, Rudar and Sûraj are placed in 4 pitchers covered with red and white cloth and a little of the water sprinkled over the mother and child.

Lastly for a child born during an eclipse :—

Three gold images, one of the *nakshatra* of birth, another of Râhu and a third of the sun or moon (as the eclipse may have been) are worshipped.

Another name for the trikhal is **trêtar**, (said to be derived from Sks. *tri*, three, and *attar*, enemy), and in Hoshiârpûr the performance of a fire sacrifice with the aid of a Brâhman after the *sûtak* period is usual *Pala* wood is burnt and sugar, *etc.*, thrown on to it.

In Karnâl and Rohtak a son born after three girls is usually called **têlar** (or named **Têlu Râm**) and in Rohtak various ways of averting the evil he may bring are described. In one the parents sit on a plough and bathe from an earthen vessel containing 108 or 101 holes with water from the Ganges and 27 wells, 108 medicines (!) and milk. The water is passed through a sieve, but in some places a sieve is held to be unlucky In another ceremony the parents bathe in water (passed through a sieve) drawn from 27 wells and in which stones from 27 places and leaves from 27 trees have been placed. This must be done 27 days after the birth. 27, 14 or 7 Brâhmans are also feasted.

After these ceremonies a pair of snakes are made of a precious metal and given with 7 kinds of grain to the Dakaut Brâhman.

In another rite a horse-shoe, painted with vermilion figures, is burnt on the third or tenth day after the birth. It is lucky if this day falls on a Sunday.

The superstition appears then to take various forms and the rites practised are very diverse, those used to avoid other unlucky births being often resorted to, though it appears that strictly speaking special rites should be performed. It is said to be confined in Nâhan to immigrants from Hoshiârpûr.

It is possibly connected with the astrological doctrine of trines, but the powers of the first-born are not thereby explained.

Several correspondents mention that the belief and rites are described in the *Shâstras* but no references are given. In 1885 a Sanskrit book called "Trikhal Shanti" was published at Lahore giving an account of the belief. The sage Pushkar asks Bhargat how a Trikhal can be propitiated. The reply is that it should be abandoned, as it will cause the death of its parents *and maternal uncle*[9] within 7 months and also destroy itself.

The Eighth Child.[10]

The eighth child (*i. e*, the one after the *seventh*?) is very unlucky if a son as he is sure to cause his *father's* death.[11] But in Karnâl the 8th child is peculiarly dangerous to the *mother*.

The remedy is to pass a *charkhâ* or spinning wheel thrice round the mother and give it to the midwife. The *charkhâ* must be in perfect order.

Ḍhâi Sirâ or '2½ Head.'

Mr. Talbot writes that in Jhêlam a Trikhal is drilled with 2½ holes — a local expression meaning 2 holes in one ear and 1 in the other, or 1 in each ear and 1 in the nose. In Mozaffargaṛh a **ḍhâi-sirâ, mûla or sat-sirâ** is a child whose head has not been properly shaped.

How is the use of the No. 2½ to be explained ?

The information obtained requires to be still further supplemented and the various forms of belief explained.

H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Panjab.

Simla, 29th July 1901.

[6] See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, 1886, Vol. III. p. 453.

[7] And in Amritsar a girl so born is called *bukhal* or 'lucky' child. *Cf.* do. 1885, Vol. II. § 824, also § 136 (in Bombay).

[8] They should be male trees (*kathâ, andr, tût, etc.*) according to the Jhêlam note.

[9] The part which the maternal uncle plays in marriage rites is well-known. He is in grave peril if his sister's child cut its upper teeth first.

[10] Connected apparently with the eight names of Rudra Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV. p. 383, *et seqq.*

[11] *Indian Notes and Queries*, 1886, Vol. IV. § 94.

NOTES ON SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE'S THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR.

BY SIDNEY H. RAY.

IN July, 1899, Colonel (now Sir Richard C.) Temple published in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society an outline of a "Theory of Universal Grammar, as applied to a Group of Savage Languages," and illustrated this theory solely by reference to the South Andaman Group of Languages. It was, however, plainly manifest that its proper exhibition required examples in other unrelated and morphologically distinct languages, and so when reviewing Colonel Temple's paper for the *Journal* of the Anthropological Institute,[1] the present writer attempted to **apply the theory to a short statement in various languages,** chosen partly with regard to his own studies and partly with regard to the facility with which the means of analysis were available to him. **The languages chosen were:**

1. **English.**
2. **Hungarian.**
3. **Latin.**
4. **Khasi, Hills of N. E. Bengal.**
5. **Anam, French Cochin China.**
6. **Ashanti, West Africa.**
7. **Kafir, South Africa.**
8. **Malagasy, Madagascar.**
9. **Olo Ngadju or Dayak, South East Borneo.**
10. **Nufor, Dutch New Guinea.**
11. **Motu, British New Guinea.**
12. **Mortlock Ids, Caroline.Group, Micronesia.**
13. **Mota, Banks' Islands, Melanesia.**
14. **Samoan, Polynesia.**
15. **Awabakal, Lake Macquarie, Australia.**
16. **Dakota, North America.**

The passage chosen was **the description of the sower, taken from the various translations of the Bible in these languages,** and although it is plain that a mere tr[illegible]ion offers a somewhat unsatisfactory test of the real structure of a language, the choice affords a means of comparison which would not appear if the examples were totally distinct in meaning.

In the earlier portion of his paper on the Theory, Colonel Temple, taking **the sentence** as the unit of language, discusses its composition and method of indicating purpose, and also the method of expressing the inter-relation of words in a sentence. This leads him to the **definition of a series of terms** in harmony with his analysis of the sentence, which therefore take the place of the old so-called parts of Speech. **These terms are: — 1. Integers,** words which are complete sentences; **2. Indicators** of Subjects or Complements of Subjects; **3. Explicators** of Subjects or Complements; **4. Predicators,** indicating the Predicate; **5. Illustrators** of Predicate, Complement or Explicators; **6. Connectors** of the internal components of the sentence; **7. Introducers,** explaining the purpose of the sentence; **8. Referent Conjunctors,** joining connected sentences; **9 Referent Substitutes,** representing in a subordinate sentence the word to which it refers in the principal sentence.

The arrangement of the examples follows Colonel Temple's order. There is given first the statement with its words in their proper order, the component parts of inflected or agglutinative words being separated by hyphens, and accompanied below by an exact literal translation into English. Then follows an analysis of the statement into separate sentences. These are indicated by numerals, the Subjects and Predicates being separated and the Complements indicated by italics. A word omitted by ellipsis is entered in brackets. All the words of the statement are then grouped according to their several functions, using Colonel Temple's nomenclature.

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[1] *Vide Jour. Anthrop Inst* Vol. XXX (N. S. Vol. III.) July 1899. Miscellanea No. 79.

1. . ENGLISH.

Text.

A sow-er wen-t out to sow his seed: and[1] as he sow-ed, some fell by the[1] wayside; and[2] it[1] was trodd-en down, and[3] the[2] fowl-s of the[3] air devour-ed it.[2]

Remarks.

Subjects: 1. a sower,
2. he,
3. some,
4. it,
5. *the* fowls *of the air.*

Predicates: 1. went *out to sow his seed,*
2. *as* sowed,
3. fell *by the wayside,*
4. was *trodden down,*
5. devoured *it,*

Integers:
Indicators: sower, seed, some, wayside, fowls, air.
Predicators: went, sow, sowed, fell, was, devoured.
Explicators: a, his, the,[1] the,[2] the.[3]
Illustrators: out, as, trodden, down.
Connectors: and,[1] by, and,[2] and,[3] of.
Referent Conjunctors:
Referent Substitutes: he, it,[1] it.[2]
Introducer: to.

2. HUNGARIAN.

Text.

Egy mag-vet-ö ember ki-mé-ne, hogy el-vet-né az[1] ö mag-vát
One seed-sow-ing man out-go-he would, in order that away-sow-he might that his seed-sown

és[1] a' mag-vet-és köz-be némelly es-ék az[2] ut-ra, és[2] el-tapod-tatek, és[3] az[3]
and the seed-sow-thing time-in some fall-they did the way-on, and away-trampled-it was, and the

ég-i madar-ak meg-e-vék az-t.
heaven-of bird-s completely-eat-they did it.

Remarks.

Subjects: 1. egy magvetö ember,
2. (combined with predicate),
3. nemelly,
4. (combined with predicate),
5. *az égi* madarak.

Predicates: 1. kiméne,
2. elvetné *az ö magvat,*
3. *a' magvetés kozbe* esék *az útra*
4. eltapodtatek,
5. megevék *azt.*

Integers: kiméne, elvetné, esék, eltapodtatek, megevék.
Indicators: ember, magvat, közbe, némelly, madarak.
Predicators: (contained in integers).
Explicators: egy, magvetõ, az,[1] ö, a' (=az), magvetés, az,[2] az,[3] égi.
Illustrators: útra.
Connectors: és,[1] és,[2] és.[3]
Referent Conjunctors:
Referent Substitutes: azt.
Introducers: hogy.

3. LATIN.

Text.

Ex-i-it qui semin-at,[1] semin-are semen suu-m: et[1] dum semin-at,[2] aliu-d ce-cid-it secus
Forth-goes-he who sows-he sow-to seed his and while sows-he some fell-it beside

via-m, et[2] con-culca-tu-m es-t, et[3] volucr-es cœl-i com-ed-erunt illu-d.
path and trodden-on is-it and birds sky-of ate-they did that.

Remarks.

Subjects: 1. (combined with predicate),
2. qui,
3. (combined with predicate),
4. aliud,
5. (combined with predicate),
6. volucres *cœli.*

Predicates: 1. exiit *seminare semen suum,*
2. seminat,
3. *dum* seminat,
4. cecidit *secus viam,*
5. *conculcatum* est,
6. comederunt *illud.*

Integers: exiit, seminat,[1] seminat,[2] cecidit, est, comederunt.
Indicators: semen, viam, volucres.
Predicators: (contained in integers).
Explicators: suum, cœli.
Illustrators: dum, conculcatum.
Connectors: secus, et,[1] et,[2] et.[3]
Referent Conjunctors:
Referent Substitutes: qui, aliud, illud.
Introducers: seminare.

4. KHASI.

Text.

U[1] nong-bet u[2] la[1] leit-noh ba'n bet[1] ia[1] u[3] symbai jong u:[4] te[1] haba u[5] dang
A man-sow he did walk-away that-will sow about the seed of him then when he still
bet,[2] don u-ba la[2] háp ha-rúd lynti, te[2] la[3] iuh-roit ia[2] u;[6] bad ki[1] sim
sows it was it-that did fall at-side path then was trodden-on-constantly about it and they bird
byneng ki[2] la[4] bám-duh ia[3] u.[7]
sky they did eat-destroy about it.

Remarks.

Subjects: 1. u nongbet u,
2. u,
3. don (an integer),
4. uba,
5. (uba),
6. ki sim *byneng* ki.

Predicates: 1. la leitnoh *ba'n bet ia u symbai jong u,*
2. *te haba dang* bet,
3. (contained in integer),
4. la háp *harúd lynti,*
5. *te* la iuh-*roit ia u,*
6. la bám-*duh ia u.*

Integers: don.
Indicators: nongbet, symbai, lynti, sim.
Predicators: leitnoh, bet,[1] bet,[2] háp, iuh-roit bám-duh.
Explicators: u,[1] u,[3] ki,[1] byneng.
Illustrators: la,[1] te,[1] haba, dang, la,[2] harúd, te,[2] la,[3] la.[4]
Connectors: ia,[1] jong, ia,[2] bad, ia.[3]
Referent Conjunctors: uba.
Referent Substitutes: u,[2] u,[4] u,[5] u,[6] ki,[2] u.[7]
Introducers: ba'n.

5. ANAM.

Text.

Co một[1] kẻ đi[1] gieo giống, mà khi đu'ò'ng[1] gieo một[2] phần hột ro'i ra ngoài
There was one that go sow seed but time way sow one falling grain fall go-out side
đu'ò'ng[2] ngu'ò'i ta đi[2] đạp, va chim trên tro'i xuống ăn hêt.
path he we go tread, those bird above sky descend eat completely.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. môt,		Integers :
2. (môt),		Indicators : giông, hôt, ngoài, chim.
3. (môt),		Predicators : co, đi,[1] gieo, ro'i, ra, đi,[2] đạp, xuông, ăn.
4. môt *phân hôt*,		Explicators : môt,[2] phân, đu'ò'ng,[2] va, trên, tro'i.
5. (môt *phân hôt*).		Illustrators : khi, đu'ò'ng gieo, hêt.
6. ngu'o'i ta,		Connectors : mà.
7. (ngu'o'i ta).		Referent Conjunctors : kê.
8. va chim *trên tro'i*.		Referent Substitutes : môt,[1] ngu'ò'i, ta.
9. (va chim *trên tro'i*).		Introducers :
Predicates : 1. co,		
2. đi,		
3. gieo *giông*,		
4. *khi du'ò'ng gieo* ro'i.		
5. ra *ngoai đu'ò'ng*,		
6. đi.		
7. đạp.		
8. xuông,		
9. ăn *hêt*.		

6. ASHANTI.

Text.

O-gu-fo fi-i adi ko-gu-u n'-aba. Na[1] o-re-gu no, e-bi gu-u
Sowing-person go-did out to-sow his-seed. And he-continues-sowing that, thing-some fall-did

kwankyeṅ, na[2] wo-tiatia-a so na[3] wyim n-nõmã-ã be-sosow-e.
wayside and they-trod on and air birds will come-quite eat.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. ogufo,		Integers : oregu, wotiatiaa.
2. (ogufo),		Indicators : ogufo, n'aba, ebi, nnõmàà.
3 ebi,		Predicators : fii, guu, besosowe.
4. (combined with predicate),		Explicators : wyim.
5. *wyim* nnõmàà.		Illustrators : adi, kwaṅkyeṅ, so.
Predicates : 1. fii *adi koguu n'aba*,		Connectors : na,[1] na,[2] na.[3]
2. oregu *no*,		Referent Conjunctors :
3. guu *kwaṅkyen*,		Referent Substitutes : no.
4. wotiatiaa *so*,		Introducers : koguu.
5. besosowe.		

7. KAFIR.

Text.

Um-hlwayel-i wa-puma wa-ya kuyi-hlwayela im-bewu y-ake. Eku-hlwayel-eni kw-ake
Person-sowing he-did-go out he-did-go to-sow seed his sowing-at his

ya-wa enye ngas-endlele-ni, ya-nyatel-wa, zati in-taka zas-esulw-mi zayi-dla zayi-gqiba.
it-did-fall part about-path-at it-trodden-was then bird of heaven they-did-eat did-destroy.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. umhlwayeli,
2. (umhlwayeli),
3. enye,
4. (enye),
5. intaka *zasesulwini*,
6. (intaka *zasesulwini*).

Predicates : 1. wapuma,
2. waya *kuyihlwayela imbewu yake*,
3. *Ekuhlwayeleni kwake* yawa *ngasendleleni*,
4. yanyatelwa,
5. *zati* zayidla,
6. zayigqiba.

Integers : wa-puma, waya, yawa, yanyatelwa, zayidla, zayigqiba.
Indicators : umhlwayeli, imbewu, enye, intaka.
Predicators : (contained in integers).
Explicators : yake, kwake, zasesulwini.
Illustrators : ekuhlwayeleni, ngasendleleni, zati.
Connectors :
Referent Conjunctors :
Referent Substitutes :
Introducers : kuyihlwayela.

8. MALAGASY.

Text.

Lasa ny[1] mpa-mafy ha-mafy ny[2] voa-ny : ary nony na-mafy izy,[1] dia[1] latsa-ka ny[3] sasa-ny
Went the sower to-sow the seed his : and when did-sow he, then fell down the part-its
tany a-moro-n-dàla-na, ka voa hitsakitsa-ka, dia[2] lany ny[4] voro-ma-nidina izy.[2]
earth at-side-of-path, so-that seed trodden on, then devoured the bird-flying they.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. ny mpamafy,
2. izy,
3. ny sasany,
4. voa,
5. ny voro-manidina izy.

Predicates : 1. lasa *hamafy ny voany*,
2. *nony* namafy,
3. *dia* latsaka *tany amoron-dàlana*,
4. hitsakitsaka,
5. *dia* lany.

Integers :
Indicators : mpamafy, voany, sasany, voa, voromanidina.
Predicators : lasa, namafy, latsaka, hitsakitsaka, lany.
Explicators : ny,[1] ny,[2] ny,[3] ny.[4]
Illustrators : nony, dia,[1] tany, amoron-dàlana, dia.[2]
Connectors : ary.
Referent Conjunctors : ka.
Referent Substitutes : izy,[1] izy.[2]
Introducers : hamafy.

9. OLO NGADJU (OR DAYAK), BORNEO.

Text.

Olo pa-nawur ha-goet, ma-nawur binjie. Djadi, haiak ïa ma-nawur-e, maka belahe lawo sara-n
Man sows out-goes sows seed then together he sows it and part falls top-its
djalan tuntang i-hundjeng, tinai burong penda langit kuman tä lepah.
path and was-trodden down, also bird under sky eat that completely.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. olo panawur,
2. (ïa),
3. ïa,
4. belahe,
5. (belahe),
6. burong *penda langit*.

Predicates : 1. hagoet,
2. manawur *binjie*,
3. *djadi haiak* manawure,
4. lawo *saran djalan*,
5. ihundjeng,
6. *tinai* kuman *tä lepah*.

Integers :
Indicators : olo, binjie, belahe, djalan, burong, langit.
Predicators : hagoet, manawur, manawure, lawo, ihundjeng, kuman.
Explicators : panawur.
Illustrators : djadi, haiak, saran, tinai, lepah.
Connectors : maka, tuntang, penda.
Referent Conjunctors :
Referent Substitutes : ïa, tä.
Introducers :

10. NUFOR, NEW GUINEA.

Text.

Snoen-ija i[1] keeps[1] moor i-mbram i[2] keeps[2] moor-ija biëda; fa i[3] keeps,[3] rowaas osso i[4] sappi
Man he sows seed he-goes he sows seed his and he sows, part one it falls

bo[1] néjan, ma[1] kawassa s-arf-epen orne, ma[2] maan-sí ro bo[2] s'-aan i[5] ibro.
on path and people they-tread-much this and bird-s out-of above they-eat it consumed.

Remarks.

Subjects :
1. snoenija i,
2. (i),
3. i,
4. i,
5. rowaas osso i,
6. kawassa,
7. maansi *ro bo*,
8. i.

Predicates :
1. keeps *moor*,
2. imbram (subject included),
3. keeps, *moorija biëda*,
4. keeps,
5. sappi *bo néjan*,
6. sarfepen *orne* (subject repeated),
7. s'aan (subject repeated),
8. ibro.

Integers : imbram, sarfepen, s'aan.
Indicators : snoenija, moor, moorija, rowaas, néjan, kawassa, maansi, bo.[2]
Predicators : keeps,[1] keeps,[2] keeps,[3] sappi, ibro.
Explicators : biëda, osso.
Illustrators :
Connectors : fa, bo,[1] ma,[1] ma,[2] ro.
Referent Conjunctors :
Referent Substitutes : i,[1] i,[2] i,[3] i,[4] orne, i.[5]
Introducers :

11. MOTU, NEW GUINEA.

Text.

Gigi-a-rohoroho tau-na vada[1] lao i-e-na sito-na uhe-dia e[1] ha-gigi-a-rohoroho; e[2]
Scatter-it-about man-its did go he-thing-his seed-his plant-their he made-scatter-it-about he

gigi-a-rohoroho-mu, haida dala ise-na ai eme[1] moru; vada[2] ae-dia eme[2] moi-atao atai
scatter-it-about-ing some path side-its there it-did fall did feet-their they-did tread-down above

manu vada[3] eme[3] ani-a.
bird did they-did eat-it.

Remarks.

Subjects :
1. gigiarohoroho tauna,
2. e,
3. e,
4. haida eme,
5. aedia eme,
6. *atai* manu eme.

Predicates :
1. vada lao *iena sitona uhedia*,
2. hagigiarohoroho,
3. gigiarohorohomu,
4. *dala isena ai* moru,
5. moi *atao*,
6. vada ania.

Integers :
Indicators : tauna, sitona, haida, dala, isena, aedia manu.
Predicators : lao, hagigiarohoroho, gigiarohorohomu, moru, moiatao, ania.
Explicators : gigiarohoroho, iena.
Illustrators : vada,[1] ai, vada,[2] atai, vada.[3]
Connectors :
Referent Conjunctors :
Referent Substitutes : e,[1] e,[2] eme,[1] eme,[2] eme.[3]
Introducers : uhedia.

12. MORTLOCK ISLANDS.

Text.

*Ra*n-malemal a-man a[1] ken fai la am*a*ra[1] faili[1] ua-n ura; a[2] lupuan a-n
Man-garden one-living he did go forth scattering here and there seed-of plant but when thing-his

am*a*ra[3] faili,[2] epuelok pu*n* tu l*a*n ial, ra[1] ap pura la, o man susu fail la*n* ra[2]
scatter about some fall down on path they after trod away and animal flying about sky they

ken a*n*ia*n*i.
did eat.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. *Ra*n-malemal aman a,
2. an am*a*ra faili.
3. epuelok,
4. ra,
5. ' man *susu fail* l*a*n *ra*.

Predicates : 1. ken fai *la amara faili uan ura*,
2. lupuan (verb 'to be' implied),
3. pu*n tu lan ial*,
4. ap pura *la*,
5. ken *a*nia*n*i.

Integers :
Indicators : *Ra*n, uan, epuelok, ial, man, la*n*.
Predicators : fai, pu*n*, pura, a*n*ia*n*i.
Explicators : malemal, aman, ura, an, susu.
Illustrators : ken, la, am*a*ra[1], am*a*ra,[2] faili,[1] lupuan, faili,[2] tu, ap, la, fail, ken.
Connectors : a,[2] lan, o.
Referent Conjunctors :
Referent Substitutes : a,[1] ra,[1] ra.[2]
Introducers :

13. MOTA, BANK'S ISLANDS.

Text.

I-gene we[1] savsavur me[1] sage si-n savur[1] *mo*-na o[1] sivui[1]: ti savur,[2] wa[1]
Some-person does scattering did go so that-he scatter for-him the seed while sow and

tuan sivui[2] we[2] *mama*-s a pa-n mate-sala, wa[2] me[2] vano-vara, wa[3] o[2] manu ta-vuna-na
some seed does fall on side-its road and was trodden-on and the bird belonging to-above-its

me[3] gana qet.
did eat completely.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. igene we savsavur,
2. sin,
3. (ni = he),
4. tuan sivui,
5. (tuan sivui),
6. o manu *tavunana*.

Predicates : 1. me sage,
2. savur m*ona o sivui*
3. ti savur,
4. we *mamas a pan matesala*,
5. me vanovara,
6. me gana *qet*.

Integers :
Indicators : sivui,[1] sivui,[2] pan, matesala, manu.
Predicators : sage, savur,[1] savur,[2] *mamas*, vanovarao, gana.
Explicatrs : savsavur, *m*ona, o,[1] tuan, o,[2] tavunana.
Illustrators : we,[1] me,[1] ti, we,[2] me,[2] me,[3] qet.
Connectors : wa,[1] a, wa,[2] wa.[3]
Referent Conjunctors :
Referent Substitutes . igene.
Introducers : sin.

14. SAMOAN.

Text.

'Ua[1] alu atu le[1] tagata lulu[1] saito[1] e[1] lulu[2] ai[1] saito ;[2] na ia lulu[3] saito,[3] 'ua[2]
Did go forth the man scattering corn to scatter there corn (tense sign) he scatters corn did

pa'u ai[2] isi i le[2] 'au-ala; 'ua[3] soli-a, 'ua[4] 'ai-na fo'i e[2] manu fe-lelei.
fall there some on the ridge-road was trod-den was eat-en also by bird s-flying.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. le tagata lulu saito,
2. ia,
3. isi,
4. (isi),
5. (isi).

Predicates: 1. 'ua alu *atu e lulu ai saito.*
2. na lulu *saito.*
3. 'ua pa'u *ai i le 'auala,*
4. 'ua solia,
5. 'ua ..ma *fo'i e manu felelei.*

Integers :
Indicators : tagata, saito,[1] saito,[2] saito,[3] isi, 'auala, manu.
Predicators : alu, lulu,[2] lulu,[3] pa'u, solia, 'aina.
Explicators : le,[1] lulu,[1] le,[2] felelei.
Illustrators : 'ua,[1] atu, ai,[1] na, 'ua,[2] ai,[2] 'ua,[3] 'ua,[4] fo'i,
Connectors : i, e.[2]
Referent Conjunctors :
Referent Substitutes : ia.
Introducers : e.[1]

15. AWABAKAL.

Text.

Upilli-kan noa[1] u-wa yeai ko[1] upulli-ko ngiko-úmba ko ;[2] ngatun[1]
Sower (worker) he go-did forth (?) in order to work or sow him-of purpose and

upulli-ela noa[2] ba, winta porkulle-un kaiyinkon ta yapung ka ; ngatun[2] waita-wa baran,
doing-was he so part dropping was side it-is path on and trodden-was down

ngatun[3] tibbin-to takul-la moroko tin-to.
and bird-by eat-did sky from.

Remarks.

Subjects : 1. Upillikan noa,
2. noa,
3. winta,
4. (winta),
5. tibbinto *moroko tinto.*

Predicates : 1. uwa *yeai ko upulliko ngikoumba ko,*
2. upulliela *ba,*
3. porkulleun *kaiyinkon ta yapung ka,*
4. waitawa *baran,*
5. takulla,

Integers :
Indicators: upillikan, upulliko, winta, yapung, tibbinto, moroko.
Predicators : uwa, upulliela, porkulleun, waitawa, takulla.
Explicators : ngikoúmba.
Illustrators : yeai (?), ba, kaiyinkon, baran.
Connectors : ngatun,[1] ka, ngatun,[2] ngatun,[3] tinto.
Referent Conjunctors : ta.
Referent Substitutes : noa,[1] noa.[2]
Introducers : ko,[1] ko.[2]

The most difficult word here is "ta," which is explained by Threlkeld[2] to mean "it is." This suggests that it is an integer, but the meaning seems to plainly point to its function as a Referent Conjunctor explaining the relation of the sentence *winta porkulleun kaiyinkon* to the phrase *yapung ka.*

16. DAKOTA.

Text.

W-oju[1] heca wan taku su kin[1] oju iyaya. W-oju,[2] unkan apa canku i-cahda
Sower such-a-one a thing seed the sow he-has-gone he-sows, and part way by-side-of

hinhpaya ; unkan na-atinza-pi, qa mahpiya o-kinyan-pi kin[2] temya-pi.
it-falls-down and down-tread-they and clouds in-flying-they the devour-they.

[2] *Australian Grammar*, Sydney, 1834, p. 27

Remarks.

Subjects: 1. woju heca wan,
2. (combined with predicate),
3. apa,
4. (combined with predicate),
5. *maȟpiya* okinyanpi *kin*.

Predicates: 1. *taku su kin oju* iyaya,
2. woju,
3. *canku icahda* hinȟpaya,
4. naaṭinzapi,
5. temyapi.

Integers: iyaya, woju,[2] hinȟpaya, naaṭinzapi, temyapi.
Indicators: woju,[1] taku, apa, canku, okinyanpi.
Predicators: (included in integers).
Explicators: heca, wan, su, kin,[1] maȟpiya kin.[3]
Illustrators:
Connectors: unkan, icahda, unkan, qa.
Referent Conjunctors:
Referent Substitutes:
Introducers: oju.

It is evident from the foregoing that the first principles of the Theory can be applied to any of the Languages, although some of them (*e. g.* the Anam) make great use of ellipses, whilst others (*e. g.* the Motu) are somewhat tautological.

The second part of Colonel Temple's discussion relates to the functions of words as indicated by their form. The stem of a word may be simple, consisting only of the root, or be modified by radical affixes to form a compound stem. Qualitative affixes indicate the function of the word and the class to which it belongs, and they may be prefixed, infixed, or suffixed, either separably or inseparably.

The following tables, therefore, give a list of all the roots and stems used in the foregoing examples, with lists of the affixes by which their functions are indicated. It is here necessary to observe that the list of roots or stems which are Indicators, does not necessarily coincide with the list of Indicators which are used in the examples, for by the action of the affixes they may fulfil the functions of Explicators, Illustrators or other classes of word. The same observation applies to all the lists of roots.

Two other tables are added. The first shows **Intromutations** in the form of words in some of the Languages. The second gives a list of **Reduplications.**

I. TABLES OF ROOTS AND STEMS.

Indicators.

Meaning,	*English.*	*Hungarian.*	*Latin.*	*Khasi.*	*Anam.*	*Ashanti.*
man, person	......	ember	......	nong	......	......
seed	seed	magvat	semen	symbai	giông, hôt	aba
time	......	köz	......	......	khi	......
thing	......	......	......	......	......	......
part	some	nemelly	aliu	......	......	bi
path	way	ut	via	lynti	đu'o'ng	kwañ
side	side	......	......	rud	ngoai	nkyeñ
bird	fowl	madar	volucr	sim	chim	nõmã
upper regions	air	eg	cœl	byneng	trên, troi	wyim

Meaning.	*Kafir.*	*Malagasy.*	*Olo Ngadju.*	*Nufor.*	*Motu.*	*Mortlock.*
man, person	......	......	olo	snoen	tau	*ran*
seed	bewu	voa	binjie	moor	sito	ua
part	enye	sasa	belahe	rowaas	haida	epuelok
path	endlele	dala	djalan	nejan	dala	ial
side	......	moro	......	......	ise	......
bird	taka	voro	burong	maan	manu	man
upper regions	e-ulw	......	langit	bo	......	la*n*
people	......	......	......	kawassa	......	......
feet	......	......	......	......	ae	......
plant	......	......	......	......	uhe	ura
earth	......	tany	......	......	......	......
thing	......	......	......	......	e	a
garden	......	......	......	......	......	malemal
top	......	......	sara	......	......	......

Meaning.	*Mota.*	*Samoa.*	*Awabakal.*	*Dakota.*
man, person	....	tagata	....	....
seed	sivui	saito	....	su
part	....	isi	winta	apa
path	sala	ala	yapung	canku
side	pa	....	kaiyinkon	cahda
bird	manu	manu	tibbin	....
upper regions	vuna	....	moroko	maȟpiya
thing	*mo*	....	....	taku
ridge or point	mata	'au	....	....

Predicators.

Meaning.	*English.*	*Hungarian.*	*Latin.*	*Khasi.*	*Anam.*	*Ashanti.*	*Kafir.*	*Malagasy.*
go	wen	......	......	leit	đi	fi	ya	lasa
sow, scatter	sow	vet	semin	bet	gieo	gu	hlwayel	fafy
fall	fell	es	cecidi	hap	phân, ro'i	gu	wa	latsaka
be	was	......	es	don	co	......	......	......
tread	trod	tapod	conculcat	iuh	đap	tiatia	nyatelwa	hitsakitsaka
eat	devour	e	comed	bám	ăn	sosow	dla	lany
destroy, consume	......	......	......	duh	......	......	gqiba	......
go out	......	mé	exii	......	ra	.....	puma	......
descend	......	......	......	......	xuông	......	......	......
come	......	......	......	......	......	be	......	......
fly	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	sidy

Meaning.	*Olo Ngadju.*	*Nufor.*	*Motu.*	*Mortlock.*	*Mota.*	*Samoan.*	*Awabakal.*	*Dakota.*
go	......	mbram	lao	fai	sage	alu	u	iyaya
sow, scatter	sawur	keeps	gigi	amara	savur	lulu	upulli	oju
fall	lawo	sappi	moru	*pun*	*mamas*	pa'u	porkulle	hinȟpaya
tread	hundjeng	arf	moi	pura	vano	soli	waita	aṭinza
eat	kuman	aan	ani	*aniani*	gana	'ai	takul	temya
destroy	......	ibro	......	......	......	......	......	......
go out	hagoet	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
fly	......	......	......	susu	......	lelei	......	kinyan

Explicators.

Meaning.	*English.*	*Hungarian.*	*Latin.*	*Khasi.*	*Anam.*	*Kafir.*	*Malagasy.*
one	a	egy	......	u	một	......	......
his	his	ö	su	......	......	-ake	......
the	the	az	......	u	......	......	ny
many	......	......	......	......	va	......	......

Meaning.	*Nufor.*	*Mortlock.*	*Mota.*	*Samoan.*	*Awabakal.*	*Dakota.*
one	osso	a	......	......	......	wan
his	biëda	......	......	......	ngikoumba	......
the	......	......	o	le	......	kin
some	......	......	tuan	......	......	......
such a one	......	......	......	......	......	heca

Illustrators.

Meaning.	*English.*	*Latin.*	*Khasi.*	*Anam.*	*Ashanti.*	*Kafir.*	*Malagasy.*
out	out	......	......	......	adi	......	......
while, as	as	dum	......	......	......	......	......
down	down	......	......	......	......	......	......
past time	......	......	la	......	......	......	......
then, afterwards	......	......	te	......	......	zati	dia
when	......	......	haba	......	......	......	nony
still, continuing	......	......	dang	......	......	......	......
completely	......	......	......	hêt	......	......	......
above	......	......	......	......	so	......	......

Meaning.	*Olo Ngadju.*	*Motu.*	*Mortlock.*	*Mota.*	*Samoan.*	*Awabakal*
outward, forth ...	......	......	la... ...	......	atu ...	yeai
down	......	......	tu ...	......	......	baran
past time	......	vada ...	ken ...	me ...	'ua ...	......
then, afterwards ...	djadi ..	......	ap ...	......	......	......
when	......	......	......	......	na ...	......
still, continuing ...	......	......	......	ti... ...	......	......
completely	lepah ...	......	......	qet ...	......	......
above	......	atai ...	......	......	......	......
together	haiak ...	......	......	......	......	......
there	......	ai... ...	......	......	ai... ...	......
also	tinai... ...	......	......	......	fo'i ...	......
thus, so	......	......	......	......	......	ba
present tense ...	......	......	......	we ...	......	......
here and there, about	......	......	faili ...	......	......	......

Connectors.

Meaning.	*English.*	*Hung.*	*Latin.*	*Khasi.*	*Anam.*	*Ashanti.*	*Malagasy*	*Olo Ngadju.*
and	and ...	és ...	et ..	bad ...	......	na ...	ary ...	maka, tuntang
beside	by ...	......	secus ...	......	......	......	......	......
of	of ...	......	......	jong ...	......	......	......	......
about, concerning	......	......	......	ia ...	......	......	......	......
but	......	......	......	......	mà ...	......	......	......
under	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	penda

Meaning.	*Nufor.*	*Mortlock.*	*Mota*	*Samoan.*	*Awabakal.*	*Dakota.*
and	fa, ma ...	o	wa ...	......	ngatun ...	unkan, qa
but	......	a	......	......	......	......
on	bo ...	lan ...	a	i	ka	......
out of ..	ro ...	......	......	......	......	......
by	......	......	......	e	......	......
from	......	......	......	......	tinto ...	......

Referent Conjunctors.

Meaning.	*Khasi.*	*Anam.*	*Malagasy.*	*Awabakal.*
that	....	kê	....	....
that is	....	....	....	ta
so that	....	....	ka	....

Referent Substitutes.

Meaning.	*English.*	*Hungarian.*	*Latin.*	*Khasi.*	*Anam.*	*Ashanti.*	*Malagasy.*	*Olo Ngadju.*
he	he ...	......	......	u ...	ngu'o'i	......	izy ...	ĭa
it, that ...	it ...	az ...	ill ...	u, ba ...	......	no ...	......	tä
he who ...	......	......	qui ...	......	......	......	......	......
they ...	......	......	......	ki ...	......	......	......	......
we... ...	......	......	......	......	ta ...	......	......	......

Meaning.	*Nufor.*	*Motu.*	*Mortlock.*	*Mota.*	*Samoan.*	*Awabakal.*
he	i	e	a	......	ia... ...	noa
it, that	i	eme ...	......	......	......	......
they	......	eme ...	ra ...	......	......	......
this	orne ...	......	......	......	......	......
of unknown name ...	......	......	......	gene ...	......	......

Introducers.

Meaning.	*English.*	*Hungarian.*	*Mota.*	*Samoan.*	*Awabakal.*
that he might	to	......	......	e	......
in order that	......	hogy ...	si	......	......
purpose	......	......	......	......	ko

II. — TABLE OF AFFIXES.

Prefixes — Radical.

Out : Hung. ki-, Latin ex-, Olo Ngadju ha-.
away : Hung. el-.
completely : Hung. meg-.
continuance : Ashanti re-.
about : Kafir ngas-.
down : Dakota na-.
classification : Kafir in-, im-, y-, kw-.

Prefixes — Functional.

In order to ; Ashanti ko-, Kafir kuyi-, Malagasy ha-.
at ; Khasi ha, Malagasy a-, Dakota i-.
in ; Dakota, o-.
of, belonging to ; Kafir zas-, Mota ta-.
he : Ashanti o-, Motu i-, Nufor i-, Dakota w-.
his : Ashanti n'-.
he did : Kafir wa-.
it did : Kafir ya-.
they : Ashanti wo-, Nufor s-.
they did : Kafir zayi-.

Prefixes — Qualitative.

Indicating :	Agent :	Ashanti o-, Kafir um-, Malagasy mpa-, Olo Ngadju pa-, Dakota w-.
	a thing :	Ashanti e-.
	a person :	Mota i-.
	plurality :	Ashanti n-, Samoan fe-.
	name of an action :	Kafir eku-.
	past time :	Malagasy na-.
	present time :	Malagasy ma-, man-, Olo Ngadju ma-.
	causative :	Motu ha-.
	passive :	Olo Ngadju i-.

Suffixes — Radical.

Away :	Khasi -noh.
constantly :	Khasi -roit, Nufor -epen.
about :	Motu -rohoroho.
down :	Motu -atao.

Suffixes — Functional.

Meaning —	In order to :	Latin -are, Awabakal -ko.
	at :	Kafir -eni, -ni.
	in :	Hungarian -be.
	on :	Hungarian -ra.
	of, belonging to :	Hungarian -i, Latin -i, Mortlock -n, Awabakal -umba.
	by means of :	Awabakal -to.
	he or it :	English -t, Latin, -it, -at, -t, Olo Ngadju -e, Motu -a, Mota -n.
	his, its :	Malagasy -ny, -n, Olo Ngadju -n, Motu -na, Mortlock -n, Mota -na, -n.
	he would :	Hungarian -ne.
	they did :	Hungarian -ek, -vek, Latin -erunt.
	their :	Motu -dia.
	transitive action :	Mota -s.

Suffixes — Qualitative.

Indicating :	Agent :	English -er, Awabakal -kan.
	a thing :	Hungarian -és, Latin -ud, -um.
	living thing :	Mortlock -man.
	plurality :	English -s, Hungarian -ak, Latin -es, Nufor -si, Dakota -pi.
	intention :	Khasi -n.
	past time :	English -ed, -en, Latin -tum, Ashanti -i, -u, -a, Awabakal -wa, -ela, -la, -un.
	present time :	Hungarian -ö, Kafir -i, Motu -mu.
	passive :	Hungarian -tatek, Latin -tu-, Kafir -wa, Samoan -a, -na.
	object of an action :	Hungarian -t, Latin -m.
	specification : [3]	Nufor -iya.
	classification :	Ashanti -fo.
	indefinite :	Malagasy -na, -ka.

[3] The meaning of this Nufor suffix is expressed by the English "a certain."

III. — Table of Intromutations.

Mutation.	*Meaning.*	*Language.*	*Root.*	*Word in text.*
a *to* e	Past tense ..	English... ...	fall	fell
ea *to* ŏ	" ...	"	tread	trodd
e *to* á	euphony ...	Hungarian ...	mag-vet ..	mag-vát
e *to* ii (ivi)	completed action.	Latin	ex-e-o	ex-ii-t
i *to* e	plural	"	volucris... ...	volucres
a *to* i	completed action.	"	cad-o	ce-cid-it
e *to* i	euphony ...	Kafir	esulwe	esulwini
a *to* e	" ...	"	umhwayela ...	ekuhwayeleni
a *to* i	" ...	"	" ...	umhwayeli
s *to* n	" ...	Malagasy ...	sidy (sidina) ..	manidina
f *to* m	" ...	" ...	fafy	mamafy
s *to* n	" ...	Old Ngadju ..	sawur	manawur, panawar.
a *to* e	composition ...	Mota	mata	matesala
u *to* i (?)	(?) ..	Awabakal ..	upulliko ...	upillikan

IV. — Table of Reduplications.

Meaning.	*Language.*	*Simple form.*	*Form in text.*
Completed action ...	Latin	cado	cecidit
repetition	Malagasy	hitsa	hitsakitsaka
intensity	Motu	roho	rohoroho
explication	Mortlock	....	malemal
"	"	....	susu
continuance	"	... .	an*i*an*i*
continuance	Mota	savur	savsavur
onomatopoetic	"	(*ma*)	*ma*mas
intensity	Samoan	lue	lulu

The final section of Colonel Temple's paper discusses the classes of languages as shown by their variation in forms of words, position of words in the sentence, or a combination of form and position. The principles of classification are as follows :—

1. **Syntactical Languages.** (Position of words indicates meaning.)
2. **Formative Languages.** (Forms indicate meaning.)
   - a. **Agglutinative.** (Affixes without alteration.)
     1. Pre-mutative. (With Prefix.)
     2. Intro-mutative. (With Infix.)
     3. Post-mutative. (With Suffix.)
   - b. **Synthetic.** (Affixes with alteration.)
     1. Pre-mutative.
     2. Intro-mutative.
     3. Post-mutative.

A language may belong primarily to one class and secondarily to another class.

The sixteen languages of which examples are given in this paper may therefore be primarily classed as follows :—

1. **Syntactical**—Anam.
2. **Formative.**
   a. **Agglutinative.**
      1. **Pre-mutative** — Khasi, Ashanti, Malagasy, Old Ngadju, Nufor, Motu, Mortlock, Mota, Samoan.
      2. **Post-mutative** — Hungarian.
   b. **Synthetic.**
      1. **Pre-mutative** — Kafir, Dakota.
      2. **Post-mutative** — English, Latin, Awabakal.

The foregoing texts and analyses give **a general sketch** of the applicability of Col. Temple's Theory to the phenomena of varied languages. **A further exhibition** of its value may hereafter be given by arranging the entire grammar of a given language in accordance with the principles laid down in the Theory.

THE WRECK OF THE "DODDINGTON," 1755.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 131.)

Transactions, on Board The Sloop Happy Deliverance from Bird Island Towards [the] River St Lucia.

Wednesday Febry 18th 1756. The First part Light Airs, Westerly and Fair Weather, Middle and Latter Strong Gales and Cloudy Wear at 2 P M, Weighd and with Gods Permission, Intend to Make [the] **River St Lucia** Our First port : at 7 P M **Bird Island** Bore W B N, Distant 4 Leagues, the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from N W to E B S. Distance off Shore 8 Miles.

Thursday 19th. Strong Gales and Variable with Unsettled Wear and a Large Sea, Which we were Obliged to Keep Right before: at 5 A M it moderated [grew Moderate] which Gave us Some Relief, for while the Gale Lasted Every One Expected the Next Moment to be their Last. This [These] 24 Hours Find my Self to the Soward of Account 35 Ms Which I Impute to an Error in the Course, as we Could by no Means Make the Compass Stand.

Friday 20th. Light Gales Westerly & fair Wear : At 6 P M Saw the Land the Extreems [Extremes] from N to N E Dist of 7 Leagues. At Sun Rise Do from North to N W Dist off Shore 7 Leagues & at Noon from W N W to N E Dist 4 Leags A M. This Day 24 Miles to the Soward of Acct which is Occasioned by **a Current**[53] That I find by the Land Setts from N E. This Morning the Gramposes was [were] So Thick About us we Could Scarce Steer Clear of them, Running Right Over Some, but Drawing a Small Draught of water did not Touch any of them, But [tho'] Were Sufficiently Frightned.

Saturday 21. Light Airs & Calms. At Sun Sett the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from W N W to N N E Dist 5 Leagues. Att Sun Rise Do Bore from N W to N B E Dist 7 Leagues. This day find [found] my Self 47 Miles to the Soward of Acct Lattitude Observd 33° : 21′ So.

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[53] This current is noted by Dunn, p. 356, and all the *Sailing Directions.*

Sunday 22. Moderate Gales with Some Light Squalls and Hazey Wear. At 3 p m: Bore away to look at an Opening which Made like a River, but did not prove[54] So. Hauld our Wind and Tackd Severall Times, in Order to try if there was less Current, In Shore than in the Offing, but Found it Sett us at the Rate of 2 Miles [Knots] pr Hour, To the Westward. At 1 Do the Wind Came Fair Again, and we made the Best of it we Could ; keeping about 4 Miles off Shore where we Found Less Current and a Cold Shore ; At Sun Rise the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E N E to North Distt of Shore 3 Miles. At noon Do Bore from W B S to E N E Dist 4 Miles. Notwithstanding We Sailed so Agreeable along Shore this day, as I thought, without Meeting any Current, find my Self 27 Miles to the Southward of Acct Latd Observd 32°. 49′ So.

Monday 23rd Febry 1756. The First and Middle parts fresh Gales, latter Moderate. At P M. Anchord within a Mile of the Shore, but the Wind Freshening up in the S E Qr Which Makes it a Bad Road, Weighed Again in About an Hour, and from that Time till 5 A M : lost more Ground, than We gott in a Week Afterwards, tho' we had favourable Winds for most Part of the Time. At 6 A M. Saw the Land Bearing No Dist 5 Leagues At Noon the Extreems [Extremes] from N E to N W B W Latt pr Obsn 33° : 13′ So.

Tuesday 24th. Light Variable Breezes. At Sun Rise the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from N E to W N W Dist 4 Leagues. At Noon Do Bore from E B N to N W Dist 1 Mile. This pay Find my Self 22 Miles to the Southward of Acct Lattd Obsd 33° 22′ So.

Wednesday 25th. The First part fresh Gales and Fair Wear towards Middle And Latter Mostly Calm. From Yesterday Noon till 7 P M. Tacked Severall Times Standing off and On, but finding we Lost Ground, Came to an Anchor, And Began Immediately to fish. And had Very great Success, by Catching Enough To last us Severall day's had we Salt to Cure them. We Are in hopes We Shall not want fish while it Continues fair Wear Enough to ride at an Anchor, Which will help out our Small Store of Provisions remaining ; Having Expended Near Half already, and tho we have Run More than **the Distance from the Island to St Lucia**, by Dead Reckoning am Certain that we have not gott More than 30 Leagues on Our way. Tryd the Current and Found it Sett 2 Miles [Knotts] pr Hour.

Thursday 26th. The First and Middle Moderate and fair Weather, Latter Fresh Gales and a Large Sea. Caught Several fine Fish.

Friday 27th. The First part fresh Gales, and the Sea So High, that we Expected to part Every Minute. In the Evening the Wind and Sea Moderated [grew Moderate] & at 10 P M fell Calm. At 11 : a Breeze Sprung up at West, Weighd. At Sun Rise the Extreems [Extremes) of the Land from N E B E to Wt dist 4 Miles. At Noon Do Wt to E B N Dist 2 Miles. This day there was 16 Biscuits Sold For 20 Dollers, Lattd Obsd 33° : 58′ So.

Saturday 28th. Light Airs & Calms. At Sud Rise the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E B N to W B S Dist 2 Miles. Being Calm in the Morning got out Our Oars, and Rowd in for the Shore in Order to Anchor, and Land with the Small Boat, if We Could to Cutt Wood, having Only 2 Days Wood on Board. Anchord in 20 Fm Sandy Ground. Dist off Shore 1 Mile. Found the Current Sett 1 Mile [Knot] pr Hour To the Westward. (A M :) 7 Miles to The Soward of Acct Lattd Obsd 32° : 52′ So.

[54] It might have been one of the streams to E. of Cape Padron. See Horsburgh, Ed. 1809, p. 249.

Sunday Febry 29th 1756. A Fresh Gale Easterly till 4 A M, When the Wind Shifted to the Westward and we Weighd at Noon. The Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E B N to W N W Dist of Shore 5 Miles. I Never was getting an Anchor up with Better will than this Morning, for Yesterday we Lost One. Immediately let go Another which held us. Was in Danger of Foundering Every Minute. The Sea Breaking so prodigiously, and we Could not, Afford to loose another Grapnail. Besides, in driving to the westward was Starving, therefore Could by No Means Agree to Slip, there being but Little Choice Either to Founder at Anchor, or Drive to Leeward and Starve Lattd Obsd 32°: 44′ So.

Monday March 1st. The First Part Calm. The Middle and Latter Fresh Gales. At Noon got the Boat Out and **3 Men went a shore** to Try if they Could Land And gett Some Wood. At the Same Time we got Our Oars Out on Board and Rowd After them in Order to Anchor, but was Agreeably Disappointed by a Breeze Springing up from the Wtward, When we got within a mile of the Shore. [We] Lay too for Our Boat which Returnd on Board, without Wood, not being Able to Land. Caught Fish Enough to Last us 2 Meales while we Lay too, And should have Caught Many More, had not the Sharks Taken away all Our Hooks. At Sun Rise The Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from East to W B S Dist of Shore 3 Miles. About 10 o Clock Came into a Great, Ripling, Which Surprized us greatly [much] thinking it was Breakers, and for 2 Hours I Never Saw So Confused [a] Sea, Which Threatned our destruction every Moment. About 12 it Was More Regular which gave us Some Relief & as we Came Nearer the Land it was Quite Smooth, Latd Obsd 31°: 58′ So.

Tuesday 2d. The first part Fresh Gales and Squalls, Middle Calm, latter a fresh Breeze. At 5 P M Hauld in for an Opening which Made Like a Harbour[55] but did not prove So. As we Came Near the Land mett with a Large Confused Sea, Which is Occasioned By a Strong Current: for When we Were Running 4 Knotts to ye Eastward as we Thought, We found we drove to the Westward by the Land at least a Mile [Knot] an hour. As soon as we discoverd Our Mistake hauld off E S E in hope to run out of the Current but by my Observation find [found] it Continues [Continued]. [Therefore] For finding my Self 87 Ms To the Soward, of Acct which made me propose [I propos'd] to the people to Stand to the Soward, but they would not Agree to it, on any Terms, having no Wood on Board and Very Little Provisions. Two of them having [had now] no Bread, and Several Others Very Short. As [we had] have Now Nothing to Live on but an Ounce & half of Salt Pork pr Day, I propos'd putting Back to the Island to gett Wood, and Proceed for the Cape. Accordingly it was Agreed on & at Noon we Bore Away Lattitude Obsd 33°. 03′ So.

Wednesday March 3d 1756. The First and Latter Parts Moderate and Fair, the Middle Cloudy with Thunder Lightning and Rain. At Sun Sett the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land Bore from N E to W N W Dist of Shore 2 Leags. At Sun Rise Do from W B S to E N E Dist 3 or 4 Miles. At 8 A M Lay too and fishe'd but The Vessell Driving fast Could not keep the Ground: therefore, Stood in Shore And Anchord in 15 Fathom Dist of Shore 1 Mile. The Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E N E to W S W, Where we Caught Enough to last us 3 Days, And then Made Sail at Noon & Stood off in Order to give the Land a Birth, it Threatning a Hard Gale from the Westward which makes [made] me Repent Bearing away, but Indeed our Situation is [was] Such that I am [was] at a Loss what to do, for when we have [had] a fair Wind to go to the Eastward, we Always Mett [with] so Strong a Current, that when I think [we thought] we Sail['d] at the Rate of 4 Knotts with a fair Wind find [found] Our Selves Very Little to the Etward of where [the Place] we Were Before Lattd Obserd 33°: 7′ So.

55 Perhaps one of the rivers E. of Cape Padron mentioned in Horsburgh, Ed. 1809, I. 249.

Thursday 4th. The First part Moderate and Fair Weat but Soon Changd to a hard Gale and Dirty Weat With Very Large Sea. Soon After we got under weigh [Weighd] it Began to Freshen from the Westward. We Close Reefd the Main Sail and got the Bowsprit in, then Lay too which was about 1: o Clock in Which Situation The Vessell Seemd to Behave Well, Which gave me great Hopes of Proceeding to The Cape. But Soon After was Convinced to the Contrary; for When I little Expected it She Shippd a Sea, Which had like to have Wash'ed all the Watch off Deck. Soon After that Another. So I found that we Should not be able to Cope with the Seas, We Were Liable to meet with in going to the Southward. [Therefore] I Propos'd going to the Noward Again; which was Agreed to and at 2 Bore away To the Eastward again. From That Time till 9 o Clock, the Gale Continued to Increase and I think in all the Time I have been to Sea, Never Saw [any thing So] Frightfull a sea as there was from 5: o Clock [till] to 9. For my part must Own I Expected to perish in it Every Moment.

Friday 5th. The First and Middle Parts Squally with Rain, Latter pleasent Gales, and fair Weet. At Sun Sett the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from N E B N to W S W Dist of Shore 3 Leagues. Since my last Observation Find my Self 65 Miles to the Soward of Account Lattd Obserd 33°: 34 So.

Saturday March 6th 1756. The First & Latter parts Moderate: & fair. Middle Squally and Some Rain. At Sun Sett the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E B N to Wt Dist 5 Miles. Find my Self This Day 6 Miles to the Soward of Account from the Time That we Bore Away to the Eastward Again. When the Wind was Westerly Steerd of the Land to gett an offing and Make a Search along Shore, when the Wind Comes to the Etward in Hopes by that Means to Make a Better hand of it. But it proves [proved] to the Contrary: for by the Make of the Land find Ourselves no farthar to the Etward, then [than] We Were this day Week, tho: we have had the Wind in Our Favour. For This [These] 3 days past, have dressd Our Victuals with the Remaining part of The Cable we parted, and this day there was a Silver ½ pint Mugg Offerd for 6 Biscuits. Went to an allowance of Water 2 Qts pr Man, having only 3 Hogsheads & ½ left, which will Last us About a Fortnight. We are now Standing in Shore in Order to fish and Are determined Next fair Wind to Run Close along Shore, in the Eddy of the points, Notwithstanding we did not Think the Wind large Enough, at S W B W and Our Course Et for it Blew so hard & the Sea Ran so High That We Were Obliged to keep her Right before it Lattd Obsd 33°: 4′ So.

Sunday March 7th. Light Airs and Calms. Att 2 P M Got the Boat Out and 3 Men went in Shore to look for a Landing Place, but Could find None. At 3 Anchored and Caught fish Enough, to last us 2 Days, the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from East to Wt Dist 1 Mile. The Rock Where [off which] we lost our Grapnail of off last Sunday E B N Dist 3 Miles. At 2 A M. Weighd and Sailed Close along shore. Still meet a Current Setting to the Wtward 1¾ Mile [Knot] pr hour. At 7 Falling Calm, Anchd and Soon After Saw Severall of the Natives, Close down to the Water Side, At the Same Time Saw Severall droves of Cattell [Cattle] Which Encouraged me to Send our Boat ashore Once More and try if they Could Land. When they Came in Shore Found the Surf to Run [Ran] Very High, but being encouraged by the Natives who Seemd greatly Rejoyced at the Sight of our People, one Thos Arnold went on Shore, but had like to have to pay [paid] dear for it, Not being, Able, to Gett off Again thro: the Surf. but Sailing Along Shore 4 or 5 Miles, Came to a Small Bay Where there was a Little Surf by Which Means got him off and He gave the Following Description of the Natives at his first Landing. They Seem'd a little Shy of him, but he Advanced towards them Making Motions of Submission all the way he went. He Came to a Number of them Setting down, who Made Motions for him to Sett down, by them

which he did. Then an Old Man, held up the Lap [Lappet] of the Garment which was a Bullocks Hide, expecting he would give him Something, and having a few Beads About his Neck, he gave Them to him. Then Another Held up his Garment in the Same Manner, And he Gave Him a small piece of Buntin Which was all he had, & they all Would be Glad to Accept, any Thing you would give them, but Never Offere'd To Take any thing by Force. Our Man Made Motions to them for Something to Eat, & they gave him Some Indian Corn.[56] He then went to gett Some Wood to Make a Cattamaran to gett of [with] on which they Assisted him, but he Could not gett her Thro: the Surf. They then Directed him to the Bay. Where he gott off & having Told the people in the Boat how Civill they Were to him and that we might gett Some Sheep & Wood if they would go A Shore again, they no Sooner Came on Board, but wanted to Return Which I did not Approve of [at that time], There being a fine Breeze Westerly, but those on Board, as well as [those] them in the Boat, Were desirious of Staying an Hour or two, Saying, if I did not, [they] would not go on Shore Again. Therefore, Consented, and 3 of them went on Shore Again, And Return^d with Wood Enough to Last us 3 or 4 Days Latt. Obs^d 32°: 57′ S°.

Monday 8. Light Airs and Fair Wea^r. At 2 P M Made Sail [so] Close Along Shore, That we Could Talk with a Man: by Which Means kept out of The Current, Except when we Came off the Points Where it was so Strong. that it was with Difficulty we got Round them. A M, Saw Severall of the Natives, and many Droves of Cattle, Which they Seem^d to be very Carefull off, for when we Came near any of them that was [were] Feeding by the Water Side, their keeper would drive them to the Country. At Sun Rise the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E B N to West Dist off Shore ¼ of a Mile. At Noon the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E B N to W S W Dist ¼ of a Mile. [We are] to the S^oward of Account 8 Miles Latt^d Obs^d 32° : 38′ S°.

Tuesday 9th. A Fresh Gale Westerly with Unnsettled Wea^r At Sun Rise the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from N E B E to W^t Dist off Shore 2 Leagues. At Noon the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E N E to W S W Dist ½ a Mile Latt^d p^r Acc^t 31° : 49′ S°.

Wednesday 10^th. The first part Light Airs and fair Wea^r Middle & Latter Calm. At 5 P M. the Wind Shifting to the E^tward Anchor^d in 12 F^m water. The Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from E B N to W B S Dist ¼ of a Mile. As Soon as we Anchor^d we heard Severall People Hallowing to us, and Shew^d a White Flagg. We Could not go on Shore to them, the Surf Ran so High. At 3 A M Found Our Cable had Swept a Rock, Which Took us from that Time till 11 before We Clear^d it. Ran a Little Farther out into Better Ground. Sent the Boat to Try if they Could Land, but Could not Latt^d Obs^d 31°: 41′ S°.

Thursday March 11^th. The First and Latter parts Strong Gales W^terly, and a large Sea Tumbling in On the Shore, Which Made us Very Uneasy Knowing Our Selv's to be in Foul Ground. Latter part Calm. In Shortning in The Cable, found it Foul of a Rock Again, But it Blew Clear^d This Morning 4 Men went in the Boat to Try to Land but Could Not Latt^d Obs^d 31°: 41′ S°.

Friday 12^th. The First Part D° Wea^r Middle & latter little Wind. At Daylight The Wind Came to the N^oward and we Weigh^d but did not gett above a Mile Before it fell Calm Came to Anchor Again. 4 Men Attempting Landing in this Place but Could not. Cannot Catch any Fish here: Which we feel the Effects of, for those that have no Bread Are Almost Starv^d.

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[56] *I e.* **Mealies.**

Saturday 13. The First Part Strong Gales Easterly, Middle and latter Calm. This Morning 2 Men Went in Shore to Try to Catch Fish, but Return[d] without Success, Assureing [Assuring] us there was Less Surf and in their Opinion might Land. Accordingly 4 Men went to try and 2 of them got on shore, and the Other Two Came on Board for fear it Should Freshen up to a Gale, as it has done [these] this 3 days past. The Two that Landed We Saw Walk along Shore till Mett by Some of the Natives, who Seem[d] a Little Shy of them at first. We who were on Board soon lost Sight of them.[57]

Sunday 14[th]. Moderate Gales E[t]erly and fair. Landed 2 More people who were Desirous of going a Shore, at the Time they Jump[d] out of the Boat a Shark Took Hold of one of the Peoples Oars, and Almost pull[d] it from him. Towards Night Less Wind and [looked] looks as if it would Shift to the Westward, Which Made me Very Uneasy for the People that Were on Shore; least [lest] it Should Blow so hard that Should not be Able to wait till Morning ; so Made Signalls in the Night by Shewing Lights in hopes it Would Fetch Them down to the Water Side, when we might Have got them off ; but it was to no purpose, for they did not Come down till 6 o Clock next Morning, when it was to [too] Late, There being a Gale of wind and to [too] much See for the Small Boat. So we Wav[d] [as we sail'd] along Shore. After we had Run about 4 or 5 Miles Came to a Small Bay Where there was Shelter from a Westerly Wind. Anchor[d] in 5 F[m] Water 4 Men went on Shore. 2 to meet the 4 that [were] was left Behind & 2 to Sound at Y[e] Mouth of a River Within us. Which [we] Are in great hopes Shall gett into in About 3 Hours. The 2 Men Return[d] With the Other 4 and Severall of the Natives. We Are Expecting them on Board Every Minute, butt whether the Surf is to High or the Boat Stove Cannot Tell, for they do not Attempt to Come off.

Monday March 15[th] 1756. The First Part a Fresh Gale Westerly with Squalls & hard Rain, Middle Calm, Latter a Light Air Easterly. Was Very Uneasy all Night, for The people and Boats. As Soon as it was Day light weigh[d] & Stood Close in Shore to Call to Them, Threatning if they did not Come off would go away And Leave them ; for While we Lay [Lie] here, Are Expending what Little provissions we have Left not Catching any Fish, and Very Little Expectation of Getting into the River ;[58] there being a very great Bar. Our Threatning had [its] the Desired Effect : for two of them Ventured off tho' there was a Great Surf on the Shore. The Reason they did not Come off before, Was on Account of the Surf. They Were Very well Used by the Natives, Who gave them Bread, Milk and Fruit: the Wind is Come Easterly which Makes the place We Are in a Bad road, & is a fair Wind into the River, Which with the Civil Usage of the Natives & Our people on Shore, Tempts us Very Much to Hazard going over the Barr, Which was Agreed On. At 10 o Clock Weigh[d] and Run for the River, the Small Boat a head a Sounding. They made a Signal for us to Haul of. Upon which we Wore and Anchor[d] again. They Informed us [they] had but 8 Foot Water, Which we Thought to Little, with the Sand She would have. Therefore Agreed to Wait till High Water. At 2 in the Afternoon Weigh[d] with a fresh Breeze E[t]erly, and run Over the Barr, Much Safer than we Expected, and Came to Anchor, in the River in ¼ less three Fathoms. At Spring Tides have 3 Fathom at high Water : & 8 Foot att Low Water ; M[r] Collet & my Self Went on Shore to get Provissions, & Bought a Fine Bullock Weighing About 6 ℔ ; for a pair of Copper Bangles for their [the Natives] Arms, and Some Small peices of Iron. We kill[d] the Bullock Immediately and Supp[d] very Heartily Upon it.

[57] This sentence was first written thus — 'They soon got out of our Sight on Board.'

[58] The description answers to several Rivers in Horsburgh, Ed. 1809, I. 249 f. ; but most probably the places described are Paul's Cove and the River St. John or Umzibuvu. See Taylor, I. 86.

Tuesday 16th. Wind Variable & fair Wear This Morning there is but few of the Natives to be Seen. And [I don't find] They have Nothing for Our Use. In the Afternoon I went about 5 Miles up the River Taking on [one] of the Natives With me, by Whose Assistance I got about 2 Peck of Grain giving them Brass Buttons in return. [I] Saw a Great Number of Mannates or Sea Cow's in the River. As Soon as I Returnd on Board, Sent the Boat, for [Those] them Who Were Opposite the Vessell a trading. They got Only as Much Bread As Would Serve A Meal. We have not been On Shore on the East Side, being much discouraged, by the people on the Wt Side, telling us they would Cutt our Throats.

Wednesday 17 March 1756. The First part Wterly. In the Night Blew A Storm of Wind Southerly and [with] Constant hard Rain. Our Southermost Anchor Came Home, Altho' the Place is as Smooth as any Dock. At Noon **Mr Collett** went up the River Taking two of the Natives with him, but Mett with Little Success, getting only a Dozen heads of Corn, but Thinks [he] Should have got Much More, About 4 Miles Higher up, then [than] I went, Could he have persuaded ye Natives to go on Shore, Which they Refused, Telling them Those on Shore would kill them, at the Some Time Shewing a Place in On of their Leggs, Where he was Wounded by an Arrow, where we Lay got Some Corn:

Thursday 18th. The First part Strong Gales at S W, Lattar More Moderate, with Continual Rain, Middle the Wind at N W and fair Weather. Got no Trade to Day Except a Bullock. Sent a Shore the Water Casks to fill at a Small Creek.

Friday 19th. Light Airs at N W and fair Wear Got our Vessell by the Stern and Stoppd a Leak froward [forward]. **Mr Collett & Powell** with one of the Natives Landed on the Et Side, Where they were Treated Very Civilly; They Travelled about 3 Miles before they Came to any Hutts Where they gott 4 or 5 pound of Potatoes, Some Corn & a fowls *(sic)*.

Saturday 20 1756. Winds Variable and pleasent Wear. Sent 2 Men with one of the Natives in the Country to gett Some Calves to Carry to Sea. Got a Great Quantity of Corn to day and one fowle.

Sunday 20. The First Part Wind Westerly & Rainy Wear Latter Fair. 7 of our People went on Shore on the Et Side & Brought about 12 pound of Potatoes & Some Corn & Bread. We lickwise [likewise] got Same Bread & Corn on ye Wt Side.

Monday 22d. Fresh Gales Westerly with Heavy Rain. The 2 Men Returned & Brought a Bullock with Them, which is all they could gett, without Copper or Brass. Sent Some in the Country, with One of the Natives got a Little Indian Corn & Some Guinica [Guinea] Corn.

Tuesday 23d. Wind and Wear as Before. Got a few Heads of Corn and Some Milk.

Wednesday March 24th 1756. Winds as Before & fair Weather. 5 men went of *(sic)* Each Side to get Some Calves for a Sea Stock, & a Bullock for present Expending; but Returnd without Either. The People Refuseing [Refusing] to Part with Them. Those on the Et Side got near a Bushell of Potatoes, Some Bread & Corn.

Thursday 25. Moderate Gales Westerly and fair Wear. Gott Plenty of Corn & Bread. The Man is Returned from the Country without Calves. Bought a Bullock for a Brass Image of a Clock.

Friday 26. Light Airs Easterly and fair Wear. This Morning **Mr Collett & Self** Went on the East Side & Brought a Bullock, Some Bread & Corn. The People Returnd from the Wt Side and Brought a Calf and 5 Fowles. We Lickwise Bought a Cow for 4 pair of Copr Bangles and agread [agreed] for a Nother for a [the] Brass Bottom of a Compass.

Sunday 27. The First part Light Airs, Wterly, the Latter Eterly, which Prevented us from Sailing, as we Intended in the Morning. However, Shall Take The First Oppertunity, haveing [having] Plenty of Bread & Corn, to Last a fortnight. Lickwise 2 Calves, a Cow and 20 Fowles. The Natives on the Eastside Brought Down Corn Bread & Potatoes.

Sunday 28th. Wind and Wear as Before. Severall of the Natives whome we Have not Seen Before, Came to [the Place]. Where we Lay & Brought a Bullock with Them Which We Bought for a Brass Image, & Some Small Iron. We lickwise Gott Some Bread & Corn. Got Every thing on Board in Readiness for Sailing in the Morning.

Monday 29th. Wind Northerly and fair Wear At 5 A M Weighd and Soon got to the Barr Where we Found More Surf than we Expected, and had it Been Day Light Enough for us to have Seen it, before we Came Near it, I am Certain Should not have Attempted Coming Over it; for When we Got Among the Breakers found them Allmost to many for us. 2 Very large Seas Braking Right on us, Another Hove the Boat Broadside to the Sea, but Luckily She wore before Another Sea, took her, or Else must Inevitably been Lost on the Rocks, which [were] was Not Twice her Length from us. However, Got Safe out, & hope Shall not be [obliged] Necessitated to put into a Barr Harbour Again. **These People Answer the Description of a Hottentots** (*sic*).

Tuesday 30th March 1756. The First part Little Winds and fair Wear Middle and Latter Fresh Gales, with a Large Sea. At 1 P M the Land Where we Lay at Anchor, before we went in the Harbour W B S, Dist 6 Leags At 6 the Extreams [Extremes] of the Land from N E B E to W B S, Distt off Shore 3 or 4 Miles. This Wening Found that we got ground in Turning. Therefore Hope the Westerly Current [has] is done. This day am to the Northward of Account 10 Ms Latt pr Observ 30° : 32′ So.

Wednesday 31st. Moderate Breezes at S W & fair Wear the Land here is Much More Regular than any we have past for Some Time, and Sends More To the Noward Than Laid Down in the Chart Lattd pr Acct 29° : 29′ So.

Thursday April 1st. Light Breezes Westerly and fair Wear att Sun Sett The Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from N E B E to W B S Dist 1 Mile. At Noon Do from E N E to Wt Dist of Shore 1 Mile. At 8 A M anchord & at 10 Weighd Again When we Steerd N W it was to look at an Opening which Made like a River, but did not prove So, Lattd pr Acct 29° : 5′ So.

Friday 2d. The First part a Fresh Gale, Easterly & fair Wear towards Night Less Wind, Middle & latter Fresh Gales Westerly with a Great Sea. At Sun Sett The Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from N E to W B S Dist off Shore 4 Miles. At Noon Do Bore from N N E. to W S W Dist 2 Miles Lattd pr Acct 28° : 34′ So.

Saturday 3d. Wind Variable & Dirty Wear. Att Sun Sett the Extreams [Extremes] of the Land from N E B N to S W Dist off 2 Miles. At Noon Do from North to West Dist 2 Leagues. An Opening which I Take to be the **River St Lucia**[59] No Dist 4 Leags Since Yesterday Lost about 8 Leagues having Little Wind.

Sunday 4. The first & Middle Parts Fresh Gales Northerly. Latter Little Wind and Calm. At 4 P M Anchord in 12 Fathom the Extreems [Extremes] of The Land from N E to West Dist 1 Mile. Found the Current Sett to the Westwd 2 [Knots] Miles pr Hour. At Noon the Wind Shifted to ye Westward Weighd with a Design to putt into S Lucia if the Opening Mentioned Yesterday proves to be it in Order to Replenish Our Stock being almost [expended] done.

Monday Aprill 5 : 1756. For the Most part Fair Wear At 9 P M Anchord Near the Opening. Intended to go in [on] in the Morning if it proved So, Which it did, butt Appearing to be a Bar Harbour & the Wind Continuing Westerly [we] Made Sail. Sometime made an Opening Where we Saw no Surf. The Wind Tempts us to keep [On] One to the Eastward. At Noon the Wind Came To the Eastward & We Bore away for the River St Lucia. At 3 P M anchord about 1 Mile from the Entrance which Broke Right a Cross, so that we did not Care for going in, tho' it did not Appear so Dangerous as the Other. In the Night it Blew Fresh, & We Rid Very hard, Lattd Obsd 28° : 16′ So.

Tuesday 6. This Morning Little Wind. Tho' it Blew fresh all Night Eastrly (Which is Right in the Harbour) there was butt Little Surf, Therefore, it was Agreed on to go in. Accordingly Weigh and Gott Safe Over having No less than 10 Foot Water. In Running up the River to Anchor, Grounded Upon a Sand, but Recovd the Damage, and got her off Again Next Side. And [We then] Moord in 3 Fathom Water. While we Lay a Ground, the Natives Came on Each Side of the River. We Sent on Shore to Them, and by motions Soon Made them Understand we wanted Some Bullocks, Which they Immediatly Brought, but for want of Brass Toys, Could not Buy any. Gott about 4 dozen of Fowls for Brass Buttons.

Wednesday 7th. Dark Cloudy Wear with Thunder Lightning and Rain. At 10 O Clock a great Number of the Natives Came to us on Each Side, Which Gave us Great Hopes of Getting Cattle ; but did [Cou'd] not for Want of Brass. Gott More Fowls for Buttons. **Mr Collett and Webb** went about 3 Miles on the East Side, as did my Self and another on the West Side, about 6 Miles. We got Some Fowles : Potatoes and Pumpkins.

Thursday 8. Light Airs and pleasent Weather. The people on the Et Side. Brought a Great Many Fowls Tobacco & Sugar Cane & Dough To Make Bread, Which we got for Buttons. Got 8 pumpkins on ye Wt Side.

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59 This is, however, doubtful. The description reads more like Port Natal or Durban See Taylor, I. p. 86 f.

Friday 9th. A Strong Gale E'erly & fair Wear there has been Very Few Natives down to day. **Mr Collett & 8 of the people** [went] is gone in the Country. Early This Morning and [are] and Not Yett Returned.

Saturday 10 : D° Wind and Wear At Noon Our people Returned and Brought 2 Bullocks Which We got for a pair of Brass Handles of a Chest and Some Small Peices of Brass.

Sunday Aprill : 11 : 1756. D° Wind and Wear till 6 : o Clock in the Evening, When the Wind Shifted to ye Wtward and Blew Hard.

Monday 12. A Fresh Gale Wterly and Cloudy Wear & Rain. Got Another Small Bullock, Which We Killd. Are now Waiting the First Smooth Barr for Sailing.

Tuesday 13. Moderate Gales Westerly and Fair Weather. Got Another Small Bullock and a few Loaves of Bread.

Wednesday 14 : Moderate Gales Easterly, and fair Wear Got Some Fowls and Bread.

Thursday 15th. The Most part a Strong Gale Easterly. Got a Bullock.

Friday 16th. Wind and Wear as pr Yesterday got Some Fowls and Bread, Butt pay much dearer for them [than] then when we first Came in, for What we got for a Button [then] must now give a peice of Brass or Iron [for].

Saturday 17 : Fresh Gales Easterly & Cloudy Wear A Great Number of the Natives Came down of Whom we Bought 6 dozon of Fowls, and 4 Bushells of Potatoes, and a Small Root that Eats Like a Bean When Boild In the Night the Wind Shifted to the Westward.

Sunday 18th A pleasent Gale Westerly and Fair Wear. At 7 A M Got Under Weigh and When we Came to the Barr Severall of the people [were] was so Frightned at the surf, that they Would Not Venture Over. Therefore, Hauld down all the Sails And Brought the Boat to An Anchor. [Ten] And 10 of them Gott the Small Boat Out and went on Shore, saying [declaring] they would Rather Live With the Natives the Remainder [of their life, Than stand the Chance of being] all their life Time rather than be Drown'd. One of them Brought The Boat Back Again. [The Rest of us] We all Agreed to go Over. Accordingly got Under Weigh with Gods Permission Intending to go Over, tho must Confess for Above Half an Hour, Which Time We Were in the Breakers, thought [those] then Best off That [were] was on Shore. As Soon As We Were Through, Saw the people Walk Away, and We made the Best of Ours. At Noon the River S W 6 Leagues From Whence I Take my Departure Laying [Lying] in the Lattd 28° : 14′ S°.

Monday April 19 : 1756 : A Fine Gale Westerly and fair Weather. Att Sun Sett the Extreems [Extremes] of the Land from N E B N to S W B S Dist of 1 Mile & ½. Att Sun Rise

ro from S W ½ S to N N E Dist 1 Mile. An Entrance of **a River**[60] With a Large **Barr W S W** 1 Mile & ½. This day find my Self to the Noward of Acct 7 **M Course N** 15 16 Et Dist 113 Miles, Longitude Made 00° 32″ Et Mist 00°: 28′ Et Lattd Obserd 26°: 19′ So.

Tuesday 20th. Pleasent Gales & fair Wear. At 5 P M being abreast of The So Point of **Delagoa Bay**, Bore Away Designing to go in and Stay For Our people, Who were Travelling on Foot along Shore. At Sun Sett the So Point of the Bay Bore So 3 Miles the Body of the **Island St. Marys**[61] S W 2 miles. The Low Land in Sight from ye Masthead on the No Side from N to N W B W Dist About 3 Leagues. After [it was] Dark Ran under an Easy Sail. Waiting for The Moon which Woula be up at 10 O'Clock, Not Suspecting butt we had a Whole Night at the Rate we Were going. Sounded [& found] Ground [in] 5 Fathom, Upon Which Alterd Our Course, more Northerly, Which was More off the Land. Still Shoald our Water to 2: ½ Fathom. We then Came to Anchr & an Hour After The Sea Broke Very Much Close to us, therefore was [Were] Obligd to Weigh, tho we did Not know Where to Better Ourselvs, the Wind Blowing into the Bay, and The Only way we Could Make a Stretch was towards the Island, Where We Expected less Water. But it prove'd Otherwise; For we by deepning [deepen'd] our water Gradually to 6 Fathom, then Came too again. Att Sun Rise, the Point S E 3 Miles, the Island S W, 1 Mile. Breakers from North to N W B W. They Seem to us to be on a Spitt of Sand, & a Channell into the Bay on Each Side of it. Last Night When we Came too, it was High Water, and as the Sea Falls, it Breaks, the Sand Drying n Some places on Spring Tides. At Noon it Was Low Water, and we Found Ourselves Surrounded with Breakers. Therefore Thought [it] the Best way to go Out, the Same way we Came in; Which We did, & in going Over the Sand Where it Broke had but 10 Feet Water. When we got Over, Deepned to 6 Fathom; which We kept Along About 2 Miles Steering N W And then Came into 9 & 10 Fathom, Which Depth We had about a Mile & Soon Deepned [Shoal'd] Again to 3 & 4 Fathom for About 1 Mile. Then Came into 5 Fathom which we kept [held] About 4 Leags. Then Shoald it Gradually to 3 Fathom. Steering from West to W B S & About 4 o'Clock, Came to an Anchor in 9 Fathom, Where to Our Great Joy Found Riding **The Rose Gally from Bombay** Commanded by **Capt Edwd Chander.**

Wednesday April 21 1756. The First part Fair Weather, Wind Wterly, Latter fresh Gales Easterly with Rain. About 11 O Clock got under Weigh in Order to go Up **Mahoys River**,[61] Where **Capt Chandler** was Trading, butt was prevented, Not having Water Enough Over the Barr. Therefore, Returned to Delagoa again, and Dispatchd a Letter to Capt Chandler, Desireing him to Spare us What Necessaries we Wanted.

Thursday 22d. Wind and Wear as Before: got Some Rice for Cloaths We are [were] Treated Very Civilly by the Commanding Officers of the Rose.

Friday 23d. Light Land and Sea Breezes and fair Wear Bought Severall Fowls: Some Rice and Hony. The Natives Stole 31 Head of Cattell [Cattle] from the Rose Gally's [People].

Saturday 24th. Do Wind & Bought a Great Many Fowls Some Rice and Hony. Have a Great Number of the Natives on Board with [their] there Trade.

[60] This must be really the River St. Lucia. See Taylor, I. 87.

[61] Inyack on the Admiralty Charts. St. Mary's Id. in all directions up to Taylor, 1874, who has, I. p. 87, Inyack or St. Mary's Id.

[61] For Maurice River. See Taylor, I. 88.

Sunday 25. Light Land and Sea Breezes with pleasent Wea^{r}

Monday 26. D^{o} Wind and Wea^{r}. Near Noon About 300 of the Natives Came To Capt Chandler Banksale & Drove off 66 Head of Cattell [Cattle] which he had Purchase'd [& paid for]: Which We on Board Observing, Landed as Soon As possible and Pursue'd the Robbers About 3 Miles, but Could not Gett Sight of them. Therefore not Thinking it prudent to pursue them any further, Return'

Upon Our First Arrival [heard] found Capt Chandler was up in the Country About 60 Miles,[62] Therefore Dispach'ed One [a Letter] to him, Informing him of Our Misfortune, & at the Same Time the Behaviour of the people, [during our Stay on Bird Island] desiring [and desired] him to Assist us to gett [in getting back] the Honourable Companys Money: [and] which if [we] Effected [it] to Grant a passage to my Self M^{r} Collett Webb Yates and M^{c}Dowell[63] and myself to Bombay.

The Misfortune Above Mentioned Open^{d} the 7 day after The Letter was Sent, and having Receiv^{d} no answer Conjectur^{d} from the Behaviour of the Natives, that the Letters Might be Stopp^{d} or that it Might not be well with Capt Chandler. Therefore I proposed going up Mohoy's River with Our Boat the Next Morning: Which we did, and About 20 Miles up meet [Met] Capt Chandler Comeing down in his Boat very Ill wth a Fever. He told me my Letter Came Safe to Hand Which he Answer^{d} Immediatly, and was Very Much Surpriz^{d} I had not Receiv^{d} it. Howsoever we found afterwards that the Bearer was afraid to Venture Near the Vessel After what had happen^{d}. The 3^{d} day we meet [Met] Capt Chandler We gott [return'd] on Board, and Soon Afterwards wth some [the] assistance of some of his People [seiz'd] took the Treasure And Plate out of the [our] Sloop, and put it on board the Rose Gally: for which Capt Chandler gave me a Bill of Lading.

Sunday 2^{d} May 1756. Three of the people Arriv^{d} from the S^{o} Side of The Bay Where they Left the Rest of those that woul^{d} Not Venture Over S^{t} Lucia Barr. They Remained there till the Sloop Sailed Which was 10 Days After the Arrival of the 3 Before Mentioned. They all Got on Board of her Alive, but Soon After 2 of them died, the Rest in a Bad State of Health. Theire Stay was but Short Where they Took the people in before they putt to Sea, in Order to go to Johanna, butt After being at Sea, 5 or 6 Days found themselves off River S^{t} Lucia and 4 days Afterwards we Met them as we [were] was going out in the Rose Galley, within the Outer Barr of Delagoa. They had on Board After my Self M^{r} Collett & Webb. (the)[64] 2 Navigators, who often told me on the Island they was As Capable of Conducting the Sloop as I was; those Were Powell and Chisholm but Finding Themselves Mistaken in [their] there Capacitys, Sold her to Capt Chandler for 500 Rupees the Carpenter Took a Note for the Same payable at Bombay. While this business was Transacting was Laying at Anchor A Little Within the Outer Barr, Waiting for wind to go Over, Which we got The Second day, And After a Passage of 25 days Arrived in Morandavia Road on the Island of Madagascar, and 2 days After Capt Hutchinson in the Caernarvon Anchor^{d} here, Who Favours me with a passage to Madrass where the Honble Companys Treasure and Packett is Consigned to, Who has Also favoured all the people With a passage being 15 in Number my Self Include'd and all that's Now Living, Except Powell, who Some Time before the Caernarvon Sailed, Secrete'd himself in the Country, To Keep Out of Capt^{n} Hutchinson's way, who Declare'd he would Take him With him. M^{r} Collett is One of the Number that Died.

(To be continued.)

[62] 'that I could have no answer to a Letter from which in 4 days' scored through.
[63] 'who was always conformable to my commands' scored through.
[64] 'the' written over words erased.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF MAHANAMAN AT BODH-GAYA.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S. (RETD.).

RECENT researches and speculations of M. Sylvain Lévi have given a special interest to **the Inscriptions of Mahânâman at Bôdh-Gayâ** edited by Dr. Fleet some years ago, and invite further discussion of the documents, from the historian's point of view. Although I am unable to fully agree with M. Sylvain Lévi, and may fail to convince my readers that a final solution of the historical puzzle suggested by these inscriptions has been obtained, I hope to succeed in throwing some light on the enigma. The inscriptions in question are two, the longer being No. 71, and the shorter No. 72, of Fleet.[1]

The longer record is dated on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra in the year 269 of an unspecified era and commemorates the erection in that year of a Buddhist temple at Bôdh-Gayâ by a Ceylonese monk named Mahânâman. The donor's spiritual descent is traced back ultimately to the saint Mahâ-Kâśyapa, and is given in detail for six generations as follows:—

(1) the 'Sramaṇa Bhava ;

(2) his disciple (*śishya*) Râhula ;

(3) the ascetic (*yati*) Upasena [I.] ;

(4) Mahânâman [I.] ;

(5) Upasena [II.] ;

(6) Mahânâman [II.], the disciple of No. 5, and greater even than his master, who was famed for his goodness.

This inscription is composed in learned Sanskṛit verse.

The second record is nothing but a brief dedication of a Buddhist image expressed in the customary conventional formula, as commonly used in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D., and Dr. Fleet's translation is as follows: — "Ôm ! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śâkya *Bhikshu*, the *Sthavira* Mahânâman, a resident of Âmradvîpa. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*) let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings !"

This document is not dated. The language is differentiated from learned Sanskṛit by the use of the genitive *Mahânâmasya*, instead of the correct form *Mahânâmnaḥ*, and by the redundant *astu* at the end of the formula; the meaning 'let it be' having been already expressed by *bhavatu*.

Dr. Fleet said that the Sthavira Mahânâman, who recorded this brief dedication, 'is obviously the second Mahânâman mentioned in the preceding inscription.' But is the alleged fact really obvious? To me it is not. On the contrary, I am clearly of opinion that **the Mahânâman of the image dedication is probably distinct from the Mahânâman of the temple record.** M. Lévi, who also has expressed a belief in the unity of the dedicators of the image and the temple, nevertheless remarks with emphasis on the contrast between the two inscriptions in language. '*Comparée*,' he says, '*avec cette savante inscription, l'autre, en sa banale brièveté, présente un contraste curieux. Le génitif Mahānāmasya pour Mahānāmnas, en face du nominatif régulier Mahānāmā employé dans le premier texte, suffit à déceler un rédacteur plus familier avec le pracrit qu' avec le sanskrit.*'

[1] The longer inscription, which is dated, was first publicly mentioned in an extract from a letter of Sir Alexander Cunningham printed by me in *Ind. Ant.* XV. (1886), p. 347. A month later Dr. Fleet edited and translated both inscriptions in the same volume, pp. 356-359. The documents were republished by him in 1888 in 'The Gupta Inscriptions,' pp. 274-9, Pl. XLI., Nos. 71 and 72. M. Lévi's discussion of the inscriptions is a section of his very valuable and interesting memoir entitled 'Les Missions de Wang-Hiuen-Ts'e dans l'Inde' (*Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1900, pp. 406-411 ; reprint, pp. 45-55).

This contrast is not noticed by Dr. Fleet in either of his editions. The two inscriptions present an equally strong contrast in the manner in which they name Mahânâman.

The long record gives the donor of the temple no title, and describes him as a disciple of Upasêna (II.). The short record gives the donor of the image the special clerical title of Sthavira, and calls him 'a Sâkya friar' (*Sâkya bhikshôḥ*). Why should we assume these two Mahânâmans to be identical? The identity of name is nothing. Mahânâman was a common name for monks in Ceylon, and two persons of that name are mentioned in the longer of the two documents under discussion. The two donors are differently described in the two documents, and the presumption is that they are different persons. If they were identical why should pure paṇḍit's Sanskṛit be used in the one inscription, and Prakritized Sanskṛit in the other?

The occurrence of both inscriptions at Bôdh-Gayâ is no proof of identity. There is no improbability in supposing that two Mahânâmans from Ceylon may have performed pious acts at the holiest of Buddhist holy places. It is quite possible that the donor of the image may have been the Mahânâman who was the spiritual grandfather of the builder of the temple. The only substantial argument for identifying the two donors is the palæographical one. Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the characters of the short dedication 'allot it to precisely the same time' as the longer dated record. Certainly, if there is any difference in the characters, it is very slight, and the two records belong substantially to the same palæographical stage of development, but there is nothing to prevent one from being fifty years older than the other. To my eye the short record looks the earlier of the two. The words *Âmradvîpâdhivâsî* and *Mahânâmâ* in the longer document may be compared with *Âmradvîpa-vâsi* and *Mahânâmasya* in the shorter.

My conclusion is that the two documents, although nearly contemporaneous, are records not of one donor, but of two donors. In the remaining discussion I shall therefore confine my attention to **the long dated document,** of which the substance has been given at the beginning of this article.

Dr. Fleet went too far when he said that there is a "probability" that the donor of the temple at Bôdh-Gayâ should be identified with the Mahânâman, who is the reputed author of the earlier part of the Mahâvaṁsa. The exact date of the author of the Mahâvaṁsa is not known. Turnour supposed that Mahanaman's contribution to that work was written in the reign of Dhâtusêna which he placed in the period A. D. 459 to 477. But Turnour's arguments are not conclusive. The earlier chapters of the Mahâvaṁsa appear to be not very much later than the Dîpavaṁsa, and may have been written as early as A. D. 400. The date, 269, of the inscription cannot possibly be interpreted so as to place the donor of the temple in approximately A. D. 400, and **the guess identifying the donor with the author of the Mahâvaṁsa must be rejected.** It never had any foundation except the identity of name, which is of no significance, the name being a common one in Ceylon. When writing the text of 'The Gupta Inscriptions' Dr. Fleet had 'no doubt' that **the date of the inscription, 269,** must be referred to **the Gupta era,** and be considered equivalent to A. D. 588-589. Dr. Bühler adopted this date and inserted it in his 'Indische Palæographie.' When compiling the index to his great work Dr. Fleet admitted a doubt as to the era used in the inscription and suggested that it might 'perhaps' be **the Kalachuri era,** of which the epoch is A. D. 248-49. On that hypothesis the date A. D. would be 518. It is not very easy to understand why a Ceylonese monk on a visit to Gayâ should use the era of the Kalachuri princes of Chêdi, in the region now known as the Central Provinces, and I think that the Kalachuri interpretation may be safely rejected as being highly improbable.

The Gupta interpretation is much more probable. The use of the Gupta era at Gayâ in A. D. 588 involves no improbability, and in the opinion both of Dr. Fleet and of Dr. Bühler the characters of the inscription are consistent with this interpretation.

M. Sylvain Lévi's Chinese studies have led him to reject the interpretation approved by Fleet and Bühler, and **to propose to treat the inscription as dated in the Saka era of A. D. 78.** The record according to his view was composed in the year A. D. 347. This bold proposal

is supported by arguments of considerable apparent strength and deserves attentive examination. It rests mainly upon a passage in the history composed by the Chinese writer Wang-Hiuen-t'se about the middle of the seventh century A. D., which is translated as follows by M. Lévi :—

"Le *Hing-tchoan* de Wang Hiuen-t'se dit: Dans les royaumes de l' Occident, les bienheureuses images sont sans fin. Et, à propos de l' image de *Mo-ho-pou-ti* (Mahābodhi) il dit : Jadis, le roi de *Cheu-tzeu* (Ceylon), nommé *Chi-mi-kia-po-mo*, ce qui signifie en Chinois 'mérite-nuage' [Koung-te-iun] (Çrī Meghavarman) roi Indien (*fan*), chargea deux bhikṣus d' aller visiter ce monastère [le monastère élevé par Açoka à l' est de l' arbre de Bodhi, et plus tard agrandi ; cf. H. T. *Mém.* I. 465].

Le plus grand avait nom *Mo-ho-nan*, ce qui signifie 'grand-nom' (Mahā-nāman) ; l' autre se nommait *Iou-po*, ce qui signifie *donne-prophétie* [*cheou-ki*] (Upa—).

Ces deux bhikṣus rendirent hommage au Trône-de-diamant (Vajrāsana) de l' arbre de Bodhi. Le monastère ne leur offrit pas d' asile ; les deux bhikṣus revinrent dans leur patrie. Le roi interrogea les bhikṣus : 'Vous êtes alles porter vos hommages aux lieux sanits. Que disent d' heureux les présages, ô bhikṣus ?' Ils réspondirent : 'Dans la grande contrée de Jambudvīpa, il n'y a pas un lieu où demeurer en paix.' Le roi, ayant entendu ces paroles, envoya des gens avec des pierres précieuses pour offrir des présente au roi *San-meu-to-lo-kin-to* (Samudragupta). Et c'est pourquoi jusqu' à présent, ce sont les bhikṣus du royaume de Ceylan qui résident dans ce monastère."

The substance of this passage in English is that king Mêghavarman (or more correctly, Mêghavarṇa) of Ceylon sent two monks, the senior named Mahânâman, and the younger named Upa— ?, to do homage to the Diamond Throne and visit Aśôka's monastery to the east of the Bôdhi tree. The monks were ill received, and on their return to Ceylon complained of the scant hospitality offered to them. King Mêghavarṇa thereupon sent them back to India with valuable presents to King Samudra Gupta, under whose patronage suitable arrangements were made for the residence of Ceylonese pilgrims at Bôdh-Gayâ, in pursuance of which monks from the island were resident at the monastery in the seventh century A. D.

The same story with variations is told at greater length by Hiuen Tsiang. His version, which is too long for complete quotation, may be summarized as follows :—

The Mahâbôdhi monastery outside the northern gate of the wall of the Bôdhi tree was built by a former king of Ceylon with great splendour. The building, which was three storeys in height, included six halls, was adorned with three towers, and surrounded by a strong wall thirty or forty feet high. The decorations were executed with the highest artistic skill in the richest colours. The statue of Buddha cast in gold and silver was studded with gems. The subsidiary *stûpas* were worthy in size and splendour of the great monastery with which they were connected, and enshrined valuable relics of Buddha himself. The monks, who exceeded one thousand in number, belonged to the Sthavira school of the Mahâyâna. The origin of this magnificent establishment was in this wise. In olden days a pious king of Ceylon had a brother, who became an ascetic and went on pilgrimage to India.[2] At all the monasteries he was treated with contumely as a foreigner, and experienced great difficulty in obtaining entertainment. On his return to Ceylon he narrated the discomforts which he had endured and besought his royal brother to erect monasteries at the holy places throughout India. The king accepted the suggestion, and in order to give effect to it, sent an envoy to the Indian king, Mahâ Srî Râja, with gifts and jewels of all kinds. The Indian monarch accepted the gifts as tribute, and in return for them gave the envoy permission to erect a monastery at one of the holy places where the Tathâgata had left traces of his presence. The envoy returned home and the king of Ceylon, after due deliberation, decided to build the monastery near the holy tree. The royal purpose was recorded on a copper plate, and the monastery, which was erected in accordance

[2] Compare the legend of Aśôka and his brother Mahendra. (Beal, *Hiuen Tsiang*, II. 246.)

with the permission of Mahâ Srî Râja, was specially assigned for the accommodation of priests from Ceylon, who could this enjoy independence, and be in a position to claim from the Indians honourable treatment as brethren.[3]

The reader will observe that Hiuen Tsiang does not name the king of Ceylon, and that he calls the Indian monarch, Mahâ Srî Râja, omitting his personal name. I need hardly say that the Gupta sovereigns always prefixed Srî to their personal names, and assumed the title cf Mahârâjâdhirâja.

Hiuen Tsiang mentions only one envoy, the brother of the island king, whereas Wang-Hiuen-t'se states that there were two envoys, and does not mention that either of them was related to the Ceylonese monarch. But the differences between the two accounts do not amount to discrepancies, and I have no doubt that the Mahâbôdhi monastery adjoining the northern wall of the Bôdhi tree enclosure was built at the expense of King Mêghavarṇa of Ceylon by permission of Samudra Gupta, king of India.

According to the *Mahâvaṁsa*, King Mêghavarṇa (Kitti Siri Mêghavaṇṇa) reigned from A. D. 304 to 332.[4] It is possible that these dates may be liable to some slight adjustment, but a special enquiry undertaken by M. Sylvain Lévi has satisfied him that the **Ceylonese chronology for the period in question is trustworthy.** There is not, I believe, any reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the Ceylonese dates even from the much earlier time of Duṭṭhagâmanî, about B. C. 161, although the dates prior to his reign are not to be trusted.

Consequently, if the Mahânâman, who set up the inscription in the year 269 was the Mahânâman deputed with Upa—? by King Mêghavarṇa, his visits to Bôdh-Gayâ must have occurred between 304 and 332. The possible limits of time are further circumscribed by the fact that Samudra Gupta was contemporaneous with Mêghavarṇa. Samudra Gupta cannot well have begun to reign before A. D. 326 or 327.[5] If Mahânâman of the inscription is identical with the envoy of Mêghavarṇa, his visits to Bôdh-Gayâ must be dated in round numbers in A. D. 330, and the era used in his inscription must be approximately (330 — 269 =) A. D. 61.

The difficulty caused by the fact that the Saka era begins in A. D. 78 is met by M. Lévi with the remark that the discrepancy is small. An error of some seventeen years in the Ceylonese chronology is, however, hardly consistent with M. Lévi's statement of the result of his special enquiry as being that "l' exactitude des Annales singalaises sort victorieuse de cette confrontation." The date 269, when interpreted as in the Saka era, is equivalent to A. D. 347, fifteen years after Mêghavarṇa's decease.

This considerable discrepancy is a strong, if not fatal, objection to M. Lévi's interpretation of the date of the inscription.

Another weighty objection arises from the fact that, so far as is at present known, the Saka era was not used in Northern India in the fourth century.[6] The earliest known example of its use in a northern inscription is supplied by the second *praśasti* of Baijnâth dated *Saka-kâla-gat-abdâḥ* 7[26]; and the next example is as late as Saka 1059. This second example happens to come from Gôvindpur in the Gayâ District.

[3] Beal, II. 133-135.

[4] These are the dates given in Wijesimha's revised translation of the *Mahavaṁsa* and differ slightly from those given by Turnour, A. D. 302 and 330.

[5] I shall discuss the dates of Samudra Gupta's reign in a separate paper.

[6] In Kielhorn's 'List of the Inscriptions of Northern India' (App. to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V.), the eight earliest inscriptions dated in the Śaka era, excluding Assam and Orissa, are No. 351, Baijnâth, year 7[26]; No. 362, Gôvindpur, year 1059; No. 368, Mâchâḍî near Alwar, year 1304; No. 379, Nagarî near Chitôr, year 1426; No. 381, Tilbêgampur near Delhi, year 1460; No. 382, Sâdaḍi in Mêwâr, year 1520; No. 385, Chambâ, year 1582; and No. 386, Udaypur, year 1635. I agree generally with M. Boyer's views concerning the Śaka era, and am convinced that it arose in Western India, Kanishka having nothing to do with its establishment, and not using it. (*Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1900, p. 526; *ibid.* Juillet-Août, 1897.) Dr. Fleet informs me that the century in the Baijnâth *praśasti* is probably to be read as 9, not as 7. The year 926 Śaka would correspond to Kâlî Yuga 4105, and to Laukika [40]80.

Inscriptions dated in the Saka era are extremely rare in Northern India. Between A. D. 400 and 1635 only eight instances are known, besides a few in Assam and Orissa. The presumption against a northern inscription dated in an unnamed era being intended to be understood as dated in the Saka era is very strong, and when the inscription is assigned to the fourth century the presumption is almost conclusive.

A third and very cogent objection to M. Lévi's interpretation of the date of Mahânâman's inscription is based on **the alphabetical characters of the record.** Drs. Bühler and Fleet, two experts of the highest skill, are agreed that the characters are those of the sixth century, and probably of the latter part of that century. M. Lévi's interpretation requires us to believe that the document was inscribed some two centuries and a half earlier. This palæographical difficulty not having been noticed in M. Lévi's articles in the *Journal Asiatique*, I drew his attention to the omission, and was favoured in reply with an expression of his opinion, which is to the effect that palæographical tests have little independent value ('*autorité absolue*'), although they may be used as a check upon ('*contrôle*'), or guide ('*indice*') to the interpretation of positive history. The learned author is disposed to think that the Chinese account of the mission of Mahânâman may be considered as positive history applicable to the Mahânâman of the inscription. It would be, he observes, a very strange coincidence that Mahânâman and his colleague Upa— ? should have been sent to Bôdh-Gayâ from Ceylon in or about A. D 330, to build a monastery and *stûpas*, while another Mahânâman, the disciple of Upasêna, should have come to the same place from Ceylon nearly two centuries and a half later and dedicated 'a mansion of Buddha.' But the coincidence is not really so startling as it seems to be at first sight. The Chinese record preserves nothing more than the first element *Upa*— in the name of Mahânâman's colleague. His full name may have been Upagupta, or anything else beginning with the particle Upa— rather than Upasêna, and the Chinese interpretation 'donne-prophétie,' or 'gift of prophecy' does not suit the conjectural reading Upasêna. The proof is wanting that the junior envoy from king Meghavarṇa was named Upasêna. Moreover, the Chinese document expressly states that Mahânâman was the elder, and Upa— ? the younger envoy, whereas the inscription states that Mahânâman the envoy was the disciple of Upasêna, and therefore necessarily his junior. It cannot be possible that the disciple was regarded as senior to his master. The edifice erected by the envoy Mahânâman was a magnificent fortified monastery, with appurtenant *stûpas* containing personal relics of Buddha. A foundation of such extent and grandeur would be very inadequately described, when the magniloquence of Sanskṛit verse is considered, by the words of the inscription which briefly refer to 'this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind with an open pavilion on all sides . . . . this temple of the great saint.' The language of the inscription is adequate as a description of an ordinary shrine containing a statue of the Teacher, but would be a very meagre panegyric of the great three-storeyed monastery with six halls, three towers, and appurtenant relic *stûpas*, which was the work of the envoy of the Ceylonese king.

The palæographical argument, too, is much stronger than M. Lévi is willing to admit. It is undoubtedly true, as M. Lévi has pointed out to me, that alphabetical forms characteristic of late documents often occur sporadically mixed with ancient forms in much earlier documents, and that this fact must be remembered as a check upon hasty determinations of date based solely upon palæographical considerations. But the late alphabetical forms in the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman are not merely sporadic The whole inscription is late in appearance, and totally different in alphabetical character from any of the inscriptions of Samudra Gupta's time. I shall not attempt to prove this proposition in detail. Any student who is sufficiently interested in the matter to read this paper will probably be able to compare for himself the Mahânâman inscription with the records of Samudra Gupta's reign which are reproduced in the same volume, and to judge whether or not they can possibly be contemporaneous. The Mahânâman inscription, it must be remembered, is engraved in the northern variety of the Brâhmî alphabet, the development of which is known by comparison of a long

series of dated examples. In that long series the inscription in question, according to the judgment of both Bühler and Fleet, two highly qualified experts, finds its place among the records of the sixth century, and few persons are competent to dispute the validity of such experts' decision. So far as my limited knowledge enables me to judge, I am of opinion that it is sound. The script and formula of both inscriptions should be compared with the Mathurâ Inscription dated 230, which is No. 70 in Dr. Fleet's book.

My conclusions are that

(1) the identity of the Mahânâman, disciple of Upasêna, who dedicated a shrine or temple, with the Sthavira Mahânâman, who dedicated the image at Bôdh-Gayâ, is not proved, and there are reasons for believing that the dedication of the image is earlier than that of the temple;

(2) the date 269 of the inscription recording the dedication of the temple cannot be interpreted either in terms of the Saka or of the Kalachuri era, and is best interpreted in terms of the Gupta era;

(3) The Mahânâman of the temple dedication is neither the author of the *Mahâvaṁsa*, nor the envoy of the Ceylonese king Mêghavarṇa;

(4) History knows nothing of the person, or persons, named Mahânâman who dedicated the temple and image at Bôdh-Gayâ, and no historical inference of importance seems to be deducible from the inscription dated in the year 269.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 147.)

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. A. — A Return of the Establishment of Port Cornwallis and Abstract of Monthly Pay.

Time of Entry and Discharge.	Archibald Blair Lt. Commr. allowce. not settled.	Surgeon paid at Calcutta.	European Gunner at 50 per Month. Sa.	Master Carpenter at 60 Do.	Overseers 2 at 35 Do.		Bengal Carpenters Pay as per column.	Ditto Sawers Do.	Ditto Gardiners Do.	Smiths Do.	Potters and Brickmakers Do.	Bricklayers.	1 Havildar, 1 Naik, & 10 Privates Do.	Ditto Taylors.	Washermen.	Fishermen.	Bakers.	Serangs.	Tindals.	Lascars.	Laborers.	Malays.	Chinese Gardners.	Women for provision.		
							Ss. Rs.	Ss. Rs.	S. Rs.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	S. R.	Ss. Rs.	S. R.	S. R.			
							80	68	28	28	50	13	107	25	24	32	35	30	24	248	120	87·8	...			
March 1792.	...	...	1	1	2	No. A.	6	6	4	2	4	2	12	2	4	3	2	2	38	20	6	2	11	...	1182	8 ...
April ..	...	...	1	1	2	..	6	6	4	2	4	2	12	2	4	3	2	2	38	20	6	2	11	...	1182	9 .
May ...		...	1	1	2	...	6	6	4	2	4	2	12	2	4	3	2	2	38	20	6	2	8	..	1182	8 ...
June ...	...	...	1	1	2	...	6	6	4	2	4	2	12	2	4	3	2	2	38	20	6	2	8	...	1171	9 ..
July ...	...	...	1	1	2	...	6	6	4	2	4	2	12	2	4	3	2	2	38	20	6	2	8	...	1171	9 ...
																									5890	10

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

I hereby do Certify upon my honor that the above Abstract is true and just.

(Signed) Archibald Blair.

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. B. — Monthly Expence of Provisions for the Natives of the Establishment at Port Cornwallis.

	Rice.	Doll.	Ghee.	Salt.	Salt Meat.	Wheat.	Spirits.
	Mds. Sr.	Mds. Sr.	Mds. Sr.	Mds. Sr.	Casks.	Maunds.	Gallons.
March 1792 for 134 Men and Women	103·34	51·37	6·20	6·20	......	......	......
April for 134 do. ...	100·20	50·10	6·12	6·12	......	......	......
May for 131 do. ...	101·20	50·30	6·14	6·14	......	......	......
June for 130 do. ...	97·20	48·30	6· 4	6 4	1	8	15
July for 130 do. ...	100·30	50·15	6·11	6·11	2	10	25
	504· 4	252· 2	31·21	31·21	3	18	40

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

[No. B.] Provisions received on Account of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis.

	Rice.	Doll.	Ghee.	Salt.	Salt meat.	Wheat.	Spirits.
	Mds. Seer.	Mds. Seer.	Mds. Seer.	Mds. Seer	Cash.	Maunds.	Gallons.
Remaining in Store February 1792	165·18	0·30	5·38	0·38	...	...	......
Received by the Viper March 13	50· 0	50· 0	20· 0	20· 0	...	...	......
Received by the Ranger from Calcutta June 10th	180· 0	50· 0	20· 0	20· 0	6	50	Pipe 1-8 inches dry.
Received by the Viper from Prince of Wales Isld. June 11th	272· 0	200· 0	......	......	...	...	......
	667·18	300·30	45·38	40·38	6	50	1-130
	504·04	252·02	31·21	31·21	3	18	40
Remaining in Store July 31st 1792	163·14	48·28	14·17	9·17	3	32	90

Signed **Archibald Blair.**

I do hereby certify upon my honor that the above account is true and just.

(Signed) Archibald Blair.

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. C. — Expenses of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis.

			Siccas	A.	P.
1792.					
March	...	To Sundry as per account particular	114	0	0
May	3rd	To ditto purchased at Calcutta	184	4	0
,,	,,	To Provision & Stores purchased at Prince of Wales Island.	613	14	0
,,	,,	To Amount Pay to July 31st 1792 as per Pay List... ...	5890	10	0
Octr.	1st	To the passage of 25 Artificers to Calcutta in the Union ...	250	0	0
			7052	12	0

No. C. — Cash received on account of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis.

		By Balance of March 17 1792	1507	10	6
		By three Months work of Six Joiners	240	0	0
		By two Ditto of Six Sawers	132	0	0
		By Cash received of Bruce Boswell Esqre. Marine Pay Mr....	7000	0	0
			8879	10	6
		Port Cornwallis Janry 1st 1793	7052	12	0
			1826	14	6

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

I do hereby certify that the above Account is true and just upon my honor.

(Signed) Archibald Blair.

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. D. — Expences of the Settlement at the Andamans.

			Siccas	A.	P.
1792.					
August	5th	To 200 Maunds of Rice Supplied at the Andamans	700	0	0
		To 200 Ditto Doll Ditto	700	0	0
		To 20 Ditto Ghee Ditto	400	0	0
		To 20 Ditto Salt Ditto	80	0	0
Octr.		To Stores and Provisions purchased at Calcutta as per account particular	21497	7	0
		To the Freight of the Schooner Leeboard from November 1st 1792 till Febry 28th 1793	1000	0	0
		To a Launch with seven Men for the same period	500	0	0

	Siccas	A.	P.
To the People of the Ranger for Extra work ...	369	0	0
To the People of the Union for Ditto	350	0	0
To the Schooner Leeboard Coppered & Stored	2200	0	0
To a Launch with Masts, Sails, Oars &c^a Compleat	800	0	0
To the Amount of Pay till the 15th instant as per Pay List N°. 1	19823	13	0
	48,420	4	0

Errors Excepted.

Port Cornwallis March 12th 1793. (Sig^d) **Archibald Blair.**

I hereby do Certify upon my honor that the above Account is true and Just.

(Signed) Archibald Blair.

[No. D 1.] — Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

Cash received on account of the Settlement at the Andamans.

By Balance Jan^ry 1st 1793	1826	14	6
By Cash received of Bruce Boswell Esq^r. Marine Pay Master October 29th 1792	38,000	0	0
By Cash received of Captain Alex^r. Kyd Superintendant	6,000	0	0
	45826	14	6
By Balance due me	2593	5	6
	48,420	4	0

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. E. — Return of the Establishment at the Andamans.[23]

Names or Quality.	*Numbers.*
Archibald Blair Lieut. in Charge	1
David Wood Surgeon	1
Deputy Store Keeper	1
Homan Clerk Gunner	1
European Overseers 2, 4, 5 highest N°. for any month	6
Master Carpenter...	1
Foreman D°.	2

[23] With this list is an abstract of Pay for each month from Aug. 1792 to March 1793.

The lowest amount is in Oct. Sa. 807 a. 10 and the highest in Nov. Dec. & Jan Sa. 3454 a. 10 for each of the three months.

Names or Quality.			*Numbers.*
Tent and Sail Maker			1
Sergeant Major			1
Havildars	1, 2	highest N°.	3
Naicks	1, 2	d°.	3
Private Sepoys	10, 20, 29	d°.	30
Chinese Carpenters	2	d°.	3
Chinese Gardener			1
Bengal Carpenters	1, 2, 4, 6, 10	d°.	12
Ditto Turner			1
Ditto Smiths	2, 6	d°.	8
Ditto Sawers	2, 4, 6	d°.	10
Ditto Bakers	1, 2, 3	d°.	4
Ditto Taylors	2, 4, 5	d°.	6
Ditto Washermen	2, 6	d°.	8
Ditto Potters			2
Ditto Brickmakers			2
Ditto Bricklayers			2
Ditto Gardeners	2	highest N°. in any month	4
Bengal Fishermen	4		10
Serangs			1
Tindals	1, 2	d°.	4
Lascars	16, 22, 32, 34, 38, 53	d°.	56
Native Overseers			8
D°. Laborers	5, 15, 20, 170, 181	d°.	185
Barbers			2
Stone Cutters			2
Copper Smiths			2
Gramies			2
Malays			5
Women Children & Servants	3, 6	d°.	9

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. F. — Expence of Provisions of the Settlements of Port Cornwallis and Old Harbour.

		Rice.	Doll.	Ghee.	Salt.	Salt mt.	Spirits.	Biscuits.	Wheat.
	1792	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md Sr.	Md. Sr.	Casks.	Gallns.	Md. Srs.	Bags.
Aug.	For 130 Men ...	100·30	50·15	6·12	6·12	1	30	......	3
Sept.	„ 87 Do. ..	97·20	48·30	6·04	6·04	1	30	......	3
Octr. „	„ 87 do. ... 20 days 345 do. ...	237·17	118·28	1·434	14·34	1	30	......	3
Novr.	For 432 do. ...	324·32	162·16	20·03	20·03	2	40	00·04	3
Decr.	„ 432 do. ...	334·32	167·16	20·30	20·30	2	60	00·04	3
	Damaged during the passage and by the Hurrican of the 2nd	100·00	60·00	10·00	20·00	unserviceable. 3	...	......	...
	1793								
Jan.	For 346 Men ...	268·08	134·04	16·24	16·24	1	40	00·04	3
Feby.	„ 332 Do. ..	232·10	116·08	14·21	14·21	1	40	00·02	3
Mar.	15 Days 332 men... 10 Do. 43 ...	130·00	45·00	8·00	8·00	1	20	......	2
		1825·35	922·37	117·08	127·08	13	290	00·14	23

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. F 1. Provisions received on account of the Settlements of Port Cornwallis and Old Harbour.

1792.	Rice.	Doll.	Ghee.	Salt.	Salt Mt.	Spirits.	Biscuits.	Wheat.
	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Casks.	Gallns.	Md. Sr.	Bags.
Remaining in Store July 31st... ...	163·14	48 38	14·17	9·17	3	90	......	15
Supplied	200·00	200·00	20·00	20·00	7	...	00·14	...
Recd. pr. Viper Novr. 5th	160·00	......	4·00	......	...	...	......	...
Recd. pr. Union Decr. 3rd	600·00	40·00	10·00	10·00	...	...	......	...

1792.	Rice.	Doll.	Ghee.	Salt.	Salt Mt.	Spirits.	Biscuits.	Wheat.
	Md. Sr.	Md. Sr.	Md. Ss.	Md. Sr	Casks.	Gallns.	Md. Sr.	Bags.
Recd. pr. the Cornwallis Janry 6th 93	1100·00	200·00	20·00	64·00	13	...	......	30
Recd. by the Union Janry. 7th ...	400·00	620·00	45·00	......	...	280	......	5
Ditto Ditto 10th ...	500·00	......	10·00	40·00	...	...	......	...
	3123 14	1108·88	423·17	143·17	23	370	14·00	50
	1825 35	922·37	117·08	127·08	13	290	14·00	23
Remaing. in Store March 15th ...	1297·19	186·01	6·09	16·09	10	80	......	27

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

The above is a true copy of the Return of Provisions delivered by Captain Blair to me.

4th April 1793. (Signed) **A. Kyd Superintendant Andamans.**

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. G. — Account of Persons and Stores purchased at Calcutta for the Settlement at the Andamans.

1792			Sa.	a.	p.
Octr.	1st	To 90 Maunds of Bolt Iron at 10 per Md.	900	...	...
		To 200 do. of Flat bar Iron at 6 8	1300	...	...
		To 200 do. of Square do. at 7	1400	...	...
		To Coolie and Boat hire	25	8	...
Do.	12th	To 160 Maunds of Rice at 1·7	230	..	...
		To packing, Coolie hire and Boat hire	8	8	...
		To 160 Gunny Bags	17	8	..
		To 4 Mds. of Chee at 12	48	...	...
Do.	14th	To 300 „ Firewood	48	...	...
		To 2 Duppers	2	..	...
		To Coolie and Boathire	4	...	...
		To 4 Barrels Petch	68	...	...
		To Coolie and Boathire	2	...	...

			Sa.	a.	p.
		To 10 Groundstones	50	...	...
		To Coolie and Boathire	2	8	...
		To 1000 Mats for Dunage	40	...	...
		To 40 Gramsticks	35	2	...
		To Coolie and Boathire	3	8	...
		To 200 Codalies at 10a.	125	...	...
		To 4 Whip Saws	74	...	...
		To 6 Crosscut D°.	36	...	...
		To Coolie hire	1	...	...
		To 11 Europe and 65 country Prikaxes	106	5	0
		To 51 Wood Axes	54	4	0
		To 8 d°. Europe...	12	0	0
		To 7 d°. Hoes	7	0	0
		To 46 Iron Crows	150	0	0
		To Coolie hire and Boat hire	12	8	...
		To 22 Copper Pots and 40 Dishes	434	6	...
		To 4 Chests for packing	12	...	...
		To 2 pair Bellows	32	...	...
		To Coolie hire	2	2	...
		To Boathire for embarking artilery	22	...	...
		To d°. for Sundry Stores	2	...	...
		To Coolie hire for d°.	2	..	...
		To 1 Anvil	70	...	...
		To 4 Fishing Nets	100	...	...
		To 6 Lanterns	18	...	...
		To 60 Copper Dishes, and ... ... the whole	75	4	...
Novr	2nd	To 5 Dozen Smiths Files	25	...	...
		To 1 Bench and 4 Hand Vice	31	...	...
		To 4 Sledge Hammers...	24	...	...
		To Coolie and Boathire	11	...	...
		To 2 pair Jack screws	80	...	...

	Sa.	a.	p.
To 5 bags Leenseed Oil	200	...	...
To 1 Case do.	44	...	...
To 2 bags paint	48	...	...
To Boat and Coolie hire	4	...	...
To 110 Lines and fishing hooks	64	...	...
To 8 Europe Hoes	8	...	...
To 5 Mds. Chittagong Twine and packing...	71	...	...
To 2 Do. Chalk	8	...	...
To 120 Do. Salt at 4	480	...	...
To 120 bags for do.	13	2	...
To 100 Mds. fire Wood	20	...	...
To 8 Hides	10	...	...
To 2 Chests for packing	3	...	...
To Boathire	4	...	...
To 10 Mds. Gunnie Twine	50	...	...
To packing and Coolie hire	4	...	...
To 40 Mds. of Ghee at 12	480	...	...
To 80 do. at 9½	760	...	...
To 40 do. Oil at 6	240	...	...
To 60 Jars covered	45	...	...
To 25 Duppers	18	4	...
To 20 do.	15	...	...
To packing Coolie and Boathire	20	...	...
To 22 lbs. fine Twine for Nets	11	...	...
To Crusscut Saws	16	...	...
To 200 Mds. Wheat at 1-10	325	...	...
To 200 Bags	22	...	...
To Boathire Coolie hire and packing...	5	...	...
To 6 Fishing Nets	80	...	...
To 4 Cast Nets	40	...	...
To Packing &ca.	3	...	...

			Sa.	a.	p.
		To 2 Bags of White Lead	92	...	...
Novr.	3rd.	To 3 Fishing Boats	90	...	...
		To Charges on Do.	10	...	...
		To ¾ Maund Europe Twine	60	...	...
		To 275 pair Hinges	275	...	...
		To 24 Padlocks	36	...	...
		To 10 Mds. Gunnie Twine	50	..	...
		To package &ca.	3	...	...
		To 1 Dozen Door Locks	54	...	...
		To Boathire	2	...	...
		To 8 Hides	10	...	...
		To 4 Timeglasses	11	...	...
		To 14 Mds. Biscuit	84	...	...
		To Jars packing &ca.	14	...	...
		To 2000 Mds. of Rice at 1-6	2750	...	...
		To 1000 do. at 1-12	1750	...	...
		To 3000 Bags	330	...	...
		To packing do.	18	...	...
		To Boathire	32	...	...
		To Cooliehire	32	...	...
		To 1000 Mds. of Doll at 1-8	1500	...	...
		To 50 Do. Patna Rice	115	10	...
		To 200 Do. Gram	262	8	...
		To 10 Do. fine Doll	20	...	...
		To 1260 bags	138	...	...
		To packing	9	...	...
		To Coolie and Boathire	30	...	...
		To 42 Wood Axes Europe	42	...	...
		To packing Sundrys	8	...	...
		To 2 Cags [? bags] of Paint	60	...	...
		To Sundrys for Copper Smith...	18		...

	Sa.	a.	p.
To Cloathing for the Detachment	134	12	...
To 3 Casks of Spirts	393	7	...
To Boathire	3	...	...
To 2 Sledge Hammers, Gleu, Tin & **Tinkal**...	28	...	...
To 2 Glass Lan[t]erns	5	...	...
To Coolie and Boathire	6	...	...
To repairing a Chronometer	28	...	...
To Sundrys for a Stone cutter	10	...	...
To 10 Mds. of Sugars...	100	...	...
To Boathire Coolie hire and packing	3	...	...
To Boathire for Sending the People on board	20	...	...
To 12 Hides for covering the amunition	12	...	...
To 100 bags of Paddy	136	...	...
To Boathire &ca.	4	...	...
To do. attending down the River	50	...	...
To Carpenters Tools of Sorts	300	...	...
To 4 Mds. of Wax Candles	240	...	...
To 2 Boxes for do.	4	...	...
To 500 Mds. **Mimgy Rice** at 1-12	875	...	...
To 1000 bags	110	...	...
To packing boathire & Coolie hire	23	...	...
To 10 Maunds Ghee	120	...	...
To package for do. &ca.	6	8	...
To 40 Mds. Salt	160	...	...
To 30 bags and Shipping Charges	12	8	...
	19,543	2	...
To Commission of 10 per Cent. ...	1,954	5	...
	21,497	7	...

(Sigd.) **Archibald Blair.**

Appendix to Consultation 1st May 1793.

No. H. — Account particular of Provisions and Stores purchased [for] the Settlement at Port Cornwallis.

1792					
March.		To 10 lb. of Europe Twine for making Lines	10	0	0
		To 1 Cast Net...	8	0	0
		To Thread for repairing Ditto	6	0	0
		To 1 Maund wax Candles	58	0	0
		To 4 Ditto of Oil	32	0	0
May	3rd	To a Compleat set of cloathing for 1 Havildar 1 Naick and 10 privates...	90	12	0
		To Soap &ca. for the Washermen	16	8	0
		To 1 Maund Nails	23	0	0
		To 1 Ditto Candles	54	0	0
May	28th	To 272 Maunds of Rice from Prince of Wales Island ..	544	0	0
		To 136 Bags	27	4	0
		To Coolie and Boathire	4	0	0
		To 4 Pecul Dammer	35	0	0
		To 1 Cally[? Catty] Brass Wire for fishing	3	8	0

Sigd. **Archibald Blair.**

I do hereby Certify upon my honor that account is true and just.

(Sigd.) Archibald Blair.

Appendix to Consultation 1st. May 1793.

No. I — Expence of Stores at Port Cornwallis.

1792			
March		Pick Axes worn out	4
		Europe Twine for fishing Lines	10 lbs.
		Cast Net	1
		Dammer for paying the Boats bottoms	1 md.
		Oil for Ditto	1 do.
		Ditto for Artificers and Lamps	1 do.
April		Oil for Sundrys	1 do.

May	Bengal Hoes worn out	6
	Pick Axes do.	2
	Spades do.	2
	Hatchets do.	4
	Expence of Candles for three Months	1 Md.
	Oil	1 do.
	Europe Rope for Boats Moorings Tickles &c^{a}.	2 Coils.
June	Iron for Sundrys	4 Mds.
	Dammer for paying the Boats	3 do.
	Oil for mixing ditto	2
	Ditto for Artificers Lamps &c^{a}.	1
July	Oil for Lamps &c^{a}.	1 Md.
	Felling Axes	2
	Hatchets	4

I do hereby certify upon my honor that the above account is true and just.

(Sig^{d}.) **Archibald Blair.**

1793. — No. XXV.

Fort William, 6th **May 1793.**

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Major Kyd 15th April.

Edward Hay Esq^{r} Secretary to Government, Fort William.

Sir, — I beg you will be so good, as to acquaint the Most Noble Marquis Cornwallis Governor General in Council that I have this day dispatched for Calcutta the Viper Snow, under Charge of Lieutenant Roper; — Since I had the honor of addressing his Lordship in Council by the Union there has been no occurrence of any consequence, I have only the pleasure of saying therefore that every thing is going on well at this Settlement and that I have hopes, that the Stores and Provisions and all the People will be under cover before the setting in of the Rains.

When the Sea Horse Snow returned last from the Cocos, she brought from that Island, John Bell, a Mill Wright and one Native of Madras who were the only remaining part of a small Settlement which had been formed there about fourteen Months ago by some Speculators at Madras, for the purpose of Manufacturing Cocoanut Oil by means of a Wind Mill which they had actually erected; but in the Month of May last their employers having neglected to send them any Assistance the Workmen in a fit of despondency took the rash Resolution of embarking on a slight Raft with a very small quantity of Provisions and Water, and there cannot be a doubt that they must all have perished; since that period John Bell and one Man, have remained in the Island in hopes of receiving Assistance from Madras, but being reduced to the greatest distress & Misery for want of every necessary, they were glad to leave the island before

the Monsoon set in again; indeed at all events, I should have thought it necessary to have prevented them from going on with their Plan, as the Coconuts of that Island becomes a very Valuable and necessary Article of Provision for the Natives of this Establishment When the Viper Snow went last there I sent John Bell back and gave him every Assistance to bring off such parts of the Machinery of his Mill as he thought of any value which is now landed here and will be delivered to the Proprietors if they choose to send for it, I will take the liberty of observing that I think the conduct of those People who ever they are is very nefarious, for independant of their taking upon them to transport, from Madras, a Number of the Natives to a foreign Country without the permission of Government they have ·cted in the most cruel and most unfeeling manner in leaving them on a barren Island without giving them any support or Assistance, which has been the occasion of the loss of the greatest part of the party and must inevitably have caused the rest to perish in the most miserable manner, had it not been for the event of Governments forming a Settlement here.

I request that you will represent to the Board that a supply of Cash for the payment of the People of this Establishment will be necessary to be sent by the Union, I therefore request that Ten Thousand S[a] Rs. may be sent of which I should wish 500 Rs. to be in Copper Coin. In compliance with the directions of the Board I have receiv'd into the Treasury here 5000 Rs. from individuals mostly in small Sums, for which I have given them drafts on my own Agent and now draw on Government for the Amount, in favor of **Mess[rs]. Wilsone Harrington and Downie** which I request may be done honor to There will be in future I imagine a great part of the Cash necessary for the Settlement supplied in this way, but I beg leave that it may be observed to the Board, that it will be necessary that there should be an Exchange of one p[r] Cent in my favor, or I must be a loser of that Amount to pay the Agency without Government chooses to direct that a Separate Bill of Exchange should be made out, for every trifling Sum paid in which would be an endless trouble.

I have the honor to be &c[a]

Port Cornwallis
15[th] April 1793.

(Signed) **A. Kyd**,
Sup[t]. Andamans.

Ordered that the Bill drawn by Major Kyd, in favor of Mess[rs]. Wilsone, Harrington & Downie, be duly honored, and that the Question relative to the Exchange to be authorized in his future Drafts, be referred to the Accountant General.

Agreed that a supply of Cash to the Amount of 10,000 S[a]. Rs. including the Proportion of Copper Coin, mentioned by the Superintendant at the Andamans be sent to him by the Union, and that an Order on the Treasury be issued for the Money with directions to the Sub Treasurer to pack it and dispatch it consigned to the Superintendant by that Vessel.

1793. — No. XXVI.

Fort William 10[th] May 1793.

Read a Letter and its enclosure from Captain Blair.

Captain Blair Dated 8[th] May.

To Edward Hay Esq[re], Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I beg leave to inclose a Note from the Engraver, with his Terms and the time it will take to finish **a Plate of the accompanying Chart.**

As the Expence is more than I imagined I should be glad to have the sanction of Government before I proceed further.

I am, &c[a]

May 8[th] 1793.

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Enclosed in a Letter from Captain Blair 8th May.

Captain A. Blair.

Sir, — Accompanying I return the Chart which you favored me with yesterday to peruse, I find it contains considerably more work than that I engraved for **Captain Popham** The price will be Twelve hundred Sicca Rupees and will take Ten Weeks to complete it.

I am, &ca

May 8th 1793. (Signed) R. Brittridge.

The Chart received from Captain Blair is one **of the North part of the Andamans** shewing the Places of those dangerous Coral Ledges lately discovered, and a safe Track to avoid them, with an explanatory Line encompassing the dangerous Space.

The Governor General in Council being entirely of Opinion that it will be very proper to have this Chart published, it is Agreed that the same shall be done at the Company's Expence and that Captain Blair shall be Authorized to employ Mr. Brittridge in engraving it on the Terms mentioned in his Letter, striking off as many Copies as shall be thought by Captain Blair necessary.

1793. — No. XXVII.

The following Letter has been received from Capt. Allen.

Captain Allen 9th May.

To E. Hay Esqre, Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Phoenix left the Pilot on the 7th Instant having on board one hundred and thirteen Sepoys and Settlers for the Andamans being Nineteen in Number more than are mentioned in Captain Apsley's list which contained only Ninety-four They are all well and hearty.

Calcutta I have the honor to be &ca

9th May 1793. (Signed) **George Allen.**

Fort William **17th May 1793.**

Read a Letter from the Town Major.

To I. L. Chauvet Esqr. Sub Secretary.

Sir, — I have the honor to inform you that in Obedience to the Commands of Government Conveyed to me by your letter of the 26th Ultimo I have engaged 2 Sirdars and 70 Bildars or Coolies to serve at the Andaman Islands, and that these people, with women and Children not exceeding ten more, are in readiness to embark whenever the Vessel may be prepared to receive them.

I am &ca

Fort William Town Major's Office (Signed) A. Apsley

13th May 1793. Tn. Mr.

Ordered that the people abovementioned be embarked in the Union ; and that the Garrison Storekeeper be directed to order a Sufficient supply of Provisions and Water to be put on board for their use in the Voyage to the Andamans.

1793. — No. XXVIII.

Fort William **27th May 1793.**

Deputy Accountant General **24th May.**

My Lord, — I have had the Honor to receive **Mr. Sub Secretary Shakespear's Letter** of the 1st Instant transmitting **Captain Blairs Accounts** of his Receipts and Disbursements at the Andaman Islands from March 1792 to 12th March 1793, and Conveying the Commands of your Lordship in Council to the Accountant General, to report thereon.

These Accounts Commence with a Balance of Sicca Rupees 1507-10-6 under date 17th March 1792, the accuracy of which Cannot be ascertained, as the account of Captain Blair's Disbursements prior to that date have not yet been transmitted to this office.

I beg leave to observe that the Sums Charged for the Articles provided at Calcutta, Prince of Wales's Island and the Andamans, are unaccompanied by any Vouchers ; your Lordship in Council will therefore be pleased to determine on the Charges for those articles as well as for Commission at the rate of 10 per Cent on the purchase of the principal part of the Stores.

The only check which these accounts could undergo in this Office was a comparison of the Sums advanced to Captain Blair and an Examination of the Additions and Calculations of Account all of which are perfectly correct.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect &c^{a}.

Fort William Acc^{t}. Gen^{ls}. Office (Signed) **Thos. Myers**
the 24th May 1793. Dep^{ty} Ac^{t}. Gen^{l}.

Ordered that the Accounts above Mentioned be sent to the Acting Marine Paymaster and Naval Storekeeper for his report thereon. The Governor General in Council does not think it proper to Authorize the Commission of 10 per Cent drawn by Captain Blair on his Purchases of Stores, as it does not accord with the existing Regulations.

1793. — No. XXIX.

Fort William **31st May 1793.**

The following Letter and its enclosure were received from the Acting Marine Paymaster, and, under the Circumstances stated therein the Secretary was directed to **call on Captain Blair to Certify to his Accounts upon Honor,** as true and Just, which having been done, Authority was given for Paying them and an Order on the Treasury was issued yesterday, in favor of the Acting Marine Paymaster for the Sum of S^{a}. Rs. 639-1-6 to enable him to discharge the Balance due to Captain Blair on the 12th March 1793, on Account of Supplies &c^{a}. for the Settlement at the Andamans except the Commission Charged and declined to be admitted at the last meeting, on his Purchases of Stores.

To Edward Hay Esq^{r}. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — In Consequence of your desire that the Accounts for 1792/3 delivered by Captain Blair, might be examined, I wrote to that Gentleman this day, to furnish me with the different vouchers, enclosed is a Copy of his reply which I beg leave to forward you.

The Particular quality of each article, not being generally specified, in Captain Blair's Accounts, renders it difficult to examine them with precision.

The Accounts, fourteen in number, I herewith return.

I am &c^{a}.
(Signed) **Bruce Boswell**
Acting Marine Paymaster.

Fort William Marine Paymaster's Office
the 29th May 1793.

Enclosed in a Letter from the Acting Marine Paymaster dated 29th May.

To Bruce Boswell Esq^{re}. Acting Marine Paymaster.

Sir, — Being unacquainted with Official forms, it never occurred to me that Vouchers were necessary for the Stores I purchased for the Settlement at the Andamans, but had I been informed that they were, on the delivery of my first set of Accounts, I Certainly should not have omitted them with those which have been sent for your examination.

I have no doubt on a Comparison of the Prices Current, of the Times, when the Stores were purchased, with those charged in my Accounts that it will appear they have been reasonably bought.

I am &c^{a}.
(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**
(A true Copy) (Signed) Bruce Boswell Act^{g} Marine Paym^{r}.

Calcutta
May 29th 1793.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 162.)

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DOOB GRASS.

HERE is an earlier and better quotation than that to be found in Yule.

1795. — The short wiry grass, known in Bengal by the name of Doop, which is quickly propagated by planting it in little bunches, and of which we had fortunately taken down a considerable quantity, soon spread itself over the risings we had cleared, and effectually prevented any of the Soil from being carried off, thus insuring good pasture whenever a sufficient space could be cleared away. — Kyd's *MS. Report on the Andamans* in *Bengal Consult.* for 1795.

R. C. TEMPLE.

PONSEY.

1756. — "He was then beckoning to his Servant that stood in a ponsy above the Gaut . . . . at the Gaut besides the Ponsey were the Gouvenours Servt was . . . . So without given me time to make an Answer, he run down stairs and up to the side of the river to get into the Ponsey . . . . Therefore with Mr o Harea got into the same Ponsey were the Gouvenour was and set off the last boat that left the Gaut." — Alex. Grant's *Defence, ante*, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 299-300.

This word is not in Yule and represents the common Bengali word pānsuī for a small boat or wherry in general use in Calcutta.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SANSKRIT VERSION OF EUCLID.

WITH reference to a remark made by Prof. A. Weber, in a note to his paper (*ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 287), respecting a Sanskrit version of Euclid, I may point out that, at the Stockholm Oriental Congress, on the reading of the late H. H. Druva's paper respecting this work found at Jaypur, I mentioned that Râja Sawâi Jayasiṁha had in his library the *Historia Cœlestis* of Flamsteed and other European works, and that there was no reason to suppose that he had not some of the 17th century versions of Euclid also — most of which contained the whole fifteen books of the *Geometry*. After my return from Stockholm I wrote to the late Prof. Weber, reminding him that Lancelot Wilkinson had, long ago (in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. p. 938), called attention to the same work — the *Rêkhâ Ganita* which had been translated into Sanskrit by Samrât Jagannâtha for the famous Jaypur Râja, the astronomer-prince.

J. BURGESS.

THE JANEO.

THE available information regarding the janêo or thread of caste is fragmentary and incomplete. In the Panjâb fuller data as to its form, and the different tribes which wear it, may throw light on the extent to which Brâhmanical influence has prevailed.

The orthodox janêo is thus described:— "The *janêo* or sacred thread of the Hindûs is thus made: The four fingers of the hand are closed and a thread is wound back and front over them (? to represent the union of the four sacred elements in created things) 96 times — *i. e.*, 12 × 8, or according to the ogdoad, common only to the Eastern nations and the Chinese. This thread forms a strand of the *janêo*. Three of these strands are then taken together and divided into the three parts, and these are then twisted to the right and made into three threads of six strands each. This is called an *agra*. Two *agras* go to a *janêo*, or aggregate of six threads of six strands each. The *janêo* is knotted together by a number of knots depending on the descent and sect of the wearer. It is worn over the left shoulder, which is a concession to Buddhism, as it was originally worn round the waist.

In worshipping the gods the *janêo* is worn over the left shoulder and held across the palm under the thumb of the left hand, while the libations are made with the right hand forward. In worshipping the *pitris* (ancestors) it is worn on the right shoulder, and the libation is made with the fingers of the right hand raised higher than the palm,[1] so that the water pours to the right. In worshipping the Rishis the thread goes round the neck, and the water is poured out with both hands inwards towards the chest.

When dirty the *janêo* must be made into the form of the *svastika* or mystic cross, in the manner that children play at "cat's cradle," and then washed.

But this is not the only form. For instance:— "**Jogis** wear a *janêo*, or sacred thread, round their necks, of nine cubits length, and made of three strands, woven of black wool of eight threads on a bobbin, and plaited into a bob-in-thread, like our own braid necklaces. Round their waists they wear a similar thread of two separate bobbin-threads of eight strands each, twisted together with a loop at one end and a button at the other. To the *janêo* they attach a round circlet of horn (rhinoceros it should be), and to this they attach a *nâdh*, or whistle, which makes a noise something like a conch, but not so loud."

Further, the use of knots indicates the status of the wearer, thus: — "Among Sarwariyâ Brâhmans, there are three higher grades and thirteen who are inferior. The higher grades have five and the inferior three knots in the *janêo*, or Brâhmanical cord. If a man borrow the cord of a person of another grade he adjusts the knots according to his rank; **for the knot is the important part of the cord.**" Similarly the Gaur Brâhmans in Bikanîr have 5 knots, but the Adh Gaur only 3.

It is, however, difficult to say how far the wearing of the *janêo* indicates status, *e. g.*, the Lobânâs wear it and even when Sikhs are very particular about it, whereas among Jâṭs only Akbârî Jâṭs wear it and then only at their marriages (*Hoshiarpur Gazetteer*, p. 56). Probably some one will be able to explain the apparent inconsistency betwen this and the last para.

The Khôsâ Jâṭs of *one* village (Rattiâṅ) in Tahsîl Mogâ in the Ferozepur District continue to wear it, though the tribe as a whole has abandoned it.

Lastly, it appears that **occasionally some sections of a caste wear the janêo while others do not**, *e. g*, some of the Sunârs wear it, and certain *gôts* among the Kâṅgrâ Gaddîs, among whom it is used at marriage ceremonies in a curious way.

Some Kanets in the Simla Hills also wear it — not all.

Information then is required on the following points:—

(1) State the sections of each caste which wear the *janêo* in any form.

(2) For each such section, state the way in which the *janêo* is worn, the number of strands and knots in it and describe any peculiarities in its material or manufacture.

(3) Is it worn on any special occasion, but not ordinarily? If so, when?

(4) State the explanations given of the variations in above.

(5) Add any information you can (giving references to books if necessary) to the above; *e. g.*, is there any connection between sectarial marks and the different forms of the *janêo*?

H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Panjâb.

Simla, 24th July 1901.

[1] This position of the hand may perhaps be compared with those in Plates I. and VI. in De-Marchi's *I Culto Privato di Roma Antica*, 1896, Vol. I.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the Waṇî plates of A. D. 807.

THIS record has been edited by me in Vol. XI. above, p. 156 ff., with a lithograph. It was originally brought to notice, in the *Jour. R. As . Soc.*, F. S., Vol. V., by Mr. W. H. Wathen, who published the text of it, as inscription No. 2, opposite p. 344, with a translation of it, by Mr. L. R. Reid, at p. 350 ff. A remark on p. 350, at the head of the translation, tells us that the plates were found by Mr. Reid in the Nâsik district. And a further remark on p. 353 records the belief by Mr. Wathen that they were obtained "in the Wanadindorí district, "near Násika, in the Marrátta country." These remarks have been understood to connect them with **Waṇî**, a small town about ten miles north-north-east from Diṇḍôrî, the head-quarters of the Diṇḍôrî tâluka of the Nâsik district, Bombay Presidency. In the Indian Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857), the name of this town is given as 'Wun.' It is given, however, as 'Wani' in the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 4 (1876), and in the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879). And it is certified as Vaṇî, in Nâgarî characters, in the compilation entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878). And from these sources, combined, I continue to use the form Waṇî, as being most probably the actually pronounced form of the name. The plates have come to be customarily known as the Waṇî plates, or sometimes the Wâṇî-Diṇḍôrî plates. And the results given in the present note will shew that, whether they were actually obtained at Waṇî or not, they really do belong to the neighbourhood of that town. It has been said, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI., Nâsik, p. 661,[1] that Waṇî itself is mentioned in the record, by the name of 'Van.' That, however, is a mistake, due to the facts that, instead of *Vaṭanagara-vishay-ântargatah*, which the original really has in lines 39, 40, the text published by Mr. Wathen gives *Vaṇ nagara, &c.*, and that Mr. Reid's translation gives "of the Van division of the Nasika district." And it is also questionable whether Waṇî has any claim to such antiquity, as a place of any importance, though it has been "once "the head-quarters of a petty division;" for, we are further told, in the same place, that "the "old site of Vani is said to have been at the base of Ahivant fort, about five miles to the "north-west of the present site," and that "in 1760, when the Násik forts passed from the "Moghals to the Maráthás, Dhodap took the place of Ahivant, and the people of the village "of Ahivant went and settled at Vani, greatly increasing its population." The Ahivant fort, it may be added, is shewn as 'Iwautta' in the Atlas sheet No. 38, and as 'Iawatta' in the Topographical sheet No. 4, about six miles north-north-west from Waṇî. And 'Dhodap' is the Dhôḍap fort, — the 'Dhorup' of the Atlas sheet, — about nine miles east-north-east-half-east from Waṇî.

The record recites that, on a specified day in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 730 (current), falling in A. D. 807, the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., when in residence or in camp at **Mayûrakhaṇḍî**, which is the modern **Mârkiṇḍa**, a hill-fort, in the **Kaḷwaṇ** tâluka of the Nâsik district, about fourteen miles north-north-east from Diṇḍôrî, granted to a **Brâhmaṇ**, whose grandfather was a resident of **Veṅgi** and belonged to the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place, a village (*grâma*) named **Ambaka**, lying in **the Vaṭanagara district** (*vishaya*) of **the Nâsika country** (*dêśa*). And it specifies the boundaries of Ambaka as being, on the east, a village (*grâma*) named **Vaḍavura**; on the south, a village named **Vârikheḍa**; on the west, a village named **Pallitavâḍa**, and a river (*nadî*) named **Pulindâ**; and, on the north, a village named **[Padma]nâla**.

[1] See, also, *id.* p. 185, note 1. On p. 661, the record is wrongly spoken of as being dated in A. D. 930.

The names of Vaḍavura, Pallitavâḍa, and Padmanâla, seem to have disappeared; at any rate, I cannot trace anything representing them, even as names of hamlets.[2] But the other names suffice to fix the locality to which the record belongs. **Vaṭanagara** is certainly the '**Wurner**' of the Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857), the '**Wadner**' of the Topographical sheet No. 5 (1877), and the '**Warneir**' of the Topographical sheet No. 9 (1875): these various spellings, of course, all represent **Waḍnêr**; and the place is a small town or large village, in lat. 20° 14′, long. 74° 5′, in the Chândôr (Chândwaḍ) tâluka of the Nâsik district, about twenty-two miles towards the north-east from Nâsik. **Ambaka** is the '**Amb**' of the Atlas sheet No. 38, and the '**Ambé**' of the Topographical sheet No. 8 (1875), in the Diṇḍôrî tâluka, about five miles north-east-by-east from Diṇḍôrî, and eight and a half miles on the west of Waḍnêr. **Vârikhêḍa** is the '**Wurkher**' of the Atlas sheet No. 38, and the '**Wárkhair**' of the Topographical sheet No. 8, close on the south-west of 'Amb,' 'Ambé.' And **the Pulindâ river** is a large nullah, flowing southwards close on the west of the village-sites of 'Amb,' 'Ambe,' and 'Wurkher,' 'Wárkhair,' which joins the Kâdavâ, Kâdivâ, or Khadva river about a mile on the south-west of 'Wurkher.' 'Wárkhair:' the name of the nullah is entered as '**Unanda**' in the Topographical sheet No. 4, and as '**Ūnanda**' in the Topographical sheet No. 8; the real name seems to be **Unandâ**.[3]

Veṅgi, which is mentioned as the place of abode of the grantee's grandfather, was the capital of a province, known as **the Veṅgi or Veṅgî maṇḍala**, which is most familiar to us in connection with the Eastern Chalukya kings. According to a record of A.D. 1186, it was **a sixteen-thousand province**;[4] that is to say, a province which included, according to fact or tradition or conventional acceptation, sixteen thousand cities, towns, and villages.[5] **The position of the capital** seems to be very closely marked by the still existing village of **Pedda-Vêgi**, "the larger Vêgi," about seven miles north of Ellore (Elûru), the head-quarters of the Ellore tâluka of the Gôdâvarî district, Madras Presidency.[6] Pedda-Vêgi is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 94 (1899) as '**Pedavaigie**,' in lat. 16° 48′, long. 81° 10′. There is, somewhere close by, another village, called **Chinna-Vêgi**, "the smaller Vêgi," which, however, cannot be found in the map. And it seems[7] that Sir Walter Elliot has told us that the evidences of ancient buildings, and the many curious mounds, which probably cover the remains of the old city, extend from Pedda-Vêgi as far as Chinna-Vêgi and **Dendulûru**. This last-mentioned place is shewn in the map as '**Dendaloor**,' in lat. 16° 45′, long. 81° 13′, about five miles towards the south-east from 'Pedavaigie.' It is mentioned as **Ḍenduḷûra** in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramêndravarman II.[8]

When I was preparing this record for publication, Mr. W. Ramsay, I.C.S., gave me the identification of Ambaka with 'Ambê' and of Vârikhêḍa with 'Warkhêḍ,' and also gave me the name of the nullah as Unandâ; see Vol. XI. above, p. 157. The record, however, seems to have been fully localised even before that time; for, Mr. Reid's translation of it presents 'Ambegaon' as the modern name of Ambakagrâma and 'Warkher' as the modern name of

[2] It has been suggested that Pallitavâḍa is the modern 'Paramori,'—the 'Purmoree' of the Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857), and the 'Parmorí' of the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 8 (1875),—about two miles on the west of 'Amb,' Ambé,' which is the Ambaka of the record; see *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. XVI., Nâsik, p. 185, note 1. And the village stands, of course, in the required position. But it is difficult to understand how the name Pallitavâḍa could pass into any such form as 'Paramori.'

[3] The name of the river into which the Pulindâ-Unandâ flows, is given as 'Cadiva' in the Atlas sheet No. 38, and as 'Khadva' in the Topographical sheets Nos. 4 and 8. It is certified as Kâdvâ or Kâdavâ, in Nâgarî characters, in *Bombay Places*.

[4] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 50, verse 35.

[5] Regarding the numerical components in the ancient territorial appellations, see Vol. XXIX. above, p. 277, and note 18.

[6] The identification of Veṅgî with Pedda-Vêgi appears to be due to Sir Walter Elliot. I am not able to refer to his paper on the subject.

[7] See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 36.

[8] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 195, and, for the correct spelling of the modern name, Vol. V. Additions and Corrections.

Vârikhêḍa: but, while presenting the ancient name of the nullah as 'Vúlinda,' though Mr. Wathen's text has *Puliṁdá*, for the *Pulindâ* which really stands in line 41 of the original, it gives the modern name of it as 'Unmad.' The identification of Ambaka with 'Amb,' and of Vârikhêḍa with 'Varkhed,' is also mentioned in the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. XVI., Nâsik, p. 185, note 1; the suggestion made there, that 'Vadner' is mentioned in the record as 'Vadtur,' is only due to Mr. Wathen having read *Vaḍatura*, instead of *Vaḍavura*, in line 40. I myself originally suggested that Vaṭanagara might perhaps be Waṇî; at that time, however, I had not the map to refer to, and I did not know of the existence of Waḍnêr.

The Indian Atlas sheet No. 38, N. W. (1896), which includes the locality to which this record belongs, was not available to me when I wrote the above note. It illustrates pointedly how much more useful the old maps still are for certain purposes. It does not shew the ancient and famous Mârkiṇḍa by name, but only indicates it by a small spot, marked 4384 (feet high), in lat. 20°23', long. 73° 59'; and we are left to find the position of it from the old sheet or from other sources of information: nor, we may add, does it present the names of the Ahiwant and Dhôdap forts, and of various other hill-forts along the same range, all more or less of repute, which are all duly shewn, and very clearly, in the old sheet. Though it is supposed, not only to be up-to-date in details, but also to follow a certain uniform system of transliteration, it gives the village-names, with which we are concerned, as Vani, Wadner, Ambe, and Warkhair; thus presenting, in only four names, three instances of inconsistency, in the use of both *v* and *w* for one and the same Native character, in the use of both *d* and *r* to represent the lingual *ḍ*, and in the use of both *e* and *ai* to denote the long vowel *ê*, and one mistake, in omitting to mark the long *â* in a word which it should have presented either as Várkher or as Wárkhed. It omits to mark the long *â* in the name of the nullah, which it gives as Unanda. And it presents the name of the river both as Kadva and as Kadwa.

The places mentioned in the Sâṅglî plates of A. D. 933.

This record has been edited by me in Vol. XII. above, p. 247 ff., with a lithograph. The original plates were then in the possession of a Brâhmaṇ resident of Sâwantwâḍî, the head-quarters of the Native State of the same name between the Ratnâgiri district and the Portuguese territory of Goa. But, when the record was originally brought to notice by General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. pp. 97, 100 ff., the plates belonged to a family of Brâhmaṇs residing near **Sâṅglî**, the head-quarters of the Sâṅglî State in the neighbourhood of Kôlhâpur. And, on that account, they have been customarily known as the Sâṅglî plates. The results given in the present note, however, will shew that they have not really any connection with the neighbourhood either of Sâṅglî or of Sâwantwâḍî.

The record recites that, on a specified day in the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 855 (expired), falling in A. D. 933, the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda IV., then permanently residing at the capital of **Mânyakhêṭa**, which is the modern **Mâlkhêḍ** in the Nizam's Dominions in lat. 17° 11', long. 77° 13', granted to a Brâhmaṇ, whose father had come from a city (*nagara*) named **Puṇḍavardhana**, a village named **Lôhagrâma**, lying in a territorial division called **the Râmapurî seven-hundred**. And it specifies the boundaries of Lôhagrâma as being, on the east, a village named **Ghôḍêgrâma**; on the south, a village (*grâma*) named **Vañjulî**; on the west, a village named **Chiñchaviharajha**;[9] and, on the north, a village named **Sonnahî**.

[9] The text and translation published by General Jacob present this name as Viñchaviharabha. And I originally read it as Viñchaviharajha or Viñchaviharabha. It seems tolerably certain to me, now, that the last syllable is *jha*, not *bha*. As regards the consonant of the first syllable, it certainly does look, in the lithograph, more like *v* than *ch*: but there does not seem to be any such word as *viñcha*, whereas *chiñcha*, standing no doubt for *chiñchâ*, 'the tamarind-tree,' figures as the first component of very many place-names; and so, even apart from the identification that can be made, I should say, now, that this consonant was intended for, and should be read as, *ch*. One name commencing with *chiñcha*, which was perhaps originally identical with the name which we have in this record, is that of the 'Chinchvihir' of the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 20 (1878), shewn as 'Chinchvihure' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857), five miles north-west-by-west from the Râhurî which is mentioned further on, and as 'Chinchvihir' in the quarter-sheet No. 38, S. W. (1883).

Lôhagrâma is the '**Lohogaon**' of the Deccan Topographical Survey sheet No. 20 (1878), about sixteen miles towards the south-south-west from Newâsa, the head-quarters of the Newâsa tâluka of the Ahmadnagar district, Bombay Presidency; in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857), it is wrongly placed about three miles towards the west-north-west from its position as given in the Topographical sheet. **Ghôḍêgrâma** is the '**Ghorégaon**' of the Topographical sheet, about three miles east-north-east from 'Lohogaon;' in the Atlas sheet No. 38, it is shewn as '**Gorehgaon.**' **Vañjulî** is the '**Wánjoli**' of the Topographical sheet, two and a half miles south-by-west from 'Lohogaon;' in the Atlas sheet No. 39 (1855), it is shewn as '**Wanjolee.**' **Chiñchaviharajha** is evidently the '**More Chinchorá**' of the Topographical sheet, two and a half miles towards the west-by-south from 'Lohogaon;' in the Atlas sheet No. 39, it is shewn as '**Chinchoreh Moreea.**' And **Sonnahî** is the '**Sonái**' of the Topographical sheet, four and a half miles north-by-west from 'Lohogaon;' in the Atlas sheet No. 38 it is shewn as '**Sonuee.**' These villages are shewn as Lohogaon, Ghoregaon, and Sonai, in the Atlas quarter-sheet No. 38, S. E. (1886), which places Lohogaon in its proper position, and as Wánjoli and More Chinchora in sheet No. 39, N. E. (1895).

With these identifications established, we can see that the **Râmapurî** of the record, — the town which gave its name to **the seven-hundred district** in which the village of Lôhagrâma was situated, — is the modern **Râhurî**, the head-quarters of the Râhurî tâluka of the Ahmadnagar district. Ráhuri is the 'Ráhuri' of the Topographical sheet No. 20, and the 'Rahooree' of the Atlas sheet No. 38, and the 'Rahuri' of the quarter-sheet No. 38, S. W. (1886), in lat. 19° 23', long. 74° 43'. 'Lohogaon,' the ancient Lôhagrâma, is distant from it about twelve miles towards the east-south-east.

The city of **Puṇḍavardhana,** which is mentioned as the place from which the grantee's father had emigrated, and the name of which seems to be given in precisely the same form in the Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâladêva III.,[10] is, no doubt, the **Puṇḍravardhana** of other records, and the "**Pauṇḍravardhana,** subject to the kings of Gauḍa," of the *Rájataraṅgiṇí*, iv. 421; and it seems to be the **Puñavaḍhana** which is referred to in two of the votive inscriptions at Sâñchî.[11] For opinions which have been expressed regarding the identification of it, reference may be made to the Rev. S. Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 194, note 18, and Dr. Stein's *Kalhaṇa's Rájataraṅgiṇí*, Vol. I. p. 160, note on verse 421. Its position ought to be capable of being determined very closely, even if it cannot be actually fixed, by means of the villages which are placed in **the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti** by the Khâlimpur plate of Dharmapâladêva[12] and the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâladêva.[13]

The places mentioned in the Kharḍa plates of A. D. 972.

This record has been edited by me in Vol. XII. above, p. 263 ff., with a lithograph. It was originally brought to notice, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. II., p. 379, by Mr. W. H. Wathen, who published the text of it, with a translation in the same journal, Vol. III. p. 94 ff. In his first notice of it, Mr. Wathen said that "it was found in the town of **Kardla,** in the "Dekkan." In his second notice of it, he described it as "an inscription on three copper plates "transmitted by Captain Pottinger, said to have been found at **Kurḍa,** in the Dekkan." In dealing with it, I said, for some reason or other which I cannot now explain, that 'Kardla' or 'Kurda' seemed to be Kardâ in the Taḷôda tâluka of the Khândêsh district. But it is practically certain, now, that the real find-place of the record must have been the '**Kurda**' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 39 (1855), the '**Kurda**' and '**Kurdlah**' of Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III. (1854), pp. 224, 225, a town in lat. 18° 38', long. 75° 32', about twelve miles towards the south-east-by-east from Jâmkhêd, the head-quarters of the Jâmkhêd tâluka of the Ahmadnagar

[10] See Vol. XIV. above, p. 1[illegible]7, text line 24.
[11] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 10[illegible], No. 102, and p. 380, No. 217.
[12] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV p. 247.
[13] See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXI. p. 78.

district, Bombay Presidency.[14] In the official compilation entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878), the name of the place is certified as **Khardêṁ** in Nâgarî characters, and is transliterated as 'Kharda.' And more recent maps also shew it as 'Kharda;' see, for instance, Constable's Hand Atlas of India (1893), Plate 31, and the Indian Atlas quarter-sheet No. 39, N. E. (1895), and Philip's Gazetteer and Map of India (1900). I conclude, therefore, that the initial of the name is really the aspirated *kh*, and that we must accept **Kharḍa** as the conventional transliterated form of the name.[15]

The record recites that, on a specified day in the Aṅgiras *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 894 (expired), falling in A. D. 972, the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakka II., then permanently residing at **Mânyakhêṭa**, *i. e.* **Mâlkhêḍ**,[16] granted to a Brâhmaṇ, who was a resident of a place spoken of as *śrîmat Gejuravâvî*, "the famous **Gejuravâvî**," and had come to **Mânyakhêṭa** on business, a village (*grâma*) named **Paṅgarikâ**, in a group of villages known as **the Vavvulatalla twelve** in a territorial division called **the Uppalikâ three-hundred**. And it specifies the boundaries of Paṅgarikâ as being, on the east, a village (*grâma*) named **Rôhîtalla**; on the south, a village named **Śilahare**; on the west, a village named **Kiṇihigrâma**; and, on the north, a village named **Antaravallî**.

Paṅgarikâ is the '**Pangry**' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 56 (1882), in lat. 19° 16′, long. 75° 54′, about twenty miles towards the north-by-east from 'Bheer,' 'Bhir,' 'Beer,' 'Bir,' or 'Bid,' the chief town of a district of the same name in the Nizam's Dominions, and about fifty miles towards the north-north-east-half-east from Kharḍa in the Jâmkhêḍ tâluka. The same sheet shews '**Roitalla**,' answering to the **Rôhîtalla** of the record, about two miles on the south-east of 'Pangry.' Two miles on the south of 'Pangry,' it shews a village '**Soralla**,' the name of which must be, in some way or another, a corruption of the **Śilahare** of the record.[17] And, three miles towards the north-by-west from 'Pangry,' it shews '**Keenugaon**,' answering to the **Kiṇihigrâma** of the record. And sheet No. 55 (1889) shews '**Untervully**,' answering to the **Antaravallî** of the record, about five miles almost due north from 'Pangry.' In the beautiful survey map of the Bheer Circar, prepared under the superintendence of Lieutenant H. Du Vernet in 1835, the above-mentioned villages are shewn, quite similarly except in respect of one of them, as 'Pangry,' 'Roitalla,' 'Seralla,' 'Keenugaon,' and 'Untervully.' The Indian Atlas quarter-sheet No. 39, N. E. (1895), shews Kiṇihigrâma as 'Kinagaon.'

Gejuravâvî, the residence of the grantee, is evidently the modern '**Givaroi**' of the Atlas sheet No. 39 and of the Survey map of the Bheer Circar, a town about eighteen miles north of 'Bheer.' 'Pangry' is distant from it only five and a half miles to the east. In some other maps its name is shewn as '**Givrai**.' And in the Atlas quarter-sheet No. 39, N. E. (1895), it is shewn as '**Gevrâi**,' in lat. 19° 15′, long. 75° 48′.[18]

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[14] The Atlas sheet shews also a 'Kurdeh,' in the Sirûr tâluka of the Poona district, about thirty-four miles towards the east-north-east from Poona. It further shews, in the Pârnêr tâluka of the Ahmadnagar district, a 'Hungeh,' about eighteen miles north-east-by-north from 'Kurdeh,' with 'Raeetulleh' five and a half miles east-south-east from 'Hungeh,' and 'Kinhee' eight miles towards the north-north-west from 'Hungeh.' And, any name like Rôhîtalla being extremely rare, it seemed, at first, that the record was to be localised here, and that the other place-names mentioned in it had disappeared. I found the locality to which it really belongs, afterwards, in the course of my search for the present representative of the ancient Tagara, regarding which see the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1901, p. 537 ff.

[15] The *l* in 'Kurdlah' seems to have been an attempt to mark the sound of the lingual ḍ.

[16] See page 219 above.

[17] There is, curiously enough, a very similar name, 'Saroleh,' nine miles south-south-east-half-south from the 'Hungeh' which I have mentioned in note 14 above.

[18] Even this name is not unique. In the Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857) I notice two villages named 'Givroi,' and four named 'Givroy,' and two named 'Gevroy,' all within about sixty miles from the town 'Givaroi,' towards the north and north-west, and on the other side of the Gôdâvarî. These villages were probably founded by emigrants from the town.

The maps do not shew any name answering exactly to that of **Vavvulatalla**, the chief town of **the group of twelve villages** which included Paṅgarikâ.[19] But it seems likely that Vavvulatalla is now represented by the modern '**Talkhair**' of the Atlas sheet No. 56 and of the Survey map of the Bheer Circar, a small town or large village fourteen miles towards the east south-east from 'Pangry.'

Also, the maps do not shew any place that can be conclusively identified with **Uppalikâ**, the chief town of **the three hundred district**. The only trace of the name that I can find anywhere in the locality to which we are fixed, is the '**Oopli**' of the Atlas sheet No. 56 and of the Survey map of the Bheer Circar, a village on a small river called 'Koonka,' sixteen miles south-south-east from 'Talkhair.' And it is possible, of course, that this place, now an ordinary village, may in ancient times have been of sufficient size and importance to be the chief town of a territorial division. But it seems to me more probable that Uppalikâ may have been the ancient name of '**Bheer**' itself, the chief town of the district of that name in the Nizam's Dominions, from which 'Talkhair' is distant only twenty-one miles north-east-by-east. In other maps and in gazetteers, the name of this town figures as '**Bhir**,' '**Beer**,' '**Bir**,' and '**Bid**;' and, with a very exceptional marking of the long *î*, it is shewn as '**Bîd**,' in lat. 18° 59′, long. 75° 49′, in the Indian Atlas quarter-sheet No. 39, N. E. (1895). The true form of it seems to be certainly **Bîḍ**. The word *bîḍa*, which is very familiar in the Kanarese form *bîḍu*, means 'a halting place, a camp, an abode.' The ancient Tîravâḍabîḍa, "the camp of Tîravâḍa," seven miles to the west-south-west from Kôlhâpur, is now known as simply 'Bir,' 'Bid' that is Bîḍ.[20] In the prefix in the name of the 'Bhir Kingaon' of the Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857), which is shewn as 'Birkingaon' in the quarter-sheet No. 38, S. E. (1886), about fifty-six miles towards the north-west-by-north from 'Bheer,' Bîḍ, we have, no doubt, the same word *bîḍa*, marking that place, also, as one at which kings and governors would encamp on tours of inspection and troops would halt on marches. '**Bheer**,' **Bîḍ**, must surely have had originally some more specific appellation, to distinguish it from other places, in the same part of the country, which were used as camps. And it seems to me highly probable that it may have been known in former times as **Uppalikâbîḍa**, "the camp of Uppalikâ."

THE WRECK OF THE "DODDINGTON," 1755.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Concluded from Vol. XXXI. p. 191.)

A Narrative of the Peoples Behaviour on Bird Island,

Which I Should have Remark'd in my Journall, but durst not, haveing no place to Secrete my papers but lay Exposed to Every One, and was Inspected into Daily by Several So that if I had mentiond any thing disagreeable to them, Should not have Been Sufferd to keep a Journal att all.

July 17th. As Soon as it was Day Light, we all Assemble'd together, And for Some time only Bewaild our Misfortunes. At Length being Roused [awaken'd] by the dismall[65] prospect that Appeared before us. Some went to See how The Land lookd further in the Country, while the Others that Stayed With me desired I would Still Continue their Officer, and they would Obey me in all

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[19] I do not find the name Vavvulatalla anywhere at all, except perhaps in the case of a small village near the Travellers' Bungalow at 'Thurrodah' on the high-road from Nândgaon to Auraṅgâbâd. The name of the village is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857) as 'Baboolthail,' which is very possibly a printer's mistake for Baboolthall.' The village is in lat. 20° 11′, and long. 74° 54′. It is about ninety miles away towards the north west from 'Pangry.' And it has, of course, no connection with the Vavvulatalla twelve of the record.

[20] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 215, and the Additions, and Vol. XXIX. above, p. 279, note 30.

[65] This is the last of the corrections in another hand.

Respects, and Should Entirely Rely on my Superiour Judgement to gett them of this dismall Place, being Informed by Those who went to look Round and Returnd in a few Minutes that We Were on an Island 2 Leagues from the Main. I told them they Might depend on my Assistance in all Respects and that there was No Time to be lost, Our Situation Requiring us to be dilligent in Looking About for provissions &c, for Subsistance during our Stay here, which Ies Thought would be a Mouth at Least, before Every Body Would be Able to Travel. Accordingly, Sett Out and Soon Found Several Usefull Things As = Inserted in my Journal, but before Night Most of Those that was Able to Work was Drunk and **Rosenburry** So Bad that had I not Accidentally Seen him Lying Amongst the Wreck And Calld for Assistence to gett him up he must Infallibley have been drowned, the Side having Flowe'd Over part of him when we got him up, for Which Piece of Service before we Left the Island he as Often Came Close to me and Laughed in my face by way of Derision, knowing very Well I durst Not Correct him, all the Villains having Taken Theire Oaths to Stand by One Another in Opposition to the Officers, And if Either of us Offerd to Strike any of them, three or 4 Was to Fall on him and Beat him heartily.

Howsoever before it Came to the pass, they Obeyd me for a fortnight, by which time their was Some prospect of the Boats Going One, the keel and Steem being Finished; but before any more was done the **Carpenter** fell Sick, but by his Discourse as I found Soon Afterwards, only feignd himself So, for Missing him from Work, Enquired after him, And was Informe'd he was Not well. Upon Wch Information **Mr Collett & Self** went to Condole with him, we found him in the Cooks Tent Broiling himself a Rasher of Salt pork. I Aske'd him how he did, adding I was Sorry for his Indisposition, hopeing he would Soon be better. Yes Ansiwerd he that May be for Your Own Good; but I Can See how Things are Going. Your 3d in Counsell **Mr Bothwell** Can be Attended On, but I may Die and be damnd before You'l Offer mulld Wine or any Thing Else to me; but Damn Me If I'l bee Used so. I Can See well Enough Which Way things Are going, but I'l be damnd if I have not a Fair Understanding before I do a St[r]oke More. Here I Interrupted him, and Told Him I thought he had gone far Enough, till he Explained himself; That I did not Understand What he Meant by Saying, he Saw how Things go. I then Asked him if he Saw Any Clandestine proceedings by Any of the Officers or any Body Else; to Which he Answerd No, that if he did that we Should Soon know it, for Damn me if I'l be flung By the Best of You. I answerd in my Turn, that believd no Body Intended to fling him as he Calle'd it; therefore was Sorry to See him prejudiced Against Mr Collett & Self, because we Assisted a Sick person; Adding that As Soon As we heard of his being Out of Order, Came to Condole with him, And he Should find Either of us Very Ready to do any Thing Conducive to his Health & hoped that his present disorder was Only a Cold, Which a Little hot Wine going to Bedd would Carry off. To this he Auswered in the Surly Manner as before, Saying he would have a fair Understanding before he Would do a Stroke More. Upon Which Mr Collett & I left him, and Walked togeather to Try if we Could guess The Reason of Such Behaviour and the Only Conjectures we Could putt on it Was his Incapacity to Build the Boat, and Some Time Afterwards, found we Were quit Right in Our Opinion, for he did not know how the Transum peice of the Searn (*sic*) was to be Fixt. He Continued Sulkey 2 days & the 3d day, went to Work Again, Which I was Very Glad to See Making no doubt if he Would Work that We Should compleat One to Serve Our Turns.

Soon after this **Danll Ladoux** who was Capts Steward on Board the Doddington Occationed fresh disputes, by Insisting upon keeping what Pork he or his Mess Mates Pickd up to themselve's, Which was Contrary To my Orders; and the day this dispute Arose Upon, he had Given Orders to the Cook Not to dress pork for two of the Matrosses, Who was at Work with me, all the Morning on the Wreck, because they had not Brought any for Themselves. The Cook Obey'd his Orders, so that When we was Call'd to dinner, the 2 beforementioned had Nothing to Eat; therefore Made their Complaint to Me; at the Same time Inform'd Me how it happen'd Upon which I Took Ladoux to Taske, Asking him by What Authority, he Order'd no Victuals to be dressd for the two men. He

** Head-lines in MS, from this point onwards, "Behaviour of the People on Bird Island."

Answerd there was Orders given to the Cook by **Mr Collett** that What Pork he Brought to the Tent Should be Used Only for his Own Mess, Therefore he thought he had as good a Right to Keep what he Pickd up, And for the Future None but his Own Mess Should Tast a Bitt of What he Save'd. All that he Sayd was Confirmed by his Mess Mates, And in the Most Insolent Manner that Can be Imagine'd.

Mr Collett Declared he Never gave any Such Orders, And I am Very Certain there was no Such Orders given to the Cook by any officer but my Self, Concerning the Pork; (And those Were) if there Should be any difference in the peices he took to dress, that I Expected the Best. This was told to all the People Imediatly, who thought Themselves Very ill Used. Therefore took the Method beforementioned to Convince me there was No difference to be made, Which gave me no Manner of Concern. However there Behaviour Shewd I Should be a person of Very Little Consequence in a Short Time, if the Carpenter went on with his Work, but while they would Allow me to have any Command Over Them was detirmined to Exert my Authority. Therefore Insisted That Every Body Should be Carefull in picking up all the pork they Could Find, and deliver it to Mr Collett, who was Made Store Keeper, in Order that proper Care Should be Taken of it for the good of the whole. **Ladoux** Swore Damn him if he would Pick up Another Piece, while he was on the Island, Adding he Would Always have as good a peice of Pork as I. Being Talkd to in this Manner by One who a few days before Attended on Me, Provoked me to Strike him two or 3 Slaps in the Face. Which had a Very good Effect, he being quit Silent Afterwards, And he and the Rest went to Work with me on the Wreck.

Soon After this the Carpenter, and The Rest of the people was Informed by **Bothwell,** that the Treasure & Wrought Plate was Not to be Shared. Upon which Information **Mr Collett & I** was Calle'd the greatest Rogues in the World, & Every One Swore it Should be Shar'd, and Every thing Else that Came Ashore there belongd To Who it would. After Our days Work was Over and Every Body mett in the Tent to Supper. The Carpenter Asked me When the money and plate Was to be Shard which Surprizd me greatly. Howsoever finding they Were Resolved to Share it, thought it Needless to deny my Intentions, Especially Since I found that Some I thought I Could Trust, proved false; And Indeed Bothwell was the Last person I should have Suspected being One Who Came on Board ye Doddington with a Design to Settle in India. Besides he Lay Under Some Obligations to me, for being Sick Most of the Time we Were at Sea, he had Every thing my Cabing Afforded for his Nourishment.

Therefore Told them that Neither the money Or Plate Should be Shard but Delivered up to the Proper persons, when We Came to India. He then Askd me what was to be done with those Blocks I had Taken so Much Pains to Tarr, to Which I Answere'd I knew them Blocks to be of the Greatest Consequence to His Majestys Ship, And Consequently to the Honble Company whose Service I was Now in, Therefore it behoved me as an Officer to Take Care of Every thing that Might be of Consequence to the Company, Especially Such things as Was in Our power to Take with us, Which I Should do to the Utmost of My Power, and any Man that would offer to prevent them Carrening Blocks going into the Boat, I Should look upon him Ever Afterwards to be an Enemy to his Country, and an Unfitt person to be Employd in the Service. We Were Now in. In Answer to this **Chisholme,** and the Rest of the People, damnd the Kings Ships & Blocks, Asking Me What Either of them was to them, And Whether I thought they Built the Boat to Carry the Kings Stores of the Island or themselves. At the Same Time Swore the Blocks Should not go into the Boat, Or Money Either till it was Share'd; Adding that I was a Very Honest person to Insist that the Plate Should not be Shard therefore it was Very plain Only Wanted to Keep it Between Collett & My Self, and that if did deliver it, that None would gett any Credit by it but Our Selves, And as We Are all Upon a Footing Now, Nothing Should go of this Island but What Would be of Service to the Whole. The Carpenter Asking Every Now and then when the Rest would permitt him to Speak Who am I. What do you Make of me. Nothing. You Shall Find that Nothing Shall go in that Boat but What I think proper. This provokd me a Good deal, therefore desired Leave To Speak Which

was Granted tho' Not without many Interruptions from Chisholm & **King.**[67] Notwithstanding the Airs the Carpenter Gives himself in Saying Nothing Should go in the Boat Butt What the Carpenter Approves of, I Expect I am to have the Directions of Stowing her, and if I Can putt the Carrening Blocks which Are Only 6 in Number in the Boat, without discomoding any Body, hope'd None Would have any Objections, and on the Contrary would not desire it; And as to your Shareing the Money Desire you'll think better of it; Being of Such Consequence as am Sure will Touch Your lives. King and Chisholm Answered they knew the Laws of their Country as well as I, And they Would Run the Risque of hanging; which Ended the dispute.

And for about a month Afterwards was Pretty Quite, When the **Carpenter** took upon [himself] to Find Fault with me for Taking a Boy in the Boat with me One day when I went the Off Side of the Island To Try if [I] Could See any of the Treasure. This Boy happen'd to be One Who assisted the Carpenter, the Very Seldom Employ'd and at This Time Was Idl,e; therefore thought it no Crime to take him. He directed, his Discourse to Mr Collett Saying I might Employ my Time much Better in Fishing, than looking About for Treasure, which would be of no Service to any Body here, if he had his Will; Adding if I had been There when the Boat Went of Chain Should not have gone in the Boat And that he had No Business with any Body that belonge'd to Him. Here **Mr Collett** Interrupted him Saying he thought **Mr Jones** had a Right to Take any Body he pleased in the Boat with him, and if it was Otherwise that for his part, Should be Subject to None Else; And as to Looking for the Treasure knew it to be my duty, Adding that he would Vouch if I did not find any thing Else to Detain me, that would Bring in fish. **Chisholme** was Very Impertinent all this Time and Said I might Spare my Self the Trouble of Looking for Treasure, that if he Thought what was Saved Already would not be Share'd that he would Take it on his Back and Throw it Over the Rocks, Where it Never Should be Seen More. The **Carpenter** Spoke Next Saying he was hunted; but Damn him if he Would not do the Less for it. When I Came in Brought in 10 Large Fish with me butt Could Se Nothing on the Ground where I Expected to find the Ships Bottom. As Soon as I meet **Mr Collett** He Told me All the Above, Desireing me at the Same time Not to Take Any Notice of it, and Not to be so much with the Carpenter, Which Counsel I Took, And only Concerned my Self in Getting up Plank, and Other Things Which we wanted most. It Would be Needless to Mention the Abuses I and **Mr Collett** Receiv'd, dayly therefore Shall pass Over a Month Which brings me to the Time the Treasure Chest was Broke Open And 600 Pounds Taken Out by the following persons: Vizt, **Richd Topping Carpenter, Samuel Powell 5th Mate, Nathll Chisholme Quarter Master, Jno King, Robt. Beasley, Fore Mast Men, Jno Lester Montross.** The Person who first Found out this Peice of Villainy was **Sconce**, who being Curious to know the Weight of it, found it so light that Convinced him, that there Could not be much in it; and Turning the Bottom up found it had been Cut wth a Chissell, upon which discovery went To the Rest And Told them of it. At Which Peice of News, those that Broke it Open Seem'd as much Surprized at as any of the Rest, Which Was **King** and **Beasley**, who with About 8 More Mett me as I was Comeing towards the Tent, and **King** in the most Sorryfull manner Told me what had happened, Exclaiming all the way till we Came to The Chest Against the Villains that did it, and desire'd in a particular Manner that I would find Some Method to find who they Were. Accordingly, As Soon as I had Secured the Remaining 1600 dollors, **Mr Collett and I** went into the Store Tent and drew up an Oath, which I Offere'd To Take first, and then Administer it to the Others. Some Seeme'd Willing, but Waited for **the Carpenter** to Take it first, Which he Refused, as did all the Rest. I then desire'd it might be postponed till next Sunday, That Whosoever Were the Aggressors Might have an Opportunity to Return it or Carry it from Whence they Took it, Which Was agree'd upon by all, Excepting **the Carpenter Chisholme and Powell**, who Satt Mute all the While. I Intreated them all I Could to Return the Money Again; Telling them it Could Not be kept Secrete, and that Whosoever was the Unhappy people that Took it, and persisted in keeping it, Would Answer for it with Their Lives. This had no Effect for the Tuesday following, this being Sunday. They all took

[67] Three words erased.

their Oaths on the Bible to Stand True to One another, and Insist upon Shareing the money & Every thing that Came ashore, Belong to Whome it Would. This Information I got from **Ralph Smith** Which was One Who took the Oath.

Monday **the Carpenter** did Nothing but make a Quadrent Case for **Chisholme** and tho mine wanted only Repairing Could not Get it done till 3 or 4 days before we Left the Island, and then **the Smith** did it. The Carpenters Not Working Surprized Mr Collett and I Greatly, Especially When We Saw them all Assemble together, and Getting drunk. Therefore I and My party Which was **Mr Collett Webb & Yates** Midshipman, and **McDoull** Went to the Other Side of the Island to Try if we Could Judge what they Were About, and we Agreed in Our Opinions, that they were Chuseing Another Person to Command them, Which we Thought would be **Powell.** Therefore as had been told by **Chisholme & Powell** Severall Times, that They were as Capable as I was to Navigate the Boat, and did not want me to Command them Thought it Needless to Concern my Self with Them any More, or at least till I Saw the Event of their Consultations. The Next day as Observd before was Devoted to takeing theire Oaths And drinking till most of them was drunk. **The Carpenter & Powell** Was So Bad they were Lead or Rather Carryed to their Hammocks. **Chisholm** was so Bad Could not be moved so that he lay most of the Night in the Carpenters Tent, which was become Secret to me And the Others before mentioned, And was Made no Other Use of than to keep the Carpenters and Chisholms Chests in, which is quite Furring from the Use I Intended it; for when I Raised it, being for them to Work in When it Rained. Howsoever this day when it was pretty full Took the Liberty to look in, for Which presumption **the Carpenter** mett me at the door and Run his head in my Face, which I took no Notice off; but Walkd of Quitely and for the Remainder of the Week lett them Go on their Own way, without Taking Notice of any thing, tho in the Interim had Rain Which Wett all the Boats Sails Rigging, and not One of them would be at the Trouble to gett them out to dry. All this Week, they Endeavoured to Out do one Another in Behaveing Insolent to us, for I Never Mett with any of them, as was Walking Round the Island, butt Sett up a Horse laugh at me; And as my Self and the Other 4 Used to be a good deal Over at the First Tent that was Made, Which had Still one Covering Over it, they thought it to great an Indulgence, Therefore took it of. Neither I or any of us Took the least Notice of Any of their Behaviour till Sunday, When I was to propose Taking The Oath to them Again, which thought of doing as Soon as we had Dined; But was prevented by a Quarrell that happened, between **Powell & King** About a Fowling Peice Which was found by the Latter, who Swore if any Man Offered to Use it, besides himself he would Shoot them with it; But Recollecting himself that he he[69] had gone a little to far, Expected The Carpenter. Howsoever After Supper, Informed them that I had heard Nothing of the Money which was Taken out of the Chest, And desired to know if any of them had, Which was Denied. I then Asked if they would follow my Example, And Take the Oath, to Which, **Jno Glass** Answerd that I Need not Trouble my Self about it any More; Adding that those that had The money would Take Care of it. I did not think this a Sufficient Answer, therefore Asked Severall by Name, which Refused, so finding it Needless to Mention it any more, dropd that Subject, And Asked Them if they Intended to Obey my Orders any More, and if they did not Desired they would Appoint Some body Else to Take Care of the things Which Was Lying Roting, Mentioning the Sails and Rigging. Severall of them Answere'd together they Could Take Care of the things as well I Could, And **King** Called out **the Carpenter Should Command them,** Which he Refused; but at the Same Time, Seemd well pleased that he was A Man of Such Consequence Among them. Upon his Refusing, **Beazly** Answered, then **Mr Jones Shall Continue,** but was desired to Hold his Tongue by **King,** Who Said he would not Obey me Without I Consulted all of them Upon all Occasions, Which I Refused, Telling them if ony One of them was Capable, would not trouble my Self any More about any thing; but as they was not, Self preservation Induces me, tho Confess if had the least prospect of a Deliverance Without, Would not do it. Notwithstanding am determined Never to Consult Such a parsell of Lubers. **King** Answered He was as

[69] So in the MS.

good a Man as I was, and as We Were all Upon a Footing, thought it Only Reasonable they Should be Consulted, And a Great deal more of Such Discourse. Howsoever it **Ended desireing I would Continue to direct them.**

About a Month After this **Mr Collett** Happend to go into the Carpenters Tent, at a Time When **Chisholm & the Carpenter** was drinking Some Brandy and Water, of Which they Asked him to partake; which he did and drank Success to Our Undertakings. With all my Heart Answerd the Carpenter, and am glad we Are all Alive, that Came Ashore. This Startled Mr Collett a little, but not Seeming to Understand What he meant, Sayd it was a Very Wholesome Air Or Some Would have been dead, Eating Such Trash as we Were Obliged to do Sometimes. Yes Answerd he I bekive the Air is Very good, Notwithstanding that you may thank god, you Are Alive, for not long ago, there was Some who **designed to have Murtherd Mr Jones your Self, & the Other 3**; Adding there was Only one Mans Consent wanting, And it would Certainly [have] been done, Which was **Jno King** that Refused And Sayd he would Dye first before he would Suffer it to be done. And Two days ago told me of it, I desire youll Keep what have told You a Secret, and When we get from hence and Come to another Place will tell you More of it, but we Never Afterwards Found him in So good a Humour, **as When he told Mr Collett the Above** Mentioned. So that am quite Ignorant who the Villains Are Who was to have been the Executioners.

The Next thing we was Inform'd of was That the Kings & the Honble Companys **packetts was to be burnt**, least it Might be Hurtful to them at **Mozenbeys**, besides they Suspected Our papers was in it. **Lester** the Montross Asked Severall to Assist him to do it, but they Refused being Afraid it would be found out, And the Kings Pacquet being there, it would hang them.

Being at Work Upon the Wreck on day Was Surprized to See **McDoull** Coming towards me in Great Confusion, and it was Some time before he Could Speak. At length he told me, **they were Murdering Mr Collett in the Tent.** I left what was About Immediately, And as was Walking Over the Island Asked him the Meaning of it. He told me that Some had been Complaining There Baggs had been Robbd and Mr Collett Advizeing to Search all in the Tent, was Taken up by **King,** Saying that his Should Be Search'd first, Adding that he was the Greates theif Ashore; Which provoked Mr Collett to Strike him, And King Returnd it. When **McDowel** left the Tent Severall Others had got Round him Crying—Thresh him, damn him, learn him to Strike Again. Howsoever by The Time I Came it was all Over and Collett was gone from the Tent, I thought it Needless to take any Notice of it, **for they were Quite Masters,** and in all probability, Should have Come off no Better than Mr. Collett; so Returnd back to make an End of what I was About.

About a fortnight before we Left the Island a Fresh Rupture Broke Out; **Powell** being discoverd by one of the People with a Bottle of Brandy, Which he Knew must be Out of The Sea Stock. Therefore Came and Made his Complaint to me, tho not without Consulting the Rest first. I Sent for Powell and Told him what was laid to his Charge, which putt him in a great Passion, denying that he Ever Touchd it. Those who accused him durst not prove it, being desired to Hold their Tongues by **King** and Some More of them. Powell was Extreemly Offended, that I should Call him to Account for any Such thing, Saying he did not know a more Likelyer a person than myself to do Such a thing; Adding that One day when Every body was gone to gather Eggs, Excepting **Mr Webb and my Self**, we had drank out ⅔ of a Case Bottle, Which he had Found a little before Under Mr Webbs Hammock. Being Accused of a Fraud which I Never thought of provoked me So that I could [not] Help Striking him, which he Returned, and Grabbed fast Hold of me. He was Soon Undermost, and **the Carpenter** as Soon Informed of it, Who Came Running into the Tent, and Came Immediatly to Me, being Disengaged from Powell before he Came in, which

I believe Save'd me Some Strokes from him; saying that I was the person that Stole The Brandy,— And that he knew how it was a going Some Time ago. I believe he Spoke Truth Against his Will, Now or at least Unknown to him, for I Make no doubt but his Confident gave him a drink Now and then. The Next that took Me to Task was **Lester** the Montross, Who asked me by what Authority I Sent for him, and Order him and the 2 Other Montrosses to Assist me, if any Body Should Attempt to take the Remain'd^{r} of the Money; Adding that he would Lett me know he was My Officer, Being in the Kings Service and I Only in the Merchants. I did not think it Worth my While to Answer him, but he was going on in the Same Abusive Manner the Others Used to do, which provoked me to Call him Villain, and Told him if he did not Leave of his Abusive Language I would knock him down, with the first thing that Came in my way. But he Only laught at me Telling me I was the Greatest Villain, and wish^{d} I would Offer to Strike him, he would desire no better Sport. The Usage I had Receiv^{d} from the Rest before and the Abusive Language from this Scoundrell, put me past my Reason, therefore Run towards him; and he Meeting me, which I did not Observe, got the first Blow, which had not in my Power to Return, being taken hold of by **M^{r} Collett and the Rest** who parted us. By this Time **Chisholm** who had been out of the Tent Some Time, Came in Swaggering and Aske^{d} what Domineering was going on Now, that they would have no More of it; Adding he knew what to do With the Boat as Well as I when She was a floate. And if I wanted Any Thing to Turn Out with him he would make me Easey presently; Which Challange I did not Care to Except; but told him, if he durst Take on of the Guns, I would Meet him with Another, which he Refused. And Then **the Carpenter**, who Refused lickwise, but Upon Second Thought Said he Would. Accordingly went out of the Tent and I followe'd. He began to Strip himself and asked what I was for, Stick or fist; Adding he would Lett me See he was Not Afraid of his Flesh, I Said Nothing to him butt Return'^{d} into the Tent Again; and he Followed, Asking me if taking 2 Guns was the way to try a Man. No Answer^{d} **Chisholm** a Good Stick or Fist is the way. So this Fray Ended with Telling me, they did not want any more of my Commanding or Domineering Over them, and That They Were all Upon a Footing, therefore wanted no Commander. To Which I made them no answer. Neither did I Concern my Self with any Thing afterwards, till within a day the Boat was to be Launched; but There was wery little to do which Made me quite Easy, and from this Time Would Mess no More with **the Carpenter.** And indeed Should not have Eat with him at all, if I thought he would have Behaved in the Manner he has done; for when I divided the people into two Messes Thought by Taking all the Officers into Mine, there Would be no danger of the Rest of the People doing any thing Contrary to our Will. But it happen^{d} I Made Choice of the greatest Scoundrells. I Enjoy^{d} Being in a Mess by Our Selves Greatly, and so did the Rest of my Mess Mates; Notwithstanding they were Obliged to Cook for themselves, and Often 3 days before we Could get the Kettle to Make Broth, which was the Best of Our Food at That Time; it being Mostly Employ^{d} for **the Carpenters.** And if at any Time it was Not, all the Rest Insisted being Served before us. The People Receiv^{d} their Orders from **the Carpenter & Chisholm** Which was to get as Much Iron as they Could, and our Method of Getting it was to Burn it Out of the Wreck, and one day When they had fired it, took the Trouble to Carry the Carrining Blocks I had got up and Tarr^{d} and threw them in the fire. **Beezley** was Seen to throw one in by **Yates.** About 4 or 5 days before the Boat was Launch^{d} **Powell** Seem^{d} to be head Man, giving his Orders to Take the Brandy Cask and Rinch them. **M^{r} Collett** Assisted to gett them out of the Tent, they being in the Place, Where we Mess, and afterwards took The Liberty of Rinching one of them out with a little fresh Water; Which **Powell** Observing, Damn^{d} his Assurance and Asked what Business he had to do that, Swearing he Should not have it, and Call^{d} him all the Infamous Names Could be thought of; Swearing that None of us Shall go of the Island in the Boat, and Indeed Expected that would be the Case.

Howsoever 2 days Afterwards the People Came To me to know if I thought proper to have the things Share'd. I Asked Them Whether they were Tantalizing me and if they did not think being Left on the Island was Not Punishment Enough without it.

They Answer^d they Intended no Such thing, And as to What Powell Says Signifies Nothing; Adding they Hoped Every thing Might be forgott, and that I would Take upon me the Direction as before. I Readyly Complye'd with their Request, and told Them that had no Objections to Sharing Such Things as I knew No Owners to; But as to the Treasure and Plate Could nor would not Consent to Share it. Therefore hoped they would Return what was Taken Out of the Chest, and Allow things to go in their proper Channell; which if you'l do, Assure you, Whats past Shall be Buried in Oblivion. They Made me no Answer, but Went to the Carpenters Tent, and in a few Minutes Return^d Again, Saying they were Determined to Share Every thing, And desired to know, What we would have done with Our Shares. Collett told Them to Lay it a One Side; but as they divided it, they Brought Ours to us which We took Care of, thinging it Better to Save so much of it. Than lett them Have it. The Money which was Taken out of the Chest Was Concealed in the Boat, butt they happened to be Discovered doing it, by Some of those who was not Concern^d who Immediately Told the Rest. So finding they were Blown took it Out Again the day Before it was Shar^d As soon as the Money was divided the Other things Was putt up to Auction, being a Contrivance of M^r Colletts to Save the Plate, Which Otherways would have Been Run down. 2 days After this we Launched the Boat and the Next day in Getting her Out, the Grapnail Came home and She Drove Upon the Rocks; Which Accident the Carpenter Layed to my Charge, Saying that if he had Been Aboard it Should not been So. I Asked him how he would have Prevented it; but being at a Loss for an Answer only Grumbl^d at Me. While we Were at Sea they would Often find Fault with my Carrying to Much Sail, Threatening to Cutt the Haliard, and Lett the Sail Come down. This was When we Were before the Wind and Sea, And had we not Carryed Sail to give the Boat Some Way through the Water, Would Certainly have foundred. When we went into the first port it was by Consent of Every Body; but When I proposed going out, they Objected Against it Saying it would be Time Enough 10 or 12 days hence. Howsoever the Wind Coming Fair about a Week afterwards we Were Ready Sail^d. While We lay in this Port, Chisholm Always Staye'd ashore to Buy What the Natives Brought to Sell, and I being a Shore one Day When a Small Elephants Tooth was Brought to the Tent, begg^d Leave to Buy it: Which Offended M^r Chisholm Greatly, and Told me I would only Spoile The Markett. Howsoever I Bought the Tooth, and Gave the man About 4 pounds of Iron for it, tho Believe Could have got it for Less, butt Thought gaveing a good Price Would encourage them to bring More. The Next day was A Shore Again, and in the Tent unknown to Chisholm, Which gave me An Opportunity of Over hearing him, telling Some of the People how I had Spoilt the Markett, And there would be no Such thing As Buying any thing More now: at the Same time Rediculing Every Word I Said to him, before got Leave to buy it. As Soon as he had Done I Stepe^d out of the Tent and took him to Task For What he had been Saying; Which putt him in Some Confusion, but Soon Recovered, and told me if I wanted any Satisfaction to Turn Out With a Good Stick, to Which I Confess I had no great likeing for. Howsoever desired he would gett a Couple of good Sticks, and I would Take a Turn or two with him if I Came of with the Worst out. He Look^d about and soon Found One Which Throw^d to me and went in Search of Another, but Could, or as I believe, would not find One. So Returne'd Saying, he did not mean any harm, but to the Contrary, Allways Wish^d me well, and that he would Sail with me Again as Soon As any Man. So Our Intended Battle Ended, and from that Time Nothing Worth Mentioning happen^d Afterwards.

SOME MILE STONES IN TELUGU LITERATURE.
THE AGE OF BHIMAKAVI.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

THERE has been a good deal of speculation as regards the fixing of the dates of Telugu poets generally. But, unfortunately, we find here an absolute wilderness unreclaimed and without promise of natural vegetation, for barren indeed has been the arena on which the few insipid writers of the Telugu dialect have paraded. The torpor of academic dullness still domineers over the vast

extent of the Telugu country, and in taking up the subject we are sore afraid that we are treading on very slippery ground. It is still wrapped in mystery, in spite of ingenious arguments advanced in favour of particular theories by modern writers.

The poet Bhîma lived during the extreme end of the twelfth and the earlier part of the thirteenth century. He was born at a village called **Vêmulavâḍa near Drâksharâma in the Gôdâvarî District.** Many curious stories are told of him. In the village was a **Niyôgî Brâhmaṇ, Sômana** by name, on whose demise, his wife, being poor and widowed, eked out a livelihood by singing songs at the houses of the rich. The story goes that on a certain Mahâśivarâtri day, she joined a company of other females and went to Drâksharâma, and while the others were praying to the local god to bless them with good and useful offspring, she, feeling certain that she would have no more issue, vowed that, if she should have a son, she would light a lamp with a tubful of water to the deity, whereupon all the women assembled laughed in their sleeves. Sometime after, as Fate would have it, she became pregnant. The village folk, though assured by her that her pregnancy was the result of her devout prayers to the deity, gave a deaf ear to her and excommunicated her. Not long after she gave birth to a son (named Bhîma after the local deity), whom she brought up with a great deal of love and care, and educated him as became him. As the boy grew older and joined with others of his class at play, they began to boycot him by calling him 'a widow's son.' Bhîma, being unable to endure the insult, was sorely grieved at heart, and went to his mother and demanded an explanation from her. On being told the real facts, he immediately quitted the village. reached Drâksharâma, entered the temple and clasped the *liṅga* with both his hands. The god had mercy on him and said:—"Whatever deeds you do, whatever expressions you utter will prove true." Sometime after, he reached his native village, but at a house where the Brâhmaṇs were being feasted, the gates were closed against him as being a widow's son, despite his earnest entreaties. He cursed them that the *dâl* should become frogs and the rice *chunnam*. Immediately frogs began to jump from one leaf to another. The Brâhmaṇs were sore dismayed, and learning that it was due to Bhîmana's *mâhâtmya*, opened the door, promised to admit him if the frogs became rice and *dâl* as usual. It was so, and thinking that he was the beloved of the god the Brâhmaṇs admitted him into the sacerdotal order. After that he lived by telling impromptu stories. He is best known as **a poet of abuse** and was called by people generally **Uddaṇḍakavi** and **Kavirâkshasa.** He used to visit the courts of kings, and proclaimed himself as the son of the god Bhîmêśvara.

Three years afterwards **Dânanṛipâla, the father of Vimalâditya,** was ejected and his kingdom was occupied by the **Kaliṅgâs.** It is said that the poet Bhîma abused the then reigning king, **Kaliṅga Gaṅgu,** because he was refused an audience by the king, who was wholly immersed in the affairs of state and wanted the poet to see him after all the bustle and whirl was over. The poet grew very much enraged, and said that thirty-two days hence his kingdom would be occupied by his enemies. The words proved true, and the king was driven out of his kingdom. He wandered unknown from village to village and in the darkness of the night fell into a pit before Bhîmana's house and wept bitterly at his fallen position. The poet happened to come out of his house and enquired who he was and was told that it was the king, reduced to this state by the poet Bhîmana. The poet took pity on him and said that he would yet defeat his enemy in battle and be **crowned king at Sajjanagara on the sixth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mîna.**

The king joined a band of Bhâgavatas and went to Sajjanagara, and when the king of the place asked the band if they would undertake to play the part of his enemy, Kaliṅga Gaṅgu, the unknown wanderer, forced them to accept the offer, played the part of Kaliṅga Gaṅgu himself and for the purposes of the play received the royal sword and horse from the king. He then mounted the horse and, sword in hand, approached the reigning king, cut off his head and ascended the throne. This **Sajjanagara** goes at present by the name of **Sajjapura,** a village **near Peddapur in the Gôdâvarî District,** and was the seat of the empire before the Peddapur fort was built. If what is stated above be the fact and if he was a contemporary of the Châlukya kings, we are obliged to infer that **the poet**

must have lived twenty or thirty years before the reign of Râjanarêndra, as Vimalâditya reigned for seven years and his elder brother Saktivarman twelve years after they had once more taken possession of the throne. This has the support of **Srînâtha** in his *Kâśikhâṇḍa*, where we are led to think that the poet must have lived at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

After the demise of Râjanarêndra, the Chôḷas occupied the whole of Vêgidêśa, and we learn that our poet lived at the time of the **Châlukya king Chokkarâja,** who was then reigning over a portion of the Telugu country. Once, when the king was in his bower, he stretched out his leg against a pillar and asked the poet, who was standing before him, to convert it into a lily tree; whereupon the poet recited a verse and did so. The people assembled were wonderstruck. As the king was unable to take his leg off the tree, he requested the poet once more to reconvert the tree into a pillar, which was accordingly done. We learn from the *Appakavîya* that our poet lived at the time of **Sâhiṇimâra** (to whom Bhâskara's *Râmâyaṇa* was dedicated), who was **a contemporary of king Chokka.**

That Bhîma was living at the end of the twelfth century may be inferred from the following story. When the poet was on one of his tours, his horse grazed in the fields of one **Pôtarâja of Guḍimeṭla,** and it is said that he abused the Râja because the horse was impounded. This abusive stanza, though cited by Appakavi as by one Rellûri Tirumalayya, is usually taken to be Bhîmana's, and the date when Pôtarâja flourished goes to prove that it was not Tirumalayya's. Guḍimeṭla is a small village, about ten miles from **Nandigâma,** in the District of Kistna, and was the seat of a certain section of the Chôḷa Râjas. We learn also that this Pôtarâja, the **son of Râjêndrachôḷa,** gave innumerable *inâm* lands to very many Brâhmaṇs and temples, and from **the inscription** on the temple pillar at **Kanagiri** we learn that he made over certain lands to Mallêśvara-Svâmi of Bezvâḍa in **Saka 1122,** *i. e.*, **1199 A. D.** We learn also from the *Appakavîya* that Kavirâkshasa, *i. e.*. Bhîmana, lived after **Nannaya Bhaṭṭa** and prior to **Tikkana.**

Among the poet's works, his treatise on Prosody, dedicated to one Rechanna, a Vaiśya, is the only one available. It is said that he prepared certain astrological charts, but there seems to be no strong foundation for attributing the authorship to him. It is said also that, when his mother was distributing *ghî* to certain Brâhmaṇs, he told her that her "belly was smirched with the dirt of the pot." This means allegorically (in Telugu) that her son had breathed his last, and so he himself immediately died, because the words he had used had become a curse.

SOME UNPUBLISHED MA'ABAR COINS.[1]

CONTRIBUTED BY T. M. RANGA CHARI, B.A., AND T. DESIKA CHARI, B.A. B.L.

		OBVERSE :	REVERSE :
1.	Z. Billon.	The legend "Balban" appears in the area while the legend in the margin is not decipherable.	"Sultân al a'zam Ghiâṣu'd-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn."
2.	R. Copper.	"As-Sultân al-a'zam Jalâlu'd-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn."	"Fîrôz Shâh."
3.	R. Silver	"As-Sultân bin Muḥammad Shâh Abu'l-Muẓaffar."	"As-Sultân al-a'zam 'Alâud-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn"

[1] Z stands for the Zumbro Collection of coins.
R for the Ranga Chari-Desika Chari Collection.
M for the Madras Museum Collection.
T for the Tracy Collection.

4.	R. Billon.	Legend in the area: "Muḥammad Shâh." There is a legend in the margin which is not legible.	"As-Sultân al-a'zam 'Alâu-d-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn."
5.	R. Silver.	"As-Sultân al-a'zam Qutbu'd-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn."	"Mubârak Shâh Abu'l-Muẕaffar," "716" (H).
6.	R. Copper.	"As-Sultan al-a'zam Qutbu'd-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn."	"Mubârak Shâh Sultân ibn Sultân," "717" (H)
7.	R. Silver.	Legend in the area: "Qutbu'd-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn." The legend in the margin is not decipherable.	"As-Sultân ibn Sultân," "718" (H).
8.	R. Silver.	Abu'l-Muẕaffar Tughlaq Shâh.	Ghiyâṣu'd-duniyâ wa u'-d-dîn.
9.	R. Copper.	Tughlaq Shâh.	Sultân al-a'zam Ghiyâṣu'd-dîn.
10.	R. Copper.	Tughlaq Shâh.	Ghiyâṣu'd-duniya wa u'd-dîn.
11.	R. Copper.	"Abu'l Muẕaffar Tughlaq Shâh," "722" (H).	"As-Sultân al-a'zam Ghiyâṣu'd-duniya wa u'd-din."
12.	R. Copper.	"Indu'r-Râfî Muḥammad Tughlaq," "733" (H).	Al-Malik al-a'zimat l-illâ-hi.
13.	R. Billon.	Legend in the area: "Aḥsan Shâh." In the margin: "734" (H).	"Sultânu's-Salâtîn."
14.	M. Silver.	"Shah Aḥsân," "738" (H).	"Al-Ḥussainî."
15.	T. Silver.	"Shah Aḥsân," "739" (H).	"Al-Ḥussainî."
16.	M. Copper.	"Aḥsân Shâh l-illa-hi."	Not decipherable.
17.	Z. Silver.	Legend in the area: "Muḥammad Damghân Shâh." In the margin: "741" (H).	"As-Sultân al-a'zam Ghiyâṣu'd-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn."
18.	R. Copper.	Legend in the area: "Muḥammad Damghân Shâh." Date in the margin: "742" (H).	
19.	R. Silver.	Legend in the area: "Muḥammad Damghân Shâh." Date in the margin: "742" (H).	As-Sultân al-a'zam Ghiyaṣu d-duniyâ wa u'd-dîn.
20.	R. Copper.	"Sultân Sikandar Shâh."	"Bar gazîd Raḥmân," "757" (H).
21.	T. Copper.	"Muḥammad Muṣṭafa."	"An-Nabî bâ--safâ," "764" (H).
22.	Z. Copper.	Legend in the area: "Mubârak Shâh." The legend in the margin is not decipherable.	
23.	R. Copper.	"Bar gazîdu'-l-lâh."	"Khadîm Rasûlu'-l-lâh," "770."
24.	R. Copper.	"'Alâu'd-duniya wa u'd-dîn."	"As-Sultan al-a'zam."
25.	R. Copper.	Legend in the area: "Dâûed Shâh." The legend in the margin is not legible.	"Al-Malik min Amaru'l-lâh."

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 212.)

1793. — No. XXX.

The following **Letters** were received on the 28th Instant **from Captain Blair.**

Captain Blair Dated 27th May.

To The Most Noble Charles Marquis Cornwallis K. G. Governor General &ca. in Council.

My Lord,—I have the honor to lay before your Lordship **a General Chart of the Andamans,** a letter of Report on the Subject, and a Paper Containing Astronomical Observations

Should your Lordship have leisure to examine the chart and Report, you will perceive that several Dangers have been lately discovered; and from the very abrupt inequalities of the depth in several places it is probable that there may be other Dangers yet undiscovered I therefore beg leave to observe that a more minute investigation of the Soundings appears necessary in those parts where the bottom is Coral.

The best time to execute this service will be from December to April inclusive, when the weather is favorable, and when it is probable the Viper might be Spared from the Pilot Service for this investigation.

I beg leave also to observe that **Lieutt. Wales** is well qualified to execute this Service.

I am My Lord Marquis Your Lordships Most Obedt. Humble Servt.

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Calcutta
May 27th 1793.

Captain Blair Dated 27th May.

To The Most Noble Charles Marquis Cornwallis K. G. Governor General &ca. in Council.

My Lord,—To a former report which I had the honor to lay before your Lordship June 19th 1789, with a General Chart and Plans of three Harbours, it is now necessary to add **a Sequel**: having Compleated the Circuit of the Andamans since that Period, discovered an excellent Harbour, a number of Inlets, and several dangerous Coral Banks.

Having by your Lordships orders engaged some Artificers Sepoys and Laborers and also provided the necessary Stores, **I left Calcutta the beginning of September 1789 to form a small Settlement at the Port now termed in the Chart Old Harbour,** with Instructions to prosecute the Survey, when the Vessels could be spared from the Service of the Settlement, Soon after my arrival I made **a Particular Survey of Old Harbour** a plan of which I had the honor to transmit to your Lordship from thence.

East Coast Andamans. — On March the 20th 1790 having left Lieutenant Wales in Charge, at the Settlement, I sailed with the Ranger and Viper Accompanyed, by Captain Kyd in the Experiment, to prosecute the Survey, and with an intention to Compleat the Circuit of the Andamans Our rout (sic) being from Old Harbour up the East Coast of the Island I shall observe the same progression in this Report.

From the North point which forms the entrance of Old Harbour, the land rises rather Abruptly to a height which may be seen above thirty miles distant: a Continuation of this, in a broken Ridge in the direction of North, and to an extent of nine miles very pointedly marks to the Navigator the situation of old Harbour, at the North extremity of the Ridge the decent is more Gentle,

terminating where an extensive Inlet is formed. named in the Chart **Shoal Bay** it retreats to Southward behind the high land, and to northward round an island where a second mouth is formed; which abounds with Oysters **[Oyster Bay]**. On a reference to the Chart it will be perceived that this extensive double Inlet, is too shallow for the reception of Ships.

Two miles northward of Oyster Bay in Latd. 11° 58 is **Port Meadows**, a small but Convenient Harbour. The passage in, is very narrow, south of an island which is situated in the entrance. The interior part of this harbour, is inviround by Coral Reefs. The surrounding land, in general is low, with extensive tracks of Mangrove Jungle, intersected by Creeks, and forming several islands.

Two miles northward of Port Meadows is situated the eastern entrance of **Middle Strait**, the Bar of 1½ fms. the intricacy and narrowness within together with the difficulty and danger of access from westward, renders it useless for ships of burthen, but it will afford an easy communication between the east and west Coasts of the great island. The Tides in this Strait are not so strong as might be expected. It is here proper to Observe that the Coast from Shoal Bay to middle Strait ought not to be Approached without caution closer than two miles as there are some dangers, which are inserted in the Chart, extending nearly that distance from the land.

Northward from Middle strait there are great inequalities in the Surface of the land, some parts low, and others rising very abruptly and nearly insulated by the sea: the direction is N E b N but deeply indented with Bays and Inlets. The soundings are regular and no dangers without the depth of ten fathoms, The distance to **Strait Island** is thirteen miles the direction N E. Here the Archipelago Contracts the breadth of **Diligent Strait** to three leagues: and from **Strait Island to Round Hill [Wilson Island]** (which is the narrowest part) the breadth is only one league. The number and variety of the Islands Agreeably diversified with rugged Cliffs and luxuriant forests presents a prospect beautiful and picturesque. On a near Approach **the Caves Appear, which are inhabited by innumerable flocks of the Small Swallow; which makes the edible Birds-nest** so much valued by the chinese as a delicacy and restorative. The principle *(sic)* Cave is situated the south point of Strait Island, which is rocky, but not exceeding forty feet in height. The entrance, which is washed by the tide, is an irregular aperture of about six feet wide, and the same height; on Advancing thirty or forty feet, the height diminishes to four feet and the breadth increases to twenty. Here it is rather dark and very warm, and the top and sides of the Cave are Covered with Nests; an astonishing number of Birds, twittering, and on the wing, whisking past the ears and eyes, this Contrasted with the melancholy noise of the waves resounding through the gloomy Cavern formed a very uncommon and interesting Scene. The Birds are probably induced to choose this situation from the Caves being inaccessible either to Snakes or Quadrupeds and probably defensible Against birds of Prey. The Nests in general are in form of the quarter of the sphere of 2½ inches diameter, of this shape one of the sections being firmly fixed to the rock the other section leaves the Nest Open above. The Substance is glutinous; those most in estimation are white and demi-transparent. It has been doubtful, and various Conjectures have been formed of what the Nests are Composed. In smaller and more accessible Caves I have observed a Mucilage, exuding from the rock, moistened by exhalations from the sea, which washes the lower part of those Caves. This Mucilage on being lavigated and dryed, had both the texture color and taste of the Nest; but what removed all my doubts of this being the substance was seeing the Birds in immense numbers, resorting to a Cave very productive of the Mucilage in the month of January which is the season the Birds Build their Nests. It may now be presumed that the Nests are neither of animal or vegitable, but a mineral Substance. But to return to my more immediate duty.

It has been already observed that the breadth of **Diligent Strait** is contracted to the breadth of one league, between Strait Island and Round Hill; but besides suffering this Contraction, the Soundings beyond this become very irregular and there are many dangerous patches of Coral on either side: one in particular half a league east of Strait island is very dangerous; it will Appear in the Chart The Spit extending about the same distance north from Round Hill, the Reefs connected with **Middle and North Buttons**, and an extensive and dangerous

Coral Bank and reef to northwest of those Islands. These ought to deter Strangers from entering Dilligent Strait, except in Cases of necessity, should such a measure become necessary Strict attention to the following instructions will lead through the Straits with safety. If entering from Northward, first steer for the North Button, which is a small island rendred remarkable from several white Cliffs; pass to right or Northwest of it not exceeding one mile distant; when a breast steer N. E. and pass middle Button, leaving it also to Northeast and Observing the same distance; when the last is brought to bear E. N. E. it will be necessary to alter the Course to south and to steer in that direction until the north Button is just perceived to eastward of Middle Button; with this mark steer about S W b S Observing to keep the Islands in the same position, and this will lead through the narrow part of the Strait clear of the Dangers of either side. A reference to the Chart will make the instructions more easily understood.

The Archipelago Appears to Consist of eleven islands, of various sizes, I speak with doubt as the largest of fourth island may probably be intersected by narrow channels, which would increase the number. **The south Island [now Neill Island]** which is very small, bears from Old Harbour nearly E. N. E. distant seven leagues It is surrounded by a Coral Bank to South and East, the least Water on it is 7 fms except a small Reef from the south extremity which has 3 fms about half a mile distant from the island. The passage between this and the second island, is clear the ground Coral with some Spots not exceeding the depth of 5 fms.

On the South extremity of **the Second Island [now Havelock Island]** there are a few Coconut trees, it is moderately high the Major part rocky, but Covered with trees except some Cliffs which rise abruptly from the Sea, at the northeast and near the northwest extremities. From the south point there is a Reef on which the sea breaks, half a mile from the shore. A Bay is formed between the two northern points but it is too shallow for Ships, The passage between the second and third is nearly two miles broad and Clear of danger with very deep Water near the third Island.

The third Island [now Peel Island] is of a triangular form, with a Considerable projection on the north side. The south point which is acute, is formed of high white Cliffs one in particular which is almost insulated, has in many situations the Appearance of a sail. On the south east side there are two small Bays, and at the bottom of the northern one, there are **several Coconut Trees,** where some natives usually reside. The water is very deep on this part of the Coast, about 40 fms. two miles from the land. From the Northwest angle to the North point of the projection the soundings are very regular Close to this point there is a narrow channel with 7 fms. over a Reef, which extends from the point of the island almost three miles in a north east direction: between this point of the reef, and another extending from an angle of the fourth island, there is another narrow channel By the long reef and the two islands a small but Commodious harbour is formed. The passage between the third and **fourth islands** [Fourth Island, now known as two — **John Lawrence and Wilson Islands]** is shut up to eastward by Coral Reefs. The northeast angle of the third island must not be approached closer than three miles, to avoid a Coral reef, which Appeared to be Connected with the island.

The figure of the fourth island as well as its surface, is very irregular, and the soundings round it correspond. On the east side Ships must not Approach Closer, than six miles, as **Minerva Bank** is situated that distance to eastward of the island, and on some places of the Bank there is not more than 2½ fms. at low Water. The east extreme of east island N. N. W. leads to eastward of the Bank. The east side of the island is deeply indented, and some parts behind rugged island may probably be insulated. **Round Hill** which is remarkable from its regular shape, and being the highest land of the Archipelago forms the Northeast angle of this island it is seen ten leagues distant in Clear weather — Estward of this angle there are several Banks which run Off a Considerable distance, all within the dotted line in the Chart Should be avoided.

The passage **[Kwangtung Strait]** between the fourth and **fifth islands [now Henry Lawrence Island]** has deep water in the western entrance about the middle there is a Reef.

from the fourth island, and across the eastern entrance there is a Bar of sand and Coral, with only 3 f^{ms}. on it.

The fifth island is low and almost bisected by the apposite Bays, on the north and south sides of the island the Water is deep and the soundings are pretty regular.

The Bays and Inlets **[now Elphinstone Harbour]** are formed by the three islands, north of Strait island (of which **long island** is the northern) are too Confined and intricate to be of material use, though they might afford Shelter, in the Case of being driven in, by distress.

Abreast of the south end, opposite the Middle and towards the North extreme of long island there are three dangerous patches of Coral, about two miles distant from the island. To avoid those and the large Coral Shoal northwest from the north Button ; it will be safe, not to Approach that part of the Coast closer than bringing the North Button to bear North.

The small Inlet **[now Rangat Bay]** in Lat^{d}. 12° 29 is very remarkable having a Bold Bluff point, of either side The entrance is narrow and there is not Sufficient depth within for ships. There is an extensive reef from the north point and there is rocky ground about half a league beyond it.

From this part of the Coast, to the Lat^{d}. 12° 45 the land rises rather abruptly to a Considerable height. The direction of the coast is almost due north for five leagues, and then trends to N N E. to **Stewarts sound** with three small projecting points. Between the second and third of those, there is a Coral Bank, which extends a league to sea, with 10 fms on the outer edge and Shoaling very quick from that depth to 4 and 2 fms.

Stewart Sound is very extensive Consisting of three large branches. The entrance in Lat^{d}. 12·53 is to south of **sound Island**, and Appeared perfectly clear quite across to **passage Island**; which is small and surrounded by a white sand beach. It will Appear by the Chart, that the western, or inner Branch, is well Sheltered and the soundings are regular. The outer or southern Branch is more exposed ; and two patches of Coral being found, makes it probable that there may be yet others undiscovered. The northern Branch is more Confined and it has not sufficient depth for large Ships. The passage to Northward of sound Island is too intricate for large ships, and it requires further examination.

From Stewart Sound, the Coast runs in almost a direct line N by E. The soundings are very regular extending from the land a league and a half to the depth of 100 fms. There is a break in the land **[Tara-lait]** one league and a half north of Stewart Sound which has the appearance of an Inlet. From the north entrance of the sound, the land rises abruptly from the sea and forms a large Ridge with a regular and gentle ascent to **the south peak of the saddle,** which may be seen twenty leagues distant in clear weather **The north peak of the saddle** is due north from the south peak distant one mile and three quarters with a Considerable hollow between them. From the north peak the decent is Steep and irregular, and after forming a variety of Valleys terminates in the southern part of **Port Cornwallis.** The decent from the saddle to the sea is so Steep in some places, as to be without vegetation There is one rivulet of fresh water which has its source from the south peak and there are Appearances of several more which have not been examined.

On this part of the coast the soundings extend from it about four miles and are perfectly regular **Craggy Island** is bold having 12 fms. very close without it, the north part is Connected with the great island by a reef.

The entrance of **Port Cornwallis** is in Lat^{d}. 13° 17. Being the first Oppening to Northward, and so near **the Saddle,** marks its situation with peculiar precision. The access is easy being two thousand five hundred yards broad. It is bounded on the North by a Reef extending from **Ross island,** and on the Opposite side by south Reef which is separated by a narrow Channel, from **Dundass point.** The Spit extending from South Reef, to North east is extremely

narrow and on one small Spot there is only 3½ fms. at low Water Here it may be necessary to lay a Buoy at some future period when frequented by large Ships. **Atalanta Bay** is immediately round Dundass point, and is a good situation to Anchor during the S W monsoon, **St. George Island** is situated nearly in mid channel two nautic Miles from the entrance. It is of very small extent, but surrounded by a Coral reef, which leaves at low Water a Space of an irregular form equal to an area of 300 yards square. From this Island, Ships might be much annoyed in their progress up the Harbour. At the extremety of the Spit which extends one Mile west from this island there is a Spot of Coral almost dry at low Water on which it will be necessary to have a Buoy or Beacon.

Above St. George Island the harbour oppens to the breadth of two Nautic miles, and the depth of one and a half of excellent anchorage ; bounded on the east by **Hood Point**, and the east side of **Minerva Bay**, by the east side of **Chatham Island** and shore point on the West; and to the North by Minerva Bay, perseverance point and the Continuation of the Harbour. The Ground is soft tenacious clay the depth regular decreasing from 20 fms. in the entrance to 10 and 9 fms. abreast of **Perseverance point** Here the harbour is Contracted to the breadth of 1600 yards ; by the Shoulder of Chatham island to west; and a Continuation of the land in a direction nearly North from Perseverance point to the eastward. The Harbour extends a mile north from perseverance point; and beyond this there is a narrow and intricate channel which leads to a very secure and Convenient [North] **Bason**, adjoining the North west point of **Pit island.**

The Shoulder and north part of Chatham Island is encompassed by a Bank with 3 fms. on the outter edge, about 300 yards from the island. The Continuation of this Bank with a gentle curve and westerly direction joins the west point and embraces **Ariel Island** from the north part of which, it takes a Circular direction, inclosing another Commodeous [South] **Bason**, north of Ariel island, and then by an easterly course terminates on the Northwest point of **Wharf island** Within the Margin already described there is a very extensive Mud bank, portions of which Appear at low water. It occupies a Space of about four square miles. This Flat termed in the Plan **Shoal Bay** is situated to westward of Pit, Chatham and Ariel Island it is of an irregular form with an extensive branch to the northwest and several inlets to southward.

The relative situations will be better Comprehended by an examination of the Plan, by which it will appear that the two Basons are well situated to Accommodate ships under repair and capable of being strongly defended It will also be perceived that the Range of the Harbour having a Northwest direction, that the prevailing winds (northeast and Southwest) will be fair for either entering or quiting this Port.

Twelve hundred yards above Perseverance point there is a Spring of fresh Water which Afforded in the month of Febry. at the rate of 150 tons pr day, and it appeared to have suffered no sensible deminution as late as the 6th of April 1793, which is the latter part of the dry season This Spring is situated in a very Convenient part of the harbour and issues out of the ground about twenty feet above high water mark, adjacent there are two Rills, and near Hood point another very productive Spring.

The land in the vicinity of the harbour abounds with **timber** trees of excellent quality, and fit for all the various parts of ships.

The soil and Climate promises all that can be expected from the most happy tropical situation.[24]

From Port Cornwallis to the North extremity of the great island, and round the group of islands which encircle it, several Dangers have been lately discovered which will demand attention in the Navigator to avoid.

The Table Islands bear from Ross Island N 13° E. distant seven miles, they are inverened to eastward by an extensive coral reef ; and there is besides this, a ledge of rocks some of which just Appear they bear from the east extremity of the islands S. S. E. distant one mile & a half, and

24 [It has, however, always proved to be extremely unhealthy. — ED.]

there is 24 fms a very small distance without the rocks. From east extreme Table islands, **Pecock [Pocock] island** bears N. 18° W distant 8 miles. The soundings are irregular with several Spots of sand and Coral Particularly within the Opposite bearings of the islands; some Spots so little as 4 fms at the distance of a league from the land Without the Opposite bearings of the islands, the soundings are more regular, deepening to 30 and 35 fms. about two leagues from the land. The navigator must not be deceived by this false Appearance, for immediately without the depth of 35, the Water suddenly shoals to 20 which depth will be found within 100 yards of **Union ledge**; on which there is only 1 fm. at low Water. The greatest extent of this very dangerous ledge is in the direction of the meridian about half a mile the breadth about 300 yards. The soundings are a little irregular even to eastward of this Ledge; there being 28 fms. immediately without it, and beyond that depth, so little as 12, and 10 fms. whence it deepens to 30, 50, and 76 and at the distance of four miles east of the Ledge, there is no ground with 110 fms. From Union Ledge Pecock island bears W 25° N distant seven miles the eastern table island S 30° W the same distance On referring to the Chart it will Appear that many lines of soundings have been run between Union and **Jackson Ledges**, and that the depth is very unequal, it therefore Should be avoided, though no Dangers have been yet discovered in that Space.

Jackson ledge is situated one league east of the North extreme of **East island.** The extent in a South east direction is nearly half a mile and the breadth a quarter mile, and the least Water on it is 1 fm., Southwest from this at the distance of one mile is situated **Ranger Ledge,** a Small Circular Spot of 100 yards diameter, with only four feet on the Shoalest part It bears from the north extreme of East Island E b N and distant from it two miles. To northward of those Ledges I was very Particular in sounding and found very Considerable inequalities in the depth; on some Spots not more than 5 fms. but by a very dilligent look-out from the mast head, I have no reason to think that there is any less than that depth, to northward of Ranger Ledge. Those alarming inequalities of depth do not extend above two miles to northward of Ranger Ledge, and there is a Continuation of similar soundings to westward, extending the same distance round East and **Landfall islands.** This will be found more clearly expressed in the Chart by a dotted line encompassing the irregularity of Soundings as well as the Dangers, with a written explanation.

It will be Observed by the Chart, that there is a good and deep passage between East island and Ranger Ledge, For this passage no further direction will be necessary, but observing to round East island very close to avoid the Ledges to eastward. The distance of Pecock island would render the bearings too indeterminate for a Mark to avoid the Ledges During the S W monsoon I think it would be improper to Attempt this Passage; for a Ship rounding East island as Close as it can be done with Safety, would hardly weather Jackson and Union Ledges.

Cleugh passage is formed by the North extremity of the great Island and **Northwest Island** to the south, and with Landfall Island to the north There is a extensive Reef nearly in the middle, part of which appears above water. On either side of this reef there is deep water, and it will be the Safest mode to pass it pretty close, as a mark to avoid more hidden dangers, which will Appear in the Chart; The Ground in general is Coral, with very alarming over falls, and the tides are irregular Such passages cannot be recommended, though a knowledge of them may prove useful in Particular cases.

Northwest island is low surrounded with a Coral reef some parts probably extending half a mile beyond high water mark: it is otherways bold The soundings westward from this island, to the edge of the Bank are regular the depth increasing from 12 to 16 fms. the first two leagues; in the remaining it deepens to 40 which is close to the edge of the Bank.

Cape Thornhill is a round hill of a regular form and has the Appearance of being insulated by a narrow channel.

West from the cape and distant two miles is **Cliff Island** which is Steep and Rocky and appears bold to westward. Two miles to southward there is a low island of small extent surrounded by a reef between this and Cliff island there appears to be very shallow Water.

South west from Cape Thornhill at the distance of two leagues there is another promontory but it is flat and low, and it also has the Appearance of being insulated : particularly so when viewed from Southwest, for on the south side there is an extensive Inlet **[now Temple Sound]**. This Inlet has an island **[now Paget Island]** near the entrance and several extensive coral reefs, which appear to bar the entrance.

On this part of the Coast the ground in general is coral with very great over falls. S. S. W from the last Inlet and distant two leagues there is a dry rock **[now Boojum Rock]** which is situated about one league from the Coast Two leagues further and nearly in the same direction, there is a small flat island about the same distance from the great island. The line of the Coast from the above Inlet in Latᵈ. 13.24 [?] is nearly in the direction of south, with two projections in Ldaᵈ 13. 20 and 13. 16 and there is an Appearance of an Inlet E b N from **North reef island [? Casuarina Bay]**.

The passage **[Interview Passage]** to eastward of north reef Island to **Port Andaman** has deep water near the island ; but at the distance of two miles to Southeast there is rocky ground, with alarming over falls in the Soundings, which will appear in the Chart.

From North reef island which is in Latᵈ 13.06 the bank of Soundings extending near Six leagues and near the edge, there is an extensive **[West] Coral Bank** reaching from Latᵈ 13·04 to 13° 25·30 Lieutᵗ. Wales who examined it in the Ranger could find nothing less than 7 fms. but from the irregularity of the sounding and quality of the ground, there probably may be less water, I have an Extract from **Captain Nimmo** in which he mentions to have had so little as 4½ near the North end of this Bank. It Certainly Should be avoided by large Ships.

Having **in a former report** began my narative with an Account of Port Andaman and Continued it progressively along the west Coast and round to Old harbour ; this finishes the circuit of the Andamans.

I have in a former report noticed the very rude and uncivilized State of **the Natives**, which I find now to be general I gave instances of their **hostile inveteracy to Strangers** these prejudices **may have Originated from having been in a State of Slavery** ; but there are certain and **Recent causes** for the Continuance of this infortunate propensity ; several of the Natives have been **carried off** to gratify an unwarrantable curriosity and others entrapped and **sold for slaves,** unless those alleviating Circumstances are Considered a most unfavorable and unjust opinion would be formed of the Natives Our entercourse with those, in the neighbourhood of Old harbour afforded frequent opportunities of Observing that they are susceptible of the most tender impressions and that their dispositions are happy.

It now remains to make some Observations on the **Passage between the Little Coco and Land fall island.**

The little Coco bears from the Center of East island N 22.30 E. distant nineteen miles, and from the North point of Landfall island N 32.30 E. distant twenty miles. It is Connected with the Andamans by a Bank of Soundings the edges of which are nearly paralel to the line of Bearings between it and the north extremety of Land fall island, and are also nearly equi distant from it the major part of the Shoal water is however on the east side of the line.

Union Jackson and Ranger Ledges afford a Striking example of the dangers always to be dreaded where the Bottom is Coral.

I have already Observed that for the distance of two miles to Northward of Jackson and Ranger Ledges that the depth was unequal I made a very particular examination further to northward by sounding and a good Eye at the mast head. To my great Satisfaction I found no abrupt inequalities in the depth with a bottom of sand quite across the Bank ; and there was no appearance of Shoal water from the mast head. Those lines of Soundings only that I can have a Certain dependence on, are inserted in the Chart It will be perceived that N b E from

the little Coco and distant three leagues there is so little as 12 fms. but by recrossing several times, I could find nothing less than that depth.

Directions for Ships bound to Port Cornwallis during the S W Monsoon. — I shall close this Report with the following Observations, which may prove useful to Ships bound for Port Cornwallis, during the South west monsoon This Stormy season generally Commences in May, with Cloudy squally weather attended with heavy rain. The first and latter parts are the most violent. July and August have frequent intervals of two or three days good weather.

Ships from the Coast of Coromandel Should gain the paralel of 13° 39 which is the Latd. of the North extremity of Land fall island and on a near approach Should keep in 13° 43 but not to northward. In this last paralel (as will be observed by a Reference to the Chart) Ships may Cross the Bank with Safety. If there Should be a mistake in the latitude and it prove to be the southward even as much as six or seven miles, it will be attended with no danger and little inconvenience, provided due attention be paid If the land should be seen before soundings are obtained (which will always be the case in the day with clear weather) Nothing more will be necessary, than to bear up, to that Course, which may be a point and a half to Northward of the most Northerly land seen, and round land-fall island at the distance directed. When Approaching this land in the night It will be necessary to have the Ship under such sail as to admit of sounding with 25 or 30 fms. of line, and to be prepared instantly to bear up on having ground Should the night be good and the weather so clear as to see three or four miles After Sounding 30 or 25 fms. Ships in such cases might (with caution) cross the Bank But Should the weather prove dark and Squally it would be necessary on having ground immediately to bear up and haul by the wind to Northwest after deepening the water to 50 fms. or loosing soundings, the Ship might be put on the other tack, and by short boards keeped nearly stationary till day light.

In such cases as the preceding it would be of great Utility were there a light house on the north extremity of landfall isld. The northern point is obtuse with a Small eminence that Appears to me an Admirable situation.

Utility of a Light house on the North extremity of Landfall I. — A Light house errected on this Spot would be an excellent Mark to make the land and to avoid those dangerous Coral ledges to eastward.[25]

Calcutta
May 27th 1793.

I am &ca.
(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Ordered that the General Chart furnished by Captain Blair of the Andamans be transmitted to the Honble Court of Directors by the next dispatch, and that, in the mean time, an Accurate Copy be made of it in the Surveyor Generals Office to be preserved in this Country.

1793. — No. XXXI.

The following **Letter** has been written **to the Governor in Council at Bombay.**

To the Governor in Council at Bombay.

Honble Sir, — **Captain Archibald Blair** being soon to leave Bengal in Order to resume his Station in the Marine at your Presidency we Should do him Injustice if we did not assure you that his attention and Abilities in the management of our first Establishment at the Andamans have Claimed our warmest Approbation. He had the direction of that Settlement for some years, and acquitted himself invariably as a discreet and zealous Officer, highly qualified for the duty entrusted to him. Considering him, as we do, to be a most useful Servant of the Company, we cannot recommend him too Strongly to your Notice; and after doing so, we think it hardly necessary to say

[25] [Here follow 6 pages of astronomical observations.]

we are persuaded that the Circumstance of his having been so long employed upon Duty under this Government will not lessen his Pretensions to that encouragement and Situation, under yours, to which his Rank and Services entitle him, without prejudice to Superior Claims.

Such is our Opinion founded upon experience of the Merits of Captain Blair that we Cannot help recommending that, if he Should wish, after taking that Tour of duty which is incedent, we understand, to his present Standing, to return to the Andamans for the purpose of directing our Marine Establishment there, he may have leave of absence from Bombay for that purpose.

It is proper to Acquaint you that we have agreed that he should continue to receive the allowances of a Surveyor until his arrival at Bombay and we request that they may be Accordingly paid to him at the rate of Son. Rs. 858 per Mensem from the end of last month to which Time they have been issued to him in Bengal. This Presidency will, of Course be debited by you for the Amount.

Fort William
29th May 1793.

We have the honor to be &ca.

1793. — No. XXXII.

The following Letter And its enclosure were received from the Town Major, on the 29th Instant.

To Edward Hay Esqr., Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to inform you that the Bildars and Coolies entertaining by me to serve at the Andamans as mentioned in the Accompanying list will embark to day in the Union to proceed to that Island.

You will Observe by the Certificate affixed to the foot of that list that those people have received an advance of four Months pay Commencing from the 25th instant. The Sirdars at the rate of 8 Sa Rupees and the Coolies or Bildars at 6 Sa Rupees pr month.

I have the honor to be &ca.

Fort William Town Major's Office
29th May 1793.

(Signed) A. Apsley,
Tn. Mr.

List of Coolies and Bildars engaged to serve [at] the Andamans.

Sirdars

Rampersaud

2 Callipersaud

Doobrauy
Bichoa
Hurey
Fackirah
5 Bindoo
Ramdual 1st
Chintamoed 1st
Ramkissoan
Maanick chand
10 Banniad
Assaram 1st
Ramdual 2nd
Munsaraun
Chiddam
15 Pursand Sing
Dursan Sing
Doomend Sing
Buldy
Lochund
20 Shaik Mongly
Tittoo Doss
Shaik Joamaun
Kaunt
Ramtonoo
25 Chintamond 2d
Gungaram
Nemy
Dattaram
Aucot Ram

30 Ram Sing
Lakeer Mahomed
Ruffick
Baddoolah
Daunish
35 Chiddam
Assaram
Shaik Ruffick
Annoor
Sittaram
40 Gocool
Ramsunder
Lochund
Nill money
Sissooram
45 Raddoo
Lsum
Luckun
Ramkisson
Bunnud
50 Ramsunder
Khimro Khan
Tittoo
Mohun
Narrain
55 Ramlochun
Kinshair
Rickney
Dulboo
Bichosk
60 Perberroo
Bachain
Hasey Allah
Shaik Golaub
Durham Doss
65 Ram Tunnoo
Dununjey
Runjay
Panchoo
Dattaram
Bussnoo Doss

I Certify that the abovementioned Sirdars, Bildars or Coolies have received from me an advance of four months pay Commencing from the 25th of May The Sirdars at the rate of Sa Rs. 8 and the Coolies or Bildars at Sa Rs. 6 per Month.

Fort William Town Major's Office
29th May 1793.

(Signed) A. Apsley
Tn Mr

1793. — No. XXXIII.

The following Letter was written, by the Boards Orders, to the Superintendant at the Andamans by the Secretary, on the 30th Instant.

Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir, — You will receive enclosed a Duplicate of my Letter, dated the 25th Ultimo, and forwarded by the Phoenix.

On the 5th Instant upon the arrival of the Viper, I was favored with your Letter of the 15th of last Month and it was laid before the Governor General in Council.

The Circumstances mentioned in it, relative to the People, who had formed a small **Settlement at the Cocos,** induced the Board immediately to give Orders that the Letter, of which I inclose a Copy, should be written to the Secretary at Fort St George, no answer to it has yet been received.

In Consequence of your Application for a supply of Money, a sum amounting to ten thousand Sicca Rupees in the proportions desired of Silver and Copper has been Packed up and dispatched to you as per enclosed Bills of Lading, by the Union Snow now proceeding to your Settlement.

The Governor General in Council has directed me to Acquaint you that your Draft in favor of Messrs Wilsone, Harington, and Downie, for the sum of 5,000, Sa Rs. received into your Treasury from Individuals has been duly honored. His Lordship thinks it equitable that any Expence incurred by you in effecting the Negotiation of Bills drawn for Supplies of Money for the Publick Service, Should be reimbursed, but, in order to save that Expence, in future, he is pleased to desire,

that you will draw on Government in the form prescribed in the Bills of Exchange sent herewith, which will also render your Negotiations less troublesome. There are 250 Setts, each Sett consisting of two Bills.

You will receive, by the Union Six Boxes and six Jars, of Purveyors Stores, that were to have been sent, for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, by the Phoenix, but it was afterwards found, could not be Conveniently taken in that Vessell.

A Number of Bildars and Coolies have been embarked on the Snow [Union] for the Andamans, according to the enclosed List, which is Accompanied by a Copy of a Letter from the Town Major Concerning them. They have been provisioned for the Trip, and if the Stock laid in should, owing to an unexpected length of Passage, be found insufficient, Lieut^t. Roper has instructions to Supply them from the Vessels own Stores, A Seperate and exact Account is to be kept of these Supplies that it may be adjusted with the Owner Captain Blair.

Captain Blair having transmitted to the Board a Chart of the North part of the Andamans, shewing the places of these dangerous Coral ledges lately discovered, and a Safe track to avoid them, the Governor General in Council has authorized the publication of it, and you will be furnished with Copies as soon as they are finished.

He has also lately sent in to the Governor General in Council a General Chart of the Andamans, a Report on the subject of it, and a Paper Containing Astronomical Observations, you will receive a Copy of the two latter in the present dispatch and Captain Blair has informed the Board that a Copy of the General Chart is already in your possession.

Fort William I am &c[a].
30[th] May 1793.

The Secretary reports that Lieut. Roper Commanding the Union has received his Sailing Orders to proceed to the Andamans.

1793. — No. XXXIV.

Fort William 11th June 1793.

Ordered that the following Letter be written to the Superintendent at the Andamans.

To Major Alexander Kyd Superintendent at the Andamans.

Sir, — I am directed by the Governor General in Council to transmit to you a Copy of Intelligence, which has been received this Morning from Mr. Baldwin at Alexandria, that War was declared by France against England and Holland on the first of last February His Lordship in Council has no partcular directions to give you in the present State of Affairs confiding generally that you will take the necessary Measures for the Protection of the Settlement under you Charge in as far as Circumstances and your Means admit.

I am &ca

Council Chamber 11th June 1793. (Signed) E. Hay Secretary to the Govt.

Ordered that the following Instructions be sent to Lieutenant Roper By the Secretary.

To Lieutenant Roper Commanding the Union Snow.

Sir, — Intelligence having been received that war was declared by France against England and Holland, on the first of last February, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to desire that you will take Charge of the two accompanying Packets addressed to the Commodore, and Major Kyd at Port Cornwallis, you will of course be upon your Guard against an Enemy during your Voyage to the Andamans.

Council Chamber I am Sir, Your, &ca
11th June 1793. (Signed) E. Hay Secretary to the Government.

1793. — No. XXXV.

Fort William 17th June 1793.

The following Letter was received from the Superintendant at the Andamans on the 15th Instant, by the Snow Phoenix, and circulated for the perusal of the Board.

Superintendant at Andamans 31st May.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the **Snow Phoenix Captain Moore** arrived at this Port, on the 23d instant with the followers belonging to the Sepoy Detachment, with some of the Artificers that were left by the Ranger and Cornwallis, and four Hundred Bags of Rice that were Obliged to be left at the same time; this Vessel experienced very bad weather during the passage, by which the Rice was much damaged on which there will be a loss of about fifty Bags.

I have received your letters of the 22d and 27th of March and 25th of April, no parts of which require any particular answer, only that you will be pleased to signify to the Governor General in Council that should The Honble Commodore Cornwallis touch at this Port, any of the Companys Vessels, then in the Harbour, which he may have occasion to employ — shall be immediately ordered to attend him.

I am very sorry to be Obliged to communicate to the Board, that the **Scorbutic complaint**, which broke out amongst the Laborers, has by no means abated; during the last two Months no less than twenty Men have fallen a Sacrifice to it, and at present nearly a half of those that remains, are unfit for any labor; but as there is a prospect of our being soon supplied with Vegetables, we are in hopes that by a change of diet, the distemper may be got under. I have however to Observe that it has principally raged amongst the Coolies that came from Bengal in last November, who were most worne out distempered creatures, on whose constitutions was probably the seeds of the complaint; for none of the Sepoy Detachment or private Servants who have exactly had the same diet, have been in the least affected with it.

The South West Monsoon set in here very early this Month, with very blowing Weather and hard Rain, and there has been Much Rain ever since; as from the great want of workmen we were by no means in a very foreward state, with the Temporary Buildings, and as our Tents are few and much worne the people have sufferd a good deal from the inclemency of the weather; we are however using every effort to get every body under cover to which the Artificers that have now arrived will much contribute.

I have granted permission to Two Sepoys, to proceed to Bengal on the Phoenix for the recovery of their health, and on such occasions, or to visit their families in Bengal, I have to request that the Governor General in Council, will be pleased to authorise me to grant Furloughs to Non commissioned Officers and Sepoys of the Detachment, without prejudice to their Allowances, for a greater time than is specified by the standing regulations — and without a strict adherence to numbers in the proportion therein limitted which cannot well apply to this place.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the **Cornwallis Snow** arrived on the 29th instant **from the Coast of Pedier** where I sent her for Stock **with directions to Lieutt. Wales to examine every Port from Diamond Point to Acheen Head**, that I might exactly know, what dependance we may have on that Coast for Provisions, and I am glad to say that his report is pretty favorable.

I beg you will acquaint the Board that finding the Allowance of Grain which had been established for the Settlers, was more than they could expend, I have reduced the quantity one fourth and still find that the Ration is perfectly sufficient.

Port Cornwallis
31st May 1793.

I have the honor to be &ca.
(Signed) A. Kyd Andamans.

1793. — No. XXXVI.

Fort William 24th June 1793.

Read a Letter from Captain Allen.

Captain Allen Dated 20th June.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — Herewith I have the honour to enclose a Bill of Freight for the Phoenix to the Andamans: having in order to render the Vessel as Commodious as possible to the People, given up the intention of an Additional Voyage and having on board the Accompanying extra List of People with Major Kyds Pass, who Secreted themselves in the Vessel, with Stores as above Specified, and a very great Expence having been incurred in Consequence of the Advanced Season, and difficulty of getting out of the River, as also sending a Vessel down to Supply them with water so as to keep the Sea Stock intire until leaving the Pilot I beg leave humbly to submit to the Consideration of the Governor General in Council the said Extra bill of Eight hundred Sioca Rupees and to hope that it will not Appear an unreasonable Compensation under all the Circumstances of the Case.

Calcutta
20th June 1793.

I have the honor to be &ca
(Signed) George Allen.

Enclosed in Captain Allen's Letter Dated 20th June. List of Passengers from Port Cornwallis to Calcutta pr Phoenix Captain Moore June 1st 1793.

Class.	Names.	
1 Sepoy	Mehuban Sing	on Furlough
1 Do.	Naggur Sing	Do.
1 Do.	Hurloll Sing	Discharged.
2 Boys with Do.		
1 Bazarman.		
1 Woman with do.		
2 Coppersmiths		
2 Servants	John Fife; Jack	
1 Woman with do.		
2 Washermen		
14 Persons Total		

(Signed) A. Kyd
Superintendt. Andamans.

Enclosure in Captain Allen's letter, dated 20th **June**.

The Honble Company ... ...Dr.

To Freight of the Snow Phoenix for four hundred Bags of Rice, and one hundred Settlers delivered at the Port Cornwallis in the Island of Andaman, on the 1st June 1793 According to Agreement.

Calcutta
20th June 1793.

Sicca Rupees 4,000.
Received the Contents.
(Signed) George Allen.

Extra delivered.

13 Setlers having Major Kyds Pass
20 bags of Rice
6 do. of Paddy
3 do. of ground Rice
1 do of Dholl
1 do of Tamarinds
1 do of Salt
2 Barrels of Gunpowder
15 Chests Boxes and Packages of Military Stores &ca. delivered to the order of Major Kyd and 14 Passengers returned.

by order of Major Kyd

Sicca Rupees 800
Allowed 500
Vide Consultation

Agreed that, in Addition to the Agreed Freight of Sicca Rupees 4000 for four hundred Bags of Rice, and one hundred Settlers, sent in the Phoenix to Port Cornwallis, Captain Allen be allowed an Extra Freight of 500 Sicca Rupees for the rest, and that an Order on the Treasury be issued in his Favor accordingly.

1793. — No. XXXVII.

Fort William 22nd July 1793.

Read a Letter from the Secretary to the **Hospital Board**.

To **Colin Shakespear** Esq. Sub Secretary.

Sir, — I am directed by the Hospital Board to transmit to you the Accompanying Extract of a Letter which they have received from the Surgeon at Port Cornwallis, which they beg you will lay before the Governor General in Council, with their request, that they may be authorized to encrease the Pay of the Hospital Coolies to Six Rupees per Mensem, and the Pay of the Other Servants in the Same proportion, or that the Superintendant be directed to grant the augmentation.

The Hospital Board further beg leave to recommend that Two Washermen may be added to the Establishment of Hospital Servants.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most Obedient humble Servant

Fort William Hospl. Bd. Office
the 19th July 1793.

A. Campbell, Secry.

Enclosed in a Letter from the Secretary to the Hospital Board 19th July.

Extract of a **Letter from Mr. Wood Surgeon** to the Andamans Dated **22nd June 1793.**

In fixing the rates of wages, for the Servants attached to the Hospital at Port Cornwallis I am persuaded the Board did not advert to the increased pay given as an encouragement for people to come to this Settlement. Every Coolie receives Six Rupees pr. Month, and artificers in the same proportion above the rates paid in Bengal. With the present allowances granted by the Board, I am not able to procure one person, and the only Assistance I have had, has been from three labourers taken from the public work; people very ill qualified either for the Service of a Dispensary, or the Attendance of an Hospital.

I beg leave to State to the Board the utility the Sick (especially the Coolies) would derive from the allowance of Washermen to the Hospital, the want of which, I have in Several instances had reason to regret.

(A true Copy.)

Fort William Hospital Bd. Office (Signed) A. Campbell Secretary.
the 19th July 1793.

Agreed that the pay of the Hospital Coolies, at the Andamans, be increased to Six Rupees per Mensem, and that the Pay of the Other Servants be augmented in the Same proportion.

Agreed also that two Washermen be added to the Establishment of Hospital Servants at that place.

1793. — No. XXXVIII.

Fort William 26th July 1793.

Read a Letter from the **Garrison Store Keeper.**

Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Having received an Indent, Copy of which is enclosed, for a Supply of Provisions for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, I request you will advice the Governor General in Council thereof, and Communicate to me his Orders, whether, & when it should be provided.

I have the honor to be &ca.

Fort William
25th July 1793. (Signed) G. Robinson Garrison Store Keeper.

Indent No. 3.

To G. Robinson Esqr. Garrison Store Keeper, Fort William.

	Names of Stores.		Articles Indented for Since 1st May 1793.	Balance in Store.	Article Indented for.	Purposes for which wanted.	Admitted
D	Dholl — Kessarry	Mds.	...	...	200	For the supply of the Stores at Port Cornwallis.	
	Do. — Hurrur ...	Do.	...	...	200		
	Do. — Moong ...	Do.	...	...	100		
C	Ghee	Do.	...	...	100		
P	Paddy	Bags.	...	...	100		
"	Paddy New ...	Do.	...	...	200	For sick and Passengers returning occasionally to Bengal.	
S	Sugar ...	Maunds	...	...	100		
	Tamarinds	Do.	...	...	10		
	Salt	Do.	...	...	40		

I do hereby Certify in pursuence of the General Orders, that the articles Specified in this Indent are indispensably necessary for the Service of the Settlement at the Andamans, According to the best of my Knowledge and Belief, after the most careful Examination.

Port Cornwallis
June 27th 1793.

(Signed) **Edmund Welsh**, Commissary.
A. Kyd, Superintendant at Andamans.

Ordered that the Garrison Store keeper be directed to Comply with the above Indent for Provisions requisite at the Settlement of Port Cornwallis and to despatch them by the Seahorse.

1793. — No. XXXIX.

Fort William **29th July 1793.**

Read a Letter and its enclosure from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Supt. at the Andamans 23rd July.

To The Most Noble Marquis Cornwallis Governor General in Council.

My Lord, — On the 13th of June a vessel from Madras sent with dispatches for **Admiral Cornwallis** arrived at the Andamans by which **we learnt that the Nation was engaged in a War with France.**

Altho' I did not think it probable that the Enemy would have it in their power to fit out an Armament, or think the attack of the Establishment an Object, yet from our very defenceless Situation I did not fail to feel some alarm lest some of their Privateers for the sake of Plunder, might be induced to pay us a visit and **immediately therefore began to devise means to enable us to repel such attempts.**

On the 17th of June the Union arrived from Bengal in which Vessel there was a number of useful labourers, and as I had then fixt on a plan which I thought the best adapted for our Situation, and most within our power of execution, and as all our people were pretty well covered from the Weather Immediately began to take Measures for putting it in execution.

The Accompanying plan of the ground of the new Establishment with a Copy of my letter to the Engineer will point out what is intended to be done by which your Lordship will perceive that **the Post** may soon be made a respectable one, and I hope you will think, that the plan was the most expedient for the Occasion.

As the Cornwallis and Sea Horse Snows were both ready for sea, I immediately came to the resolution of dispatching them to Calcutta for **the Necessary Supply of Artillery and Stores** for such a Post and for such encrease of the Detachment as might be thought necessary and also thought it best to proceed to this place myself, in the Idea, that I could be more useful here in forwarding the Equipment and procuring the necessary people, than by remaining at Port Cornwallis where I was convinced every possible exertion would be made towards carrying the proposed plan into execution and in this I am happy that I anticipated your Lordship's wishes which were conveyed to me in a letter from Mr. Hay by **the Venus Brig** which Vessel we Spoke the day we left Port Cornwallis.

I now take the Liberty of pointing out to your Lordship, what Strikes me as most Necessary and pressing to be done for **the protection of the Settlement at the Andamans.**

The Sepoy Detachment to be encreased to the Strength of two Companies from **Volunteer Sepoys** from the Battalions at Barrackpore.

A Detachment of European Artillery to be ordered in readiness consisting of one Serjeant, one Corporal, two Gunners and Ten Matrosses.

A Detachment of one Sarang one Tandal, and Forty experienced Gun Lascars to be Drafted from the Artillery Lascars.

A proportion of Artillery and Stores, (of which there is accompanying a List) to be got in readiness if your Lordship approves of it, and for which I have prepared the necessary Indents.

As many Bildars and Coolies as can be sent in the next vessels, that can be dispatched, with a proportional addition of Provisions — these are the Classes of people that will be most wanted for some time to come, I beg leave to Observe that the greatest care should be taken, that stout and healthy men are chosen.

As independant of the present Situation of Affairs, it would certainly be expedient **to arm the Vessels on the Andaman Establishment,** from their being liable to be sent to **Pedeir Aracan and Other piratical and Hostile Coasts** I beg leave to transmit an abstract of the Expense of an Establishment of people for them, which on consulting with the Commanders appeared more suitable than the old one an Abstract of which I also send by which your Lordship will perceive that the additional expense is small.

I imagine also it will be necessary that **the Officers commanding the Vessels** on the Andaman Establishment, should have some Commission or letter of Marque granted them, to act against the Enemy, and authority to inforce the necessary Discipline on board their Vessels, and as they are **all Lieutenants in the Bombay Marine** I take the liberty of proposing as the easiest mode, that they may be directed to act by the instructions they will have received from the Bombay Government, which it is probable have been drawn out with every legal Caution.

Fort William — I have the honor to be &ca.
25th July 1793. — (Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant at the Andamans.

(Copy) To **Ensign Stokoe of Engineers.**

Sir, — I have already communicated myself so fully to you on what appears to me to be the best and Speediest means of putting this Settlement in a State of Defence, so as to be able **to repel any attack of privateers or small armament that the French nation,** said to be at war with Great Britain **might fit out,** which although I do not think it is an Event that is probable, is yet what it is our Duty to guard against I have therefore Sketched such works on a plan of the point of this Island, which accompanys this expressing the ground in its present state as appears to me the best adapted for the present Occasion, considering the slender means we have of putting much in execution.

It is fortunate that so very little ground has yet been cleared of trees, and that the woods are of so very impervious a nature, that although they would not be an insurmountable impedement to an Enemy well provided with Workmen and tools, would yet be a great obstruction but [? which] a force only provided with their arms would certainly find it impossible to penetrate. We are thus left to pay our Chief attention to the defence of that ground which is cleared and to making all Tracks, which the Settlers have made as impassable as possible, which last will not be attended with much labour.

The hill A presents itself happily on a part on which a work will command the whole cleared Space, and which will admit of being of a Capacity to contain a considerable Body of Men and which from its height and Commanding Situation may certainly be made a very respectable post.

It was my first intention to Occupy it with a large round **Redoubt** but on a more minute inspection and consideration of the ground, think the present figure holds out more advantages.

The Northfront (the most likely to be Attacked) has two demi Bastions, thus projecting and Posessing some ground the same height with that of the Redoubt, will have some flanking fire, and a Gun in the face of each Demi Bastion will have the range of the whole valley on each side that is cleared of wood; and might prevent or intimedate an enemy from landing in boats to burn the buildings.

The North and the East fronts are the first that should be put in execution, and to them there should be good Ditches and Parapets at least 14 feet thick but the other two faces are so entirely unapproachable and are so much out of the power of being annoyed by cannon from ships, that there is hardly Occasion for Shutting them in, but at all events it may be done with a parapet 6 or 8 feet thick and without a Ditch.

As on the East side the ridge of the Hill continues so high the ascent cannot be seen from the redoubt upon the point, therefore where the Ridge terminates there should be **an Entrenchment B** with embrazures for two Guns from the flank of which there should be a Strong *Abattis*, extending across the Valley to the thick wood on each side, indeed the sides of that Hill in its whole length is now so much covered with felled Timber, that a very little labour will render it absolutely impassable on the flanks of this Work, so that the only point where it can be attacked must be at this Strong Work at the top of a Hill of rapid and sudden ascent, the road along the ridge from the Redoubt to this work should be made practicable for Guns and to be seen in its whole length from the Redoubt and the felled trees and branches on each Side should be formed into different lines of Abattis as absolutely to confine the Road to the Ridge.

I have made the Road to lead into the Redoubt thro' **a Redan** in the last face, but could it conveniently be carried round to the South face it would be better, which you will only be able to determine when the ground is cleared and labelled; the East face need only then be a Strict line in which there may be four Embrazures.

From the South face there Should be a small path out to the valley where a small space Should be cleared away for the labourers women and children to retire to, and where also there Should be your principal Depot of Provisions. From this Valley should also be cut [a] Small and Secret path to the water side on the west side, to the entrance of which Stores and Provisions may be sent in Boats, and the Road should be led as much as possible clear of heights for the ease of Carriage, and every Other track and path that the Settlers have made should be as Carefully Shut up and concealed as possible.

And Vessels in the Harbour Should be moored **in the Situation C** in the Manner the Seamen term at "fours" — so that the Guns from the west face of the Redoubt and musquetry from **the Entrenchment D** could protect them should they be Attempted to be cut out or distroyed by Boats, for which purpose any of the Trees that Obstruct the View in the Space marked in Yellow, should be cut down, and the whole of that side of the Hill, Should be kept in its present impracticable State, only leaving one small and winding path for the convenience of getting at Fresh Water, but which could quickly be shut up. The path also from the Garden to the East point of the Island should be carefully shut up, and every other Path and track thro the woods that has not been particularized. There are yet many Other additions that Might be made to the Strength of this Ground, but what I have now pointed out is as much as you can execute until you have more people. Should however any Alterations or Improvements Occur to you during the progress of the work you will of Course adopt them, first consulting with **Lieutenant Wells** and you will of course pay Strict Attention to whatever he may recommend as adviseable, either in Altering or adding to the above plan.

Port Cornwallis — I am Sir &ca.

28th June 1793. — (Signed) **A. Kyd**, Superintendant Andamans.

List of Artillery and Stores required for the Andamans.

6 Iron 12 prs. with Garrison Carriages with all their apparatus.
2 Brass 6 prs. Field pieces with Field Carriages and their apparatus.
1200 12 pr. Round Shot.
300 Do. Grape.
400 6 pr. round Shot fixed to bottoms.
100 Do. Case Shot.
30 Barrels of Gun powder.
30 Barrels of Musquet Ammunition.
600 Flannel Cartridge bags for 12 pounders.
200 Do. Do. Do. for 6 Do.
1 Gin with Blacks (sic) and fold complete.
20 Large Tarpaulins.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ROYAL FUNERALS IN TRAVANCORE.

To a non-Hindu the ceremonies and customs consequent on the death of a member of the reigning family of Travancore are interesting, but somewhat inexplicable, inasmuch as there is probably a reason for every custom and rite, and yet so little is known regarding the ceremonies carried out on the occasion. Even among Hindus, it is only a select few who are able to throw light on the subject. For instance, the corpse of a deceased Prince is invariably wrapped in a red or scarlet silk cloth, and it would be interesting to know why red or scarlet is the colour chosen. Yet nobody appears to be sure. It is conjectured that scarlet is the colour for Princes; but the Travancore Princes are simple in their habits, and in the privacy of life are amply satisfied with a white muslin cloth or two. Even on State occasions, very sober-coloured and simple costumes are worn. However this may be (writes a correspondent to the *Madras Mail*), I have gleaned a few facts regarding Travancore Royal funerals which may be of some interest.

As soon as death is announced, the attendants and others, especially the women servants of the Prince's palace, proclaim the fact by a loud and continued wailing. The news flies apace and bells are tolled, mounted troopers, with arms reversed, gallop about imparting the tidings, and the Nair Brigade Band plays the Dead March [!], while guns corresponding to the age of the deceased are fired from the saluting batteries. The junior members of the Mahârâjâ's family, with their principal servants and the officers of the civil service, from the Dewan downwards, assemble at the deceased Prince's palace to prepare the corpse for the funeral. The junior members of the family separately walk round the remains several times, uttering prayers or performing some sacred rite, guided by the Kakkandûthe, or priest. In about two hours after the death the arrangements to convey the body to the cremating ground are generally complete, that is to say, besides the prayers and ceremonies aforesaid, the body is bathed and richly dressed in a robe of red or scarlet silk.

Then the Funeral cortege sets out, accompanied by the officers of the State and the Nair Brigade, who follow in procession with head gear (*kudimis*) loosed and arms reversed. Before the body is taken from the palace, a hole is made in the wall of the compartment where it rested, and through this the corpse is conveyed outside. This is a custom even with Sûdras, the reigning family of Travancore being Kshatrias. What the exact superstition, or idea, is, I am not in a position to say, but I fancy that there is a belief that if the corpse is conveyed through the door, other deaths will immediately follow.

The bearers of the corpse are drawn from the Tirumulpâd community. The procession to the cremating ground of the Mahârâjâ's family, situated at the north-west corner of the Trevandrum Fort, is formed in the following order. First dismounted Bodyguard troopers, bareheaded and barefooted, leading their horses, walk in two lines; behind them is the Nair Brigade Band, dressed in black and playing the Dead March; next the sepoys of the Nair Brigade in two long lines, heads and feet uncovered and arms reversed; then the various officers in undress, according to a prescribed order. To the burning ground itself only a chosen few are given admission. The next junior member to the deceased performs the last rites, under the guidance and instruction of the officiating priest; but if there is no member of the family available, the priest acts for him. The body is then conveyed to a richly decorated *pandal* or pavilion made of cadjan, under which is a funeral pyre composed of sandalwood, cuscus grass and ghee, to help the fire. The fire rendered sacred by prayers, is then applied to the pyre, while a shout of lamentation and a chorus of wailing ascend to the skies from the crowd of people outside, who generally await the termination of the cremation.

The small party inside wait till the work of the fire is all but done, and go away, leaving behind them a small and trusted few of palace adherents and a detachment of the Nair Brigade for sentry purposes. These servants feed the fire till every part of the body is consumed. For about two or three days public institutions and offices are closed, and deep mourning lasts for ten or eleven days. For three days following the cremation, the palanquin in which the body was conveyed to the burning ground is carried there and taken back morning and evening. Religious ceremonies are also conducted in the Tarawâḍ Palam of the Mahârâjâ's family to the accompaniment of the wailing voices of women and solemn and sad music.

Then comes the Sanchayanam, or ash-sifting ceremony. Another procession is formed for this purpose also. The unconsumed fragments of the remains, with some ashes, are then carfully gathered up and religiously placed in a golden case. This is carried to a neighbouring house and preserved in a recess, or cavity, specially prepared at the foot of a jack tree. A Nair Brigade guard takes charge of the spot for a year, and carefully guards the ashes. The owner of the house in which these relics of the dead are preserved, receives a pension for the term of his natural life — some say his heirs in perpetuity draw the pension, in the shape of a certain quantity of paddy annually. He also is the recipient of a quantity of cocoanut oil to feed a lamp which must always be kept burning.

On the eleventh or twelfth day further religious rites and ceremonies are performed and bring the pollution caused by the death to an end. For a whole year subsequently, mourning is observed to a certain extent throughout the Province, especially by the Nair community. The relics are ultimately taken to Benares and thrown into the Ganges.

KONETI RAYI.

SOME forty years or so ago, during the excavation of a pond in front of the Collector's Cutcherry at Nellore, Madras Presidency, an image was found along with, as I am told, some "white stones." This was left lying about for some time and was finally taken by an adjacent householder who presented it to a small Vaishnava temple in Nellore town. The figure is popularly known as Kônêṭi Râyi (Pond-stone).

I went to see it recently. It is a statue of a man of about life-size, carved out of a black stone and in perfect preservation. The figure is seated with legs crossed and soles up-turned; the hair is curly; the lobes of the ears pierced and greatly enlarged; the nose is broad, with, however, a bridge sharply indicated; the lips are well-shaped.

The figure is now adorned with the Vaishnava trident, but there seems no room for doubt that it represents Buddha or some Jain saint (I am too ignorant to decide which).

I have not seen any reference anywhere to this figure, and I, therefore, imagine that its existence is generally unknown.

If a Buddha, the fact of the statue being found so far south as Nellore would seem to be of interest.

A. BUTTERWORTH.

Nellore, 15th January 1901.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman.

THIS record has been edited by me in Vol. XIII. above, p. 48 ff., with a lithograph. The original plates, which are now in the Government Museum at Madras, were found, with five other sets, in a large pot which was discovered in digging the foundations of a wall at **Chicacole,** the head-quarters of the Chicacole tâluka of the Gañjâm district, Madras Presidency. But, as this note will shew, the present record does not really belong to Chicacole. It is convenient, however, for the present at any rate, to continue to speak of it as one of the Chicacole grants, instead of substituting a name connecting it with the place to which it actually belongs.

The record contains a decree issued — vijaya-**Sârapalli**-vâsakât, — "from the victorious halt at **Sârapalli;**" meaning, from a halt made at a place named **Sârapalli,** not (of necessity, at any rate) just after the achievement of some victory in war, but in the course of a state progress or tour of inspection for administrative purposes.[1] And it recites that the *Mahârâja* Nandaprabhañjanavarman, "lord of the whole of **Kaliṅga** or of all **the Kaliṅgas,**" granted a village named **Ḍeyavâṭa,**[2] as an *agrahâra,* to a Brâhmaṇ who belonged to, *i.e.* resided at, **an agrahâra,** the name of which is to be read as **Akkana,** instead of Akshata as given in my published text.[3]

The **Akkana agrahâra** of the record is, undoubtedly, the '**Akkana Agrm.**' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 108 (1894), in lat. 18° 31′, long. 83° 49′, five and a half miles on the south of **Pâlkoṇḍa,** the head-quarters of the Pâlkoṇḍa tâluka of the Vizagapatam district, and about eighteen miles towards the north-west-by-north from Chicacole, where the plates were found. And, with this guide to help us, we can identify **Ḍeyavâṭa** with the '**Devada**' of the same map, in lat. 18° 15′, long. 83° 37′, about seventeen miles south-west-by-south from the Akkana *agrahâra,*[4] and **Sârapalli** with the '**Sarepalli**' of the map, in lat. 18° 7′, long. 83° 33′, a village, close to a large tank, ten miles in much the same direction from 'Devada' and about four and a half miles east-by-north from Vizianagram.

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[1] The word *vâsaka,* 3, is used (see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, revised edition), at the end of compounds, in the sense of 'abode, habitation.' But it may evidently be applied in any of the meanings allotted to the simpler word *vâsa,* 3; namely, 'staying, remaining (especially 'overnight'), abiding, dwelling, residence, living in, abode, habitation.' When *vâsaka* is used as it is used here, it may be taken as meaning much the same thing as the *skandhâvâra,* 'camp,' of various other records. But it is sometimes used at the end of a compound which qualifies and locates a *skandhâvâra*; for instance, in *vijaya-skandhâvârat Vijayapura-vâsakât,* in line 1 of the Kaira plates of A. D. 644 (Vol. VII. above, p. 248). And it seems desirable to translate it by a word which will prevent it from being confused with *skandhâvâra.* For what is most usually intended by the use of the word *vijaya* in such expressions as *vijaya-vâsaka* and *vijaya-skandhâvâra,* reference may be made to my note 5, supplemented by a remark by Dr. Hultzsch, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 51, on the Kanarese expression *bijayaṁ-gey.*

[2] My suggestion (Vol. XIII. above, p. 49, note 7, and p. 50, note 20) that the name might possibly be Aḍeyavâṭa or Âḍeyavâṭa, is to be cancelled.

[3] I remarked, at the time (*loc. cit.* p. 49, note 8), that the second syllable of this name, whether taken as *ksha* or as *kkra,* was a rather anomalous one. An examination of the lithograph will shew that its consonant does not at all resemble the *ksh* in *raksha,* line 15, and *âkshêptâ,* line 17, and, on the other hand, that it does very closely resemble the *akshara* which I then read as *kkra* in *vikkramânâṁm,* line 10. As regards the third *akshara,* it is to be remarked that the *t* appears in this record in two forms; one with a loop, see, for instance, *yatnâd,* line 15, and *tâny-êva,* line 17, and the other without a loop, see, for instance, *bhagavatô mâtâpitṛi,* line 1. There was, therefore, no objection to taking the consonant of this particular *akshara* as the *t* without the loop. But we are equally at liberty to take it as *n,* which throughout this record appears without the loop. And, in view of the identification that can be made, we need not hesitate about accepting Akkana as the name really presented in the record. Looking to the *krama,* also in line 10, I consider, now, that the record there presents *vikkamânâṁm,* with two mistakes, for *vikramâṇâṁ* or possibly *vikkramâṇâṁ.*

[4] The map shews a village named 'Devudata,' two miles on the north of the Akkana *agrahâra.* But this does not seem to answer to the ancient *Ḍeyavâṭa.*

It may be remarked that **the legend on the seal of this grant,** which I failed to decipher, has been found by Dr. Hultzsch, from an inspection of the original, to be *Pi*[*tṛi-bhaktaḥ*], "he who is devoted to his father."[5]

The places mentioned in the Chokkhakuṭi grant of A. D. 867.

This record has been edited by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 285 ff., with a facsimile lithograph. The original plates were obtained from **Gujarât,** in the Bombay Presidency. But the exact find-place of them appears to be not known.

The record recites that, on a specified day in the month Pausha, Śaka-Saṁvat 789 (expired), falling in A. D. 867, the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Aparimitavarsha-Dantivarman, of the Gujarât branch of the Mâlkhêḍ family, bathed in the "great river" (*mahânadî*) **Pûrâvî,** and granted a village (*grâma*) named **Chokkhakuṭi,** situated in the north-west part of a small territorial division known as **the Sarthâtailâṭakîya forty-two,** to a *vihâra* or (Buddhist) monastery at a place named **Kâmpilyatîrtha.** It prescribes that the said village was to be enjoyed by the succession of the disciples and disciples' disciples of the *âryasaṁgha* or Buddhist community. And, in specifying the boundaries of the said village, it places, on the east, the boundary of a village (*grâma*) the name of which is to be read as Davbhellaṁka, for Dabbhellaṁka, = **Dabbhellaṅka,** instead of Da[nte]llaṁka as given in the published text;[6] on the south, the boundary of a village named **Apasundara**; on the west, the boundary of a village named **Kâlûpallikâ**; and, on the north, a river (*nadî*) named **Mandâkinî.**

I find that **Chokkhakuṭi** is the '**Chokhad**' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), in lat. 21° 1', long. 72° 59', in the Nausâri division of the Baroda State, about five miles towards the north from Nausâri. The map shews '**Dabhel,**' answering to the **Dabbhellaṅka** of the record, as a large village, the site of which is about one mile and three quarters towards the north-east from 'Chokhad.' It shews '**Asundar,**' answering to **Apasundara,** one mile on the south of 'Chokhad.' And, one mile on the north-west of 'Chokhad,' it shews, on the south bank of the river which will be mentioned further on, '**Karoli,**' which answers to **Kâlûpallikâ** and gives another instance of the not infrequent interchange of *l* and *r*. In the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 15 (1879) of Gujarât, 'Dabhel' is presented as '**Dábhel,**' with, in the first syllable, the long *â*, which is no doubt correct, as it can be fully justified by a lengthening of the short *a* on the disappearance of the first component, *b*, of the double consonant, *bbh*, in the second syllable of the original name; the other three names are presented just as in the Atlas sheet.

The **river Mandâkinî** of the record is a river which passes about one mile on the north of 'Chokhad,' and flows into the sea about five miles on the south of the Taptî. Its name is given as '**Mindhola**' in the Atlas sheet and '**Mindhála**' in the Trigonometrical sheet, and is certified as '**Miṇḍhôḷâ,**' in Gujarâtî characters, in the official compilation entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878). And the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* Vol. II., Surat and Broach, p. 25, speaks of it as "**the Mindhola or Midágri.**" We have another epigraphic mention of this river in the spurious plates which purport to record a grant made by Dharasêna II. of Valabhî in A. D. 478. It is there called the **Madâvi.**[7] This latter name may be taken as a corruption of the

[5] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 143.

[6] The second syllable of this name, in line 60, is much blurred, owing to carelessness on the part apparently of the engraver, rather than of the writer, of the record. And, in detecting the correct reading, I have of course been helped by my identification of the village. But an inspection of the facsimile will shew that the consonant is unmistakably *vbh*, — for *bbh*, in accordance with the general practice of the record.

[7] Vol. X. above, p. 284, plate ii., line 3-4, and Plate. There is a somewhat unusual mark at the top of the *ma* to the right. It does not seem to be intended for a long *â*. Nor, as far as I could see when I had the original plate before me, does it seem to be part of an imperfectly formed *anusvâra.*

name Mandâkinî, through a form **Mandâvî**; and, in connection with this point of view, we may note that the *Vishṇupurâṇa* speaks of two rivers named Mandâkinî,[8] and mentions, just after one of them, a river Puṇyâ which may be the Pûrṇâ in Gujarât, the next river on the south of the 'Mindhola,' quite as much as any other river known by the name of Pûrṇâ, and that this tends to suggest that the 'Mindhola' really had the original name of **Mandâkinî**. Or we may suppose that the original name of the river was **Mandâvî**, and was invented to mark the river as one "flowing slowly (*manda*)," by way of contrast with the Pûrâvî, the name of which seems to mean a river having a full rushing stream (*pûra*) and consequently flowing quickly."[9] And, in the latter case, we may look upon the Madâvi of the spurious record as a corruption of the name Mandâvî, and take the Mandâkinî of the present record as a fanciful substitute for it, somewhat similar to the application of the name Gaṅgâ to the Gôdâvarî, or to a small nullah flowing into the Gôdâvarî, in the Paithaṇ plates of A. D. 1272.[10]

The town from which, most probably, **the Sarthâtailâṭakîya forty-two** took its appellation, cannot at present be identified; unless, by any chance, its name can have been corrupted into that of the 'Simlak' of the maps, a large village the site of which is contiguous, on the north, with the site of 'Dabhel, Dábhel.'

Mr. Bhandarkar has given a reason for perhaps identifying **the "great river" Pûrâvî** with the **Pûrṇâ**, on the south bank of which is Nausârî; namely, that an unpublished record, belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, speaks of the Pûrâvî as being in the vicinity of a place named Nâgasârikâ, which is taken by him to be Nausârî. But it is not quite plain how the Pûrṇâ, the total length of which is less than eighty miles, could be properly classed as a "great river."

He has expressed the opinion that **Kâmpilyatîrtha**, — or "the Kâmpilya *tîrtha*," "the sacred place of Kâmpilya," according to his treatment of the name, — is to be identified with Kampil, called in ancient times Kâmpilya, and formerly, it appears, a sacred place of the Jains, in the Kaimgañj tahsîl of the Farukhâbâd district, North-West Provinces. We need not enter into the point that Kâmpilya-Kampil is some six hundred miles away from 'Chokhad.' The **Kâmpilyatîrtha** of this record is, undoubtedly, the **'Kaphleta'** of the Atlas and Trigonometrical sheets, a large village in the Chôrâsî tâluka of the Surat district, on the north bank of the 'Mindhola,' 'Mindhâla,' or 'Miṇḍhôḷâ,' about a mile and a half on the north of 'Chokhad.'

The places mentioned in the Surat plates of A. D. 1051.

This record has been edited by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in Vol. XII. above, p. 196 ff., with a lithograph. The original plates were obtained from a coppersmith of **Surat**, the chief town of the Surat district in Gujarât, Bombay Presidency.

The record recites that, on a specified day in the month Pausha in the Vikṛita *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Saṁvat 972 (expired), falling in January, A. D. 1051, the Chaulukya prince Trilôchanapâla, "the ruler (*bhôktṛi*) of **the Lâṭa country** (*dêsa*)," went to the western ocean, and, at a sacred

[8] Wilson's Translation, Vol. II. pp. 153, 154.

[9] The name Mandâkinî, also, which is best known as the appellation of the celestial Ganges or of a certain arm of the terrestrial Ganges, is explained (see Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary) as meaning 'going or streaming slowly,' from *manda*, 'slow, tardy, sluggish,' *etc.*, and *añch*, 'to move, go,' *etc.*—If the modern name of the 'Mindhola' really is Miṇḍhôḷâ, with the lingual *ṇḍh*, it can hardly have been derived either from Mandâkinî or from Madâvi or Mandâvî, but must be a later substitute for the original name. In the other appellation, 'Midágri,' we may possibly have a reminiscence of some kind of the name Madâvi or Mandâvî.

[10] See Vol. XXX. above, p. 517.

place named **Agastyatîrtha or Âgastyatîrtha,** gave to a certain Brâhmaṇ a village (*grâma*) named **Erathâṇa,** (*measuring*) nine-hundred (*ploughs* ?),[11] in **a small territorial division, consisting of forty-two villages,** which seems at first sight to be not distinctly specified by name but to be placed in a larger territorial division called the **Villîśvara or Billîśvara pathaka.**[12] It defines the position of Erathâṇa by means of eight surrounding *khêṭakas* or 'villages of agricultural peasants.' And it places them as follows; on the east, a village (*grâma*) named **Nâgâmvâ,** and **Tantikâ;** on the south-east, **Vaṭapadraka;** on the south, **Liṅgavaṭa-Siva**; on the south-west, **Indôtthâna;** on the west, **Vahuṇadaśvan;** on the north-west, **Ṭemvarûka;** on the north, **Talapadraka;** and, on the north-east, a village (*grâma*) named **Kuruṇa.**

Mr. Dhruva told us that the **Erathâna** of this record is Erthâṇ in the Ôlpâḍ **tâluka** of the Surat district, a village, between the Kîm river and the Tapti, which may be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), in lat. 21° 23′, long. 72° 52′. He added certain details which seemed to bear out that statement circumstantially. And he plainly was furnished, though very vaguely and inaccurately, with information, which he did not verify, about some of the surroundings of a certain Erthâṇ which really is the Erathâṇa of the record. But that Erthâṇ is not the Erthâṇ in the Ôlpâḍ tâluka.

The **Villîśvara or Billîśvara** of the record, from which the **pathaka** took its appellation, is to be identified with **Balêsar or Balêshwar,** a small town two miles on the north of Palsânâ, the head-quarters of the Palsânâ subdivision, on the north bank of the river 'Mindhola,' 'Mindhâla,' or 'Minḍhôḷi,'[13] of the Nausârî division of the Baroda territory; it is shewn as 'Balesar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), in lat. 21° 6′, long. 73° 2′, and in the same way in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 34 (1882) of Gujarât. And it may be remarked here that the composer of the record, writing at this point a particularly clumsy verse, no doubt meant to describe **the Villîśvara or Billîśvara pathaka** as itself consisting of **forty-two villages,** though the language actually used by him conveys, if construed strictly, a different meaning.

The **Erathâṇa** of this record is the **'Erthan'** of the Atlas sheet, shewn as **'Erthán'** in the Trigonometrical sheet No. 15 (1879), two miles west-north-west from Balêsar. **Nâgâmvâ or Nâgâmbâ** seems to have disappeared; at any rate, the maps do not shew any trace of such a name: but **Tantikâ** is represented by **'Tati Jagra,' 'Táti Jagra,'** one mile south-east-by-east from Erthâṇ. **Vaṭapadraka** has become **'Wardala,'** one mile south-east from Erthâṇ.[14] **Liṅgavaṭa-Siva** is **'Lingad,'** two and a half miles south-by-west from Erthâṇ. **Indôtthana** seems to have become 'Raula or **Wakhtana,'** 'Raula or **Wakhtána,'** two miles towards the south-west from Erthâṇ. **Vahuṇadaśvan or Bahuṇadaśvan** is **'Bonad,'** two miles west-by-south from Erthâṇ. **Ṭemvarûka or Ṭembarûka** is **'Timbarwa,'** in the Chôrâsî tâluka of Surat, one mile on the north-west of Erthâṇ. **Talapadrakạ** is **'Talodra,'** one mile and a half north-half-east from Erthâṇ. And **Kuruṇa** is **'Karan,'** one mile and a half north-east from Erthâṇ.

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[11] The published text runs (plate iii, lines 6, 7) — grâmaṁ . . . . . . Dhi(*or* Vi)llîśvara-pathakâatar-dvichatvâriṁśa-saṁkhyakê Erathâṇa-navaśatam-adâd, *etc.* And the published translation runs — "gave . . . . . . a village . . . . . . in the Erathâṇa Nine-hundred in the sub-district of forty-two and the district of (Vi- or) Dhillîśvara." But the lithograph distinctly shews — grâmaṁ . . . . . . Villiśvara . . . . . Erathâṇaṁ nava-śatam, *etc.* The word *navaśata*, 'nine-hundred,' can only indicate, in some way or another, the extent of the village. And, from others of the Gujarât records, it seems probable that we have to understand *hala*, 'a plough,' used as a land-measure.

[12] The record seems to use the same character to denote either *b* or *v* throughout.

[13] Regarding this name, see page 254 above.

[14] In Vol. V. above, p. 145, Dr. Bühler has given another instance in which the ancient name Vaṭapadraka is represented by a modern 'Warḍla.'

REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY OR IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (RETD.).

PROFESSOR SYLVAIN LÉVI's valuable and interesting studies of the Chinese historians who record notices of events in India throw much light upon the obscure history of India in the centuries both preceding and following the Christian era.

In a separate article I have discussed his discovery of the **synchronism of king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon (A. D. 304 — 332) with the Indian emperor Samudra Gupta**, whose reign has hitherto been supposed to have begun in A. D. 350, so far as that synchronism affects the interpretation of the Mahânâman inscriptions at Bôdh-Gayâ.[1] In this paper I propose to discuss the **revision of the Gupta chronology** which is rendered indispensable by Mr. Sylvain Lévi's discovery, and certain other facts brought to light within the last few years.

Assuming, as is now generally allowed, **that the Gupta era dates from the coronation (abhisheka) of Chandra Gupta I.**, the first emperor of the Gupta dynasty, that event must have taken place in the first year of the Gupta Era (G. E.), which corresponds to the period extending from the 26th February, A. D. 320, to the 15th March, A. D. 321. For most purposes it is sufficiently accurate to say that the accession of Chandra Gupta I. occurred in A. D. 320, and to add 319 to dates G. E. to reduce them to dates A. D.[2]

Previous to M. Lévi's discovery of the synchronism of king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon with the emperor Samudra Gupta, the earliest known Gupta date subsequent to the accession of Chandra Gupta I. in G. E. 1, = A. D. 320, was that recorded by the Udayagiri inscription of Chandra Gupta II., dated G. E. 82, = A. D. 401.[3] The chronology of the dynasty for the period of 81 complete years between these two dates was purely conjectural. M. Lévi's discovery enables us to fix with approximate accuracy **the date of the accession of the emperor Samudra Gupta**, the son of Chandra Gupta I., and, with the help of some other facts, to settle within narrow limits the greater part of the chronology of the dynasty.[4]

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[1] Professor Sylvain Lévi's weighty essay entitled 'Les Missions de Wang Hiuen-Ts'e dans l'Inde' appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* for Mars-Avril et Mai-Juin, 1900, and was reprinted the same year at the Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, pp. 112. On another occasion I hope to make use of the materials collected by him for the Kushân history. At present I confine myself to the subject of Gupta chronology. My article entitled 'The Inscriptions of Mahânâman at Bôdh-Gayâ' appeared in this *Journal*, *ante*, Vol. XXXI., p. 192. I am myself responsible for the erroneous hypothesis that the reign of Samudra Gupta began in A. D. 350. ('Observations on the Gupta Coinage,' in *J. R. A. S.* for Jan. 1893, p. 82. This work will be cited as 'Observations.')

[2] The discovery of the true beginning of the Gupta era, and the elaboration of all necessary calculations on the subject, were effected by Dr. Fleet, whose matured views will be found in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. (1891), pp. 376-389. Dr. Fleet's great work entitled 'Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors' was published in 1888. In its original form the Gupta era was an adaptation of the Śaka year beginning with the month Chaitra, or March-April. According to this arrangement the year commenced with the first day of the waxing moon (*sudi*) of Chaitra, and the year 1 G. E. corresponds to Śaka 243, and A. D. 320-1. Consequently Gupta years are ordinarily reduced to years A. D. by the addition of 319, as, for example, 82 G. E. = A. D. 401. Of course, for strictly accurate results much more elaborate equations are sometimes required. The records of the kings with which this paper is concerned seem to be all dated on this system. The kings of Valabhî, who succeeded the Guptas in Surâshtṛa (Kâṭhiâwâṛ) about the end of the fifth century, while continuing to reckon by the Gupta era, made the year begin seven months earlier. Gupta dates are expressed in current years.

[3] Fleet, No. 3. Udayagiri is near Bhêlsâ (Bhîlsâ) in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, N. lat. 23° 32′, E. long. 77° 50′. The exact date is the 11th day of the waxing moon of the month Âshâḍha, equivalent to June-July, A. D. 401.

[4] My conjectural dates were :— Gupta, A. D. 290 ; Ghaṭotkacha, A. D. 305 ; Chandra Gupta I., A. D. 319 (an error instead of 320) ; Kâcha, A. D. 340 ; Samudra Gupta, A. D. 350 ; and Chandra Gupta II., A. D. 380.

According to all the genealogical inscriptions, the founder of the dynastic family was the Mahârâja Gupta,[5] who was succeeded by his son the Mahârâja Ghatotkacha. The only positive indication of **the date of the Mahârâja Gupta** is afforded by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who travelled between A. D. 671 and 695, and died in A. D. 713. He states that, according to tradition, an ancient ruined establishment known as the China Temple had been built for the accommodation of Chinese pilgrims some five hundred years before the writer's time by Mahârâja 'Srî Gupta.[6] This tradition would place the Mahârâja Gupta about A. D. 200, a date considerably too early. The true date of his accession cannot well be earlier than A. D. 270. We may assume A. D. 275. Gupta's son, Ghaṭotkacha, may be assigned conjecturally, in the absence of evidence, to A. D. 300.

Neither of these Mahârâjas assumed the higher titles denoting paramount rule, and, so far as is known, neither of them coined money or left any inscriptions. Both probably were the Râjas of Bihâr south of the Ganges, with their capital at the ancient royal city of Pâṭaliputra (Patna). They may have been in some degree subordinate to the Lichchhavis of Vaisâli, on the northern side of the river.

Chandra Gupta I. came to the throne in G. E. 1, = A. D. 320, and established his power as a paramount sovereign by marrying the Lichchhavi princess Kumâra Devî. His coins were struck in the joint names of himself, his queen, and the powerful Lichchhavi clan, and his dominions extended in the Gangetic valley as far as Prayâga (Allâhâbâd).[7]

Inasmuch as Samudra Gupta, son of Chandra Gupta I., was reigning previously to G. E. 13 = A. D. 332, the date of the death of the Ceylonese king Meghavarṇa, who sent him an embassy, the reign of Chandra Gupta I., who ascended the throne in the year G. E. 1, must necessarily have been very short. The great Allâhâbâd inscription, which records the deeds of Samudra Gupta, states that his conquests extended as far south as Pâlakka, the modern Palghatchery, in N. lat. 10° 45′ 49, distant about thirteen hundred miles from Pâtaliputra (Patna), then the capital of the empire, and

[5] The name of this prince was undoubtedly simply Gupta, and not Śrî Gupta, as Cunningham insisted (*Coins Med. I.* p. 9). Upagupta, who, according to the Aśokâvadâna legend, was the father-confessor of Aśoka, is described as the son of Gupta the perfumer. Both these names are clear proof that the participle Gupta could stand as a name alone, without the support of a governing word; the word *upa* is, of course, a mere particle, expressing the idea of 'lesser.'

[6] For the dates of I-tsing's life and death, see his 'Records of the Buddhist Religion,' ed. Takakusu, p. xxxvii. The tradition cited is from another work by the same author described by Beal in *J. R. A. S.* XIII., N. S., pp. 552-572.

[7] The coins exhibit on the obverse the names and effigies of Chandra Gupta and his consort Kumâra Dêvî. The reverse has a goddess seated on a lion, and holding fillet and cornucopiæ, with the legend '*Lichchhavayaḥ*,' or *Lichchivayaḥ*, in the nominative plural. I interpret the legends as meaning that the coinage was issued by Chandra Gupta I. in the names of himself, of his wife, and of her family, the Lichchhavis. The inscriptions lay great stress on the queen's Lichchhavi ancestry.

The well-known Puranic passage which defines the extent of the Gupta Dominions is applicable to the reign of Chandra Gupta I. only. As given in the Vâyu Purâna (Hall's ed. of Wilson's Vishṇu Purâṇa, Vol. IV. p. 218) it runs :—

अनुगंगांप्रयागं च साकेतं मगधास्तथा ।
एताञ्जनपदान्सर्वान्भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

of which the best translation seems to me to be :— 'The [kings] of the race of Gupta will possess Prayâga on the Ganges, Sâketam, and the Magadhas all these countries.' Sâketam, although not yet positively identified, was in Southern Oudh (*J. R. A. S.* for 1898, p. 522). Prayâga on the Ganges is Allâhâbâd. The name Magadha in the plural (amending to मगधांश) means, I presume, Bihâr both north and south of the Ganges. Similarly, the name Kalinga is used both in the singular and the plural. Compare Vanga and Upavanga. The conquests of Samudra Gupta and his son Chandra Gupta II. enlarged the boundaries of the empire so far that the Puranic definition or description became wholly inapplicable. This observation may help to indicate the date of the composition of the Vâyu Purâṇa. Other texts, as usual, present variations of the passage quoted.

The coins of Chandra Gupta I. are described in my work entitled 'The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India,' in *J. R. A. S.* for Jan. 1889 (cited as 'Coinage'), p. 63, and 'Observations,' p. 94. The spelling '*Lichchhivayaḥ*' is found on one of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's coins, and in the Bhitarî pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta, as well as in the spurious Gayâ grant purporting to belong to the same reign, and in the Laws of Manu. (Fleet, 'Gupta Inscriptions,' p. 16.)

mentions the fact that the Ceylonese sent the conqueror presents or tribute. It is unlikely that the king of Ceylon should have been sufficiently in dread of the monarch of Northern India to send him gifts, as related both by the Chinese historian and the Allâhâbâd inscription, until after Samudra Gupta's temporary subjugation of Southern India. King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon having died in A. D. 332, the mission of Mahânâman to the Indian court, which involved two voyages, may be approximately dated in A. D. 330. The military operations incident to a victorious march of quite thirteen hundred miles and the subjugation of a multitude of kingdoms, as related in the Allâhâbâd inscription, may fairly be assumed to have occupied at least three years. Consequently, the accession of Samudra Gupta cannot be placed later than the year A. D. 327 = G. E. 8, and the possible limits of the reign of his predecessor Chandra Gupta are thus further restricted to the brief space of seven or eight years at the most.[8] This inference is quite in accord with the numismatic evidence, inasmuch as the coinage of Chandra Gupta I. occurs in gold only of a single type, and is so rare that the specimens yet discovered do not exceed a score in number.

The accession of Samudra Gupta, who is represented in the genealogical inscriptions as the immediate successor of Chandra Gupta I., and who is stated in the Allâhâbâd inscription to have been appointed heir to the crown during his father's lifetime,[9] **may safely be dated in G. E. 6 or 7, equivalent to A. D. 325 or 326.**

But the question is complicated by the existence of a small number of gold coins of a single type, about equal in rarity to those of Chandra Gupta I., and bearing **the name of Kâcha or Kacha.** The difficulty is to find a place for Kâcha in the very few years available. The coins of that prince are undoubtedly closely related in weight, fabric, and type both to those of Chandra Gupta I., and to the early issues of Samudra Gupta. One hoard, that of Tâṇḍâ in Oudh, consisted of twenty-five coins, only two of which belonged to the reign of Chandra Gupta I., the remainder being divided between Kâcha and the Aśvamedha and Battle-axe types of Samudra Gupta. Both the types last named seem to be intended to commemorate the emperor's victories and conquests. Their reverses, as well as the reverse of Samudra Gupta's Tiger type, are closely related to the reverse of the Kâcha coins. The obverse legend of the last-named coins describes the king as 'the exterminator of all râjas, who is victorious, having subdued the earth by excellent deeds.' The epithet 'exterminator of all râjas' (*sarvarâjôchchêttâ*) assumed by Kâcha is given in five inscriptions to Samudra Gupta and to no other king. The description of Kâcha as the victorious conqueror of the earth is also applicable to Samudra Gupta.[10] These facts strongly support the suggestion made both by Dr. Fleet and myself that Kâcha and Samudra Gupta are identical, and, notwithstanding the difficulty there is in believing

[8] For an account in detail of the conquests effected by Samudra Gupta, and for the identification of Pâlakka, see my papers entitled 'Samudra Gupta' (*J. R. A. S.* for 1897, p. 19), and 'The Conquests of Samudra Gupta' (*ibid.* p. 859). My revised date for the accession of Samudra Gupta is strongly supported by the forged Gayâ copper-plate (No. 60 of Fleet) which purports to have been engraved in his reign in the year 9. The entry of this date shows that the forger believed Samudra Gupta to have been reigning in that year.

[9] Lines 7 and 8, which are thus translated by Dr. Fleet :— "Who, being looked at (*with envy*) by the faces, melancholy (*through the rejection of themselves*), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed forth deep sighs (*of happiness*), was bidden by (*his*) father, — who, exclaiming 'Verily he is worthy,' embraced (*him*) with the hairs of (*his*) body standing erect (*through pleasure*) (*and thus*) indicative of (*his*) sentiments, and scanned (*him*) with an eye turning round and round in affection, (*and*) laden with tears (*of joy*), and perceptive of (*his noble*) nature, — [to govern of a surety] the whole world." A generation later the selection of Chandra Gupta II. by his father, Samudra Gupta, is expressed by the words *tatparigṛihîta.*

[10] For the Kâcha coins, see 'Coinage,' p. 74 ; 'Observations,' p. 95. The spellings Kâcha and Kacha both occur on the coins. For the Aśvamedha, Tiger, and Battle-axe types of Samudra Gupta, see 'Coinage,' pp. 64, 65, 72 ; 'Observations,' pp. 96, 97, 102. On the Tiger type, the king's title is simply '*rôja*' ; on the Aśvamedha and Battle-axe types it is *râjâdhirâja*. The Lyrist type, presumably later in date, exhibits the higher title *mahârâjâdhirâja*. The five inscriptions which apply the epithet *Sarvarâjôchchhêttâ* to Samudra Gupta are, (1) Mathurâ (*Fleet*, No. 4, p. 27, note), (2) Bilsaḍ (*Fleet*, No. 10), (3) Bihâr (*Fleet*, No. 10), (4) Bhitarî pillar (No. 13 of *Fleet*), and (5) the spurious Gayâ grant of Samudra Gupta, with a genuine seal (*Fleet*. No. 60). In my 'Coinage' I advocated the identity of Kâcha with Samudra Gupta ; but in 'Observations' I accepted Mr. Rapson's view that Kâcha was a brother and predecessor. I now revert to my original opinion.

that Samudra Gupta described himself on his coins by two different names, I feel disposed to adhere **to the belief that Kâcha is only another name (biruḍa) of Samudra Gupta.**

The only possible alternatives are the theory preferred by Mr. Rapson, who supposes that Kâcha was a brother of Samudra Gupta, and enjoyed a very brief reign as his predecessor, or the assumption that Kâcha was a pretender, and a rival to the brother who had been selected by their father as heir-apparent. It is possible that when Chandra Gupta I. died, his chosen heir was far from the capital in charge of a remote province, or commanding an invasion of foreign territory, and that Kâcha, being on the spot, was in a position to seize the throne of which he maintained possession for a brief space. This explanation of the problem is supported by the fact that Kâcha's coins seem to be inferior in purity of metal to those both of Chandra Gupta I. and Samudra Gupta. But the alleged inferiority is not quite certain.[11] Mr. Rapson's suggestion is rendered improbable by the omission of Kâcha's name from genealogies, and by the facts that Samudra Gupta was selected by his father as heir-apparent, and always claims to have succeeded directly. On the whole, I lean to the opinion that the hypothesis of the identity of Kâcha and Samudra Gupta offers less difficulties than either of the alternatives.

So far as the general chronology of the dynasty is concerned, it is immaterial which solution is accepted. The inscriptions prove that in any case Samudra Gupta must be regarded as the immediate successor of his father. Kâcha, if a distinct person, must have been a rival claimant to the throne, who reigned for a short time in the home provinces concurrently with Samudra Gupta.

I assume the year G. E. 7, A. D. 326, as that in which Chandra Gupta I. died, and Samudra Gupta succeeded him. The rival rule of Kâcha, if a reality, cannot have lasted more than a year or two, simultaneously with the beginning of Samudra Gupta's reign.

The year G. E. 82, = A. D. 401, as already observed, fell in the reign of Chandra Gupta II., the son and successor of Samudra Gupta. The latest inscription of Chandra Gupta is dated G. E. 93, and the earliest inscription of his son and successor Kumâra Gupta is dated in G. E. 96.[12] We cannot therefore err materially if we place the **death of Chandra Gupta II. and the accession of his son and successor, Kumâra Gupta I., in the year G. E. 94, = A. D. 413.**

The interval between 326 A. D. and 413 A. D., amounting to 86 complete years, must be allotted to the two reigns of Samudra Gupta and his son and successor, Chandra Gupta II., who is known to have been reigning in A. D. 401. Evidently both reigns must have been exceptionally long, a fact clearly apparent also from the numismatic evidence.

If we assume that Samudra Gupta was twenty years of age when he entered upon his heritage, it is improbable that he attained an age exceeding eighty years. On this assumption, his death cannot be placed later than A. D. 386, and probably it occurred earlier. In the absence of specific evidence, I assume **A. D. 375 as a close approximation to the true date of the transmission of the crown from Samudra Gupta** to his chosen and able successor, Chandra Gupta II., but the death of Samudra Gupta may have occurred some years earlier.

The limits of the reign of Kumâra Gupta I., son and successor of Chandra Gupta II., are known with sufficient accuracy. He came to the throne, as we have seen, not earlier than

11 Cunningham gives the following figures as the result of the analyses or assays which he caused to be made (*C. Med.* I. p. 16) :—

No. of coins tested.	*King.*	*Mean weight in grains.*	*Pure gold.*	*Alloy.*	*Highest weight.*
12	Chandra Gupta I.	123	107·6	15·4	123·8
50	Samudra Gupta.	123	107·6	15·4	126·0
8	Kâcha.	123	102·5	20·5	118·5

If the 'highest weight' of 8 specimens of Kâcha was 118·5, the mean weight cannot have been 123 grains. A coin of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's is said to weigh 125·8 ('Coinage,' p. 74). Ordinarily the coins of Kâcha are of light weight, the mean of four specimens being 114·95. Mr. Rivett-Carnac's other specimens weighed 115·6.

12 G. E. 82 ; Udayagiri inscription of Chandra Gupta II. (*Fleet*, No. 3);
G. E. 93 ; Sânchi inscription of Chandra Gupta II. (*Fleet*, No. 5);
G E. 96 ; Bilsaḍ inscription of Kumâra Gupta I. (*Fleet*, No. 10).

G. E. 93, and not later than G. E. 96. I have assumed G. E. 94, = A. D. 413, as the date of his accession. His reign closed at some time in the year G. E. 136, = A. D. 455, which is the date of his latest coins and also of the earliest inscription of his son and successor, Skanda Gupta.

But at this point a difficulty similar to that in the case of Kâcha confronts the historian. The genealogical inscriptions on stone all end not later than Skanda Gupta's reign, and give the succession both of reigns and generations as (1) Gupta, (2) Ghaṭotkacha, (3) Chandra Gupta I., (4) Samudra Gupta, (5) Chandra Gupta II., (6) Kumâra Gupta I., (7) Skanda Gupta.

But **the Bhitarî seal** carries on the genealogy two generations further in the persons of Narasiṁha Gupta and Kumâra Gupta II., while **substituting Pura Gupta for Skanda Gupta.**[13] The question therefore arises, as in the case of Kâcha and Samudra Gupta, whether Pura Gupta is to be regarded as identical with Skanda Gupta or as a rival brother. The further questions may also be raised whether, if Pura Gupta were a distinct person, he preceded, followed, or was contemporaneous with Skanda Gupta. The case, although at first sight similar, differs materially from that of Kâcha and Samudra Gupta. The name of Kâcha is known only from a few coins, and nothing except the legends on those coins is on record concerning him to prove or disprove his separate existence. On the other hand, we know concerning Pura Gupta that he was a legitimate son of Kumâra Gupta I., whom he succeeded at least in the eastern provinces, that his mother was Queen Ananta Dêvî, that his wife was Queen Srî Vatsa Dêvî, and that his son and successor was Narasiṁha Gupta.

The long inscription on the Bhitarî pillar, which unfortunately is not dated, makes pointed allusion to Skanda Gupta's mother, while it strangely abstains from mentioning her name.[14]

The Bihâr inscription (*Fleet*, No. 12), which gives the usual genealogy, and names the queens of Chandra Gupta I., Samudra Gupta, and Chandra Gupta II., omits the name of the consort of Kumâra Gupta I., the mother of Skanda Gupta, but the imperfection of the record leaves it doubtful whether or not the name originally stood in the inscription.

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[13] 'An Inscribed Seal of Kumâra Gupta II.,' by V. A. Smith and Dr. Hoernle (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVIII., Part I., 1889). The seal, which is composed of an alloy of copper and silver, was dug up in the foundations of a house at Bhitarî in the Ghâzîpur District, where the celebrated pillar with Skanda Gupta's inscription stands.

Dr. Hoernle's section of the paper cited discusses with much elaboration the historical results deducible from the seal inscription. I am now fully satisfied that the name of the king who is substituted for Skanda Gupta has been correctly read as Pura Gupta. The readings Puru and Sthira proposed by Cunningham and Bühler, respectively, are erroneous. The letters *Pu-ra* on the seal are quite plain. (See Dr. Hoernle's 'Note' appended to my paper entitled 'Further Observations on the History and Coinage of the Gupta period,' in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII. (1894), Part I., p. 210.)

[14] (Line 5):— "The glorious Kumâragupta, who meditated on his [*scil.* Chandra Gupta II.] feet, and who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* Dhruvadêvî.

(Line 6):— The son of him, the king, who was renowned for the innate power of (*his*) mighty intellect (*and*) whose fame was great, is this (*present*) king, by name Skanda Gupta, who possesses great glory; who subsisted (*like a bee*) on the wide-spreading waterlilies which were the feet of (*his*) father . . . . . . who is the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas . . . . . .

(Line 10):— By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (*his*) family, a whole night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then having conquered the Pushyamitras, who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (*his*) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that tribe himself) . . . . . .

(Line 12):— Who, when (*his*) father had attained the skies, conquered his enemies by the strength of (*his*) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (*his*) lineage; and then crying 'the victory has been achieved,' betook himself to (*his*) mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Krishṇa, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his mother Dêvakî;—

(Line 14):— Who, with his own armies, established (again his) lineage that had been made to totter.

(Line 15):— joined in close conflict with the Hûṇas . . . . . .

(Line 18):— has allotted this village (*to the idol*), in order to increase the religious merit of his father." (*Fleet*, p. 55.)

Note the early reference to the (Puranic ?) legend of Krishṇa and Dêvakî. The inscription records the dedication and endowment of an image of Vishṇu under the name of Śâringin. Cunningham found numerous bricks inscribed with the name of 'Srî Kumâra Gupta at Bhitarî, which was evidently a royal residence in the time of Skanda Gupta and his father.

The Jûnâgaṛh, Kahâuṁ, and Indôr inscriptions (*Fleet*, Nos. **14, 15, 16**), while magnifying Skanda Gupta as an illustrious member of the Gupta dynasty, abstain from tracing his genealogy. Skanda Gupta was certainly in power in Western India previous to the bursting of the lake embankment at Jûnâgaṛh in January, A. D. 456 (G. E. 136), and before that date had entrusted the provincial administration of Surâshṭra to his officer Parṇadatta, who had appointed his son Chakrapâlita as governor of the city at Jûnâgaṛh. Chakrapâlita repaired the broken embankment during the hot season of A. D. 456 (G. E. 137), and in the following year (G. E. 138) erected a temple to sanctify his work. Considering that coins of Kumâra Gupta I. exist which are dated in G. E. 135 and 136, the dates require the assumption that **Kumâra Gupta I. died in the spring of A. D. 455**, corresponding to the early months of G. E. 136, which began in March, A. D. 455, and extended to February or March, A. D. 456.[15] Kumâra Gupta I. may be considered to have died in April, A. D. 455. The appointments of Parṇadatta as Viceroy of Surâshṭra and of Chakrapâlita as Governor of Jûnâgaṛh must have taken effect before the close of A. D. 455. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that, at least in the west of India, Skanda Gupta was the immediate successor of his father Kumâra Gupta I. in the year A. D. 455 (G. E. 136). It is equally certain that five years later he was in full authority over the eastern parts of his father's dominions, because the inscription at Kahâuṁ (*Fleet*, No. 15) is dated in the month Jyeshṭha of G. E. 141, equivalent to May or June, A. D. 460, and Kahâuṁ is situated in the eastern end of the Gôrakhpur District, at a distance of about ninety miles from Pâṭaliputra (Patna). The undated inscription at Bihâr, also in the east of the empire, which gives the usual genealogy, likewise treats Skanda Gupta as being the son and immediate successor of Kumâra Gupta I.

On the other hand, the Bhitarî seal, in similar technical language (*tasya puttras tat-pâdânudhyâto*), describes Pura Gupta as the son and apparently immediate successor of Kumâra Gupta I., and Narasiṁha Gupta as the son and apparently immediate successor of Pura Gupta. This record of the regular succession from Kumâra Gupta I., through Pura Gupta to Narasiṁha Gupta, is the difficulty which stands in the way of the otherwise plausible and tempting hypothesis that Pura Gupta was a rival brother of Skanda Gupta.

If Pura Gupta disputed the succession to the empire, and succeeded in holding only for a year or two the government of the eastern provinces against Skanda Gupta, who certainly was the direct successor of his father in the western provinces, how could Pura Gupta have transmitted the royal dignity to his son? The hypothesis of a division of the empire immediately after the death of Kumâra Gupta I. seems to be shut out by the language of the inscriptions, especially the long record on the Bhitarî pillar, and by the fact that within five years of his father's death, Skanda Gupta was in full possession of both the eastern and the western extremities of his father's extensive empire.

The hypothesis that Pura Gupta was the successor of Skanda Gupta in the imperial dignity associated with the possession of the eastern provinces, as Budha Gupta certainly succeeded Skanda Gupta in the government of the western provinces as a local râja, is difficult to reconcile with the

[16] The important Jûnâgarh inscription of Chakrapâlita (*Fleet*, No. 14), dated during the reign of Skanda Gupta in the years G. E. 136, 137, 138, has also been edited, though not very carefully, by the late Professor Peterson in the work entitled 'A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions.' Published by the Bhavnagar Archæological Department under the auspices of His Highness Raol Shri Takhtsinghji, G.C.S.I., LL.D. (Cantab.), Maharaja of Bhavnagar. (Bhavnagar: Printed at the State Printing Press.) N. D. By an unfortunate blunder the translation of the inscription in this work gives the month in which the dam burst as being 'Bhâdrapada.' The facsimile and transliteration correctly give the '6th day of the month Praushṭhapada,' equivalent to January.
The date of the record must of course be taken as G. E 138, = A. D. 457-8. In the preamble, Lakshmî, the goddess of fortune, is said to have selected Skanda Gupta for the throne, 'having discarded all the other sons of kings.' These words may refer either to a disputed succession, or to the selection of Skanda Gupta by his father.
The king (line 9) appointed Parṇadatta 'to protect in a proper manner the land of the Surâshṭras,' and to be 'lord over the region of the west.' Chakrapâlita (line 12) 'accomplished the protection of the city.'

language of the Bhitarî seal, which seems to imply the immediate succession of Pura Gupta to his father Kumâra Gupta I. But, as Dr. Hoernle has pointed out, the name of a king who does not stand in the direct genealogical line is sometimes omitted from a dynastic list which is primarily intended to trace the succession from father to son rather than from reign to reign. The best solution of the difficulty apparently is to assume that Skanda Gupta, by reason of being childless, is omitted from the genealogy of the Bhitarî seal, and that he was succeeded by his brother Pura Gupta.

The rare gold coins, of which about fifteen specimens are known, **which bear on the reverse the title Srî Prakâśâditya,** and weigh about 146 grains, like the later coins of Skanda Gupta, and those of Narasiṁha Gupta, were undoubtedly struck by a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, who was nearly contemporary with Skanda Gupta. Unluckily the proper name of the king on the obverse has not yet been read on any specimen. The best preserved example is one from Hardoî in Oudh, from the Rivett-Carnac cabinet, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but even that coin does not clear up the mystery. In the large Bharsar hoard found near Benares in 1851 the thirty-two coins described in detail comprised Samudra Gupta, 6 ; Chandra Gupta II., 10 ; Kumâra Gupta I , 8 ; Skanda Gupta, 6 ; and Prakâśâditya, 2. The rest of the hoard, so far as known, consisted of coins of Chandra Gupta II. The four fully known names in this hoard are those of Gupta kings in regular succession. The presumption is strong that the fifth name, or title, that of Prakâśâditya, should rank after that of Skanda Gupta, before whom there is no room. If this inference be admitted, the coins of Prakâśâditya must be assigned, as proposed by Dr. Hoernle, to Pura Gupta. No other attribution seems to be possible, for the gold coins of Nara Bâlâditya should certainly be assigned to Narasiṁha Gupta of the Bhitarî seal inscription.

If the Prakâśâditya coins are properly assigned to Pura Gupta, that king cannot possibly be identical with Skanda Gupta, for the following reason.

The richness of the gold in the Prakâśâditya coins had been noticed many years ago by numismatists, but the significance of this little fact was not intelligible until Cunningham caused chemical analyses, or assays, of the whole Gupta gold series to be made. The tests showed that the Gupta gold coinage from Chandra Gupta I. to, and including, the early years of Skanda Gupta contained about 107 grains of pure gold out of a total weight of 123 grains, the coins being struck to the weight standard of Roman *aurei denarii* (*dinâr*). Skanda Gupta in his later years struck coins to the *suvarṇa* standard of weight, exceeding 140 grains, and so impure that they only contain about 73 grains each of pure gold. The rich yellow **coins of Prakâśâditya,** weighing 146 grains, contain no less than 121·7 grains of pure gold, and **are therefore equal in value to the aurei of Augustus** (Letronne, 121·94 ; B. M. 121·126 pure), **and superior to any other ancient Indian gold coins.** The best Kushân coins have only 112·75 pure out of 123 grains.[16] This very surprising fact concerning the Prakâśâditya coinage seems to be best explained by the hypothesis that Pura Gupta, the brother of Skanda Gupta, assumed the title of Prakâśâditya, and, after succeeding Skanda Gupta, made a determined effort to restore the purity of the coinage, which had been so grievously debased during the troubles of Skanda Gupta's reign. The reform was of very brief duration, for the coins of Narasiṁha Gupta, son of Pura Gupta, are as debased as the *suvarṇa* pieces of Skanda Gupta, and those of Kumâra Gupta II. are still worse, containing only 66·5 grains pure out of 150. Skanda Gupta was the first to strike coins of the heavy *(suvarṇa)* standard. The fact that the coins of Prakâśâditya conform to this standard of weight strongly supports the theory that Pura Gupta succeeded Skanda Gupta.

16 For discussion of the coins of Prakâśâditya, see 'Coinage,' pp. 115-117 ; 'Observations,' pp. 125-127. The coins of Nara[siṁha] Gupta are described in 'Coinage,' pp. 113-115 ; and 'Observations,' p. 128. The coins of Kumâra Gupta II. (Kramâditya), which were in my earlier publications assigned to Kumâra Gupta I., are correctly assigned and described in 'Observations,' p. 129. Cunningham's assay results will be found in *Coins. Med. India*, p. 16.

No hypothesis for the explanation of Pura Gupta's place in the order of succession is free from difficulty, but after much consideration I have come to the conclusion, in agreement with Dr. Hoernle, that he must be regarded as the successor of his brother Skanda Gupta in the imperial dignity associated with the government of the home provinces of the vast empire of his ancestors. I imagine that when Skanda Gupta died in about A. D. 482, the western provinces of the empire were lost, and that the deceased monarch was succeeded in the east by his brother Pura Gupta, and in the west by Budha Gupta, who may or may not have been his son, and is known to have been reigning as a local râja in Mâlava in A. D. 484 and 494 (G. E. 165 and 175).[17] Assuming that the coins bearing the title Prakâśâditya belong to Pura Gupta, the rarity of those coins is an indication of a very short reign. The accession of his son Narasiṁha Gupta Bâlâditya may be provisionally dated, as proposed by Dr. Hoernle, in A. D. 485. The coins bearing the name Nara and the title Bâlâditya, which are assigned to Narasiṁha Gupta of the Bhitarî seal inscription, are much less rare than those of Prakâśâditya, and include many examples in quite base metal. At one time I conjectured that these base metal coins might be posthumuous, but it is preferable to refer them all to the reign of Narasiṁha Gupta, and to believe that during a long and disturbed reign the coinage was progressively debased. Dr. Hoernle's proposal to regard Narasiṁba Gupta as identical with the Bâlâditya, King of Magadha, who defeated Mihira Kula about A. D. 530, may be provisionally accepted. If this supposition be correct, the reign of Kumâra Gupta II. may be considered to have begun in A. D. 522, and the Bhitarî seal may be referred approximately to that date. The characters of the inscription on the seal look rather earlier.

The long duration of Narasiṁha Gupta's reign required by Dr. Hoernle's theory is no objection. **Most of the Gupta sovereigns enjoyed exceptionally long reigns.** Parallels may be found in the series of Mughal emperors, Akbar, Jahângîr, Shâh Jahân, and Aurangzêb, whose four reigns covered the period from A. D. 1555 to 1707, with an average of 38 years for each reign and generation; and in the Hanoverian dynasty of Great Britain. Three generations and four reigns fill the period extending from the accession of George III. in 1760 to the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, with an average of 47 years for each generation, and 35 years for each reign.

The annexed Revised Chronological Table summarizes in a convenient form my present views concerning the outline of Gupta history. The dates of accession of Chandra Gupta I., Samudra Gupta, Kumâra Gupta I., and Skanda Gupta are now known with sufficient accuracy. The most important matter remaining in doubt is the date of the accession of Chandra Gupta II., which cannot be determined from the materials now available.

Revised Chronological Table of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty.

Serial No.	King.	Title.	Son of	Queen.	Accession.		Known Dates.		Remarks.
					G. E.	A. D.	G. E.	A. D.	
1	Gupta ...	Mahârâja ...	Unknown.	Unknown..	...	275	None ...	None ...	Probably is the Śrî Gupta, King of Magadha, mentioned by I-tsing (Beal, in *J. R. A. S.*, XIII., N. S., pp. 552-572) as having lived 'about 500 years' before A. D. 700. No coins or contemporary inscriptions.
2	Ghaṭotkacha.	Ditto ...	No. 1...	Ditto ..	...	300	None ...	None ...	Date estimated, as in case of No. 1. No coins or contemporary inscriptions.

[17] Eraṇ inscription dated Thursday, 12th Âshâḍha Sudi, G. E. 165, equivalent to the 21st June, A. D. 484; silver coins dated in the year 175, and one specimen dated ? 18[—]. ('Coinage, p. 134, *Ind Ant.* XIV. 68.) The date of the inscription (*Fleet*, No. 19) is exhaustively discussed by Dr. Fleet in pp. 80-84 of his Introduction.

Serial No.	King.	Title.	Son of	Queen.	Accession.		Known Dates.		Remarks.
					G. E.	A. D.	G. E.	A. D.	
3	Chandra Gupta I.	Mahârâjâdhirâja.	No. 2.	Kumâra Dêvî, of the Lichchhavi clan.	1	320	None ...	None ...	Founded Gupta Era, of which year 1 = 26th Feb., A. D. 320, to 15th March, A. D. 321. No contemporary inscriptions known. Struck a few gold coins in joint names of himself, his queen, and the Lichchhavi clan.
	Samudra Gupta.	Ditto ...	No. 3...	Datta Dêvî.	7	326	9	A. D. 328	This date rests on the authority of the forged Gayâ copper-plate (*Fleet*, No. 60). The forger may be assumed to have known that Samudra Gupta was really reigning in the year 9.
							Circa 11	A. D. 330	Embassy headed by Mahânâman from King Meghavarna of Ceylon (A. D. 304-32), as related by Wang Hiuen Ts'e. The contemporary inscriptions are not dated. They are:— (1) Eraṇ (*Fleet*, No. 2); and (2) Allâhâbâd (*Fleet*, No. 1). The fragmentary inscription at Mathurâ (No. 38 in *Ep. Ind.* II. 198, 210), dated in the year 57, probably belongs to this reign. The coins, all gold, are not dated, unless the syllable सि, *si*, on certain coins be a date.
4a	Kâcha, or Kacha.	*Sarvarâjôchchhêttâ.*	? No. 3.	Unknown..	7	326	None ...	None ..	Known from coins only, which closely resemble those of Samudra Gupta. Probably identical with him, and, if distinct, must be regarded as a rival brother who reigned contemporaneously for a short time in the eastern provinces.
5	Chandra Gupta II.	*Mahârâjâdhirâja.*	No. 4..	Dhruva Dêvî.	55	375	82	401	Udayagiri inscription (*Fleet*, No. 3);
							88	407	Gadhwâ inscription (*Fleet*, No. 7);
							90	409	Coins of Vikramâditya type, as read by Bayley and Newton ('Coinage,' p. 122), and confirmed by a coin in cabinet of Mr. H. N. Wright.
							93	412	Sâñchi inscription (*Fleet*, No. 5).

Serial No.	King.	Title.	Son of	Queen.	Accession. G. E.	Accession. A. D.	Known Dates. G. E.	Known Dates. A. D.	Remarks.
6	Kumâra Gupta I.	*Mahârâjâdhirâja.*	No. 5...	Ananta Dêvî.	94	413	96	415	Bilsad inscription (*Fleet*, No. 10);
							98	417	Gaḍhwâ inscription (*Fleet*, No. 9);
							113	432	Mathurâ inscription (*Ep. Ind.* II. 193, 210);
							[117]	436	Mandasôr inscription (*Fleet*, No. 18, dated in V. S. 493);
							121	440	Silver Coins ('Coinage,' p. 128);
							124	443	Do. do.
							128	447	Do. do.
							129	448	Do. do.
							129	448	Mankuwâr inscription (*Fleet*, No. 11);
							130	449	Silver coins ('Coinage,' p 128).
							135	454	Do. do do.
							136	455	Silver coins (Dr. Vost's Cabinet; *J. A. S. B.* for 1894, Part I., p. 175).
7	Skanda Gupta.	Mahârâjâdhirâja.	No. 6...	Unknown...	136	455	136	455	Jûnâgarh inscription (*Fleet*, No. 14);
							137	456	Do. do. do
							138	457	Do. do. do.
							141	460	Kahâuṁ inscription (*Fleet*, No. 15);
							144	463	Silver coins ('Coinage,' p. (134);
							145	434	Do. do. do.
							146	465	Indôr inscription (*Fleet*, No. 16);
							147 (? 149)	146 (? 468)	Silver coins ('Coinage,' p. 134);
							148	467	Do. do. do
							? 160	? 479	Do. do. do. The queen's name, which is given on the obverse of the gold King and Queen type, is illegible on the four known specimens.
8	Pura Gupta.	Ditto ..	Ditto...	Śrî Vatsa Dêvî.	163	482	None ..	None ..	No contemporary inscriptions. The fine gold heavy coins bearing the title Prakâśâditya are assigned to this king.
9	Narasiṁha Gupta.	Ditto ...	No. 8...	Śrî (?) Mahâ Dêvî.	166	485	None ...	None. ...	No contemporary inscriptions. The gold coins bearing the legend Nara Bâlâditya are assigned to this king.
10	Kumâra Gupta II.	Ditto ...	No. 9..	Unknown ...	219	522	None ...	None ...	The undated Bhitarî seal belongs to this reign. Coinage very debased. Budha Gupta, with the subordinate designation of *bhûpati*, is known from the Eran pillar inscription (*Fleet*, No. 19) to have been Râja of Mâlava in G. E. 165, = A. D. 484. His silver coins are dated in G. E. 175, = A. D. 494 (Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* XIV. 68); Cunningham read the date as 174 ('Coinage,' p. 134).

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 251.)

Abstracts of the Expences of one of the Vessels employed at the Andamans on the Old Establishment and One now Proposed.

Old Establishment.

1	Captain	@	375	C. Rs.	pr. Month		323	4	5
1	first Officer	„	150	„	„		129	5	0
1	Second Do.	„	100	„	„		86	3	4
1	Gunner	„	46	Sa. Rs.	„		40	0	0
4	Quarter Masters	„	25	„	„		100	0	0
6	Native Helmsmen	„	12	„	„		72	0	0
1	Carpenter	„	25	„	„		25	0	0
1	Caulker	„	25	„	„		15	0	0
1	Sarang	„	15	„	„		15	0	0
1	First Tindal	„	12	„	„		12	0	0
1	Second Do.	„	10	„	„		10	0	0
1	Cusab	„	10	„	„		10	0	0
30	Lascars	„	6	„	„	ea.	180	0	0
1	Captains Cook	„	8	„	„		8	0	0
2	Captains Servants	„	8	„	„		16	0	0
2	Officers Do.	„	8	„	„		16	0	0
55 men.									
	Provisions for the Above Men for One Month						240	0	0
						Sa. Rupees	1292	12	9

Proposed Establishment.

1	Captain	@	375	C Rs.	pr. Month		323	4	5
1	First Officer	„	150	„	„		129	5	0
1	Second Do.	„	100	„	„		86	3	4
1	Gunner	„	40	Sa. Rs.	„		40	0	0
1	Boatswain	„	40	„	„		40	0	0
1	Carpenter	„	40	„	„		40	0	0
1	Caulker	„	15	„	„		15	0	0
4	Quartermasters	„	20	„	„	each.	80	0	0
10	Seamen	„	16	„	„	each	160	0	0
1	Sarang	„	15	„	„		15	0	0
1	First Tindal	„	12	„	„		12	0	0
1	Second Do.	„	10	„	„		10	0	0

10 Cusab	@	10 Sa. Rs. pr. Month	... ...	10	0	0
20 Lascars	,,	7 ,, ,,	... ...	140	0	0
1 Captain's Cook	,,	8 ,, ,,	... ...	8	0	0
2 Captains Servants	,,	8 ,, ,,	... ...	16	0	0
2 Officers Do.	,,	8 ,, ,,	... ...	16	0	0
50 men.						
Provisions for the above Men for one Month			... ...	338	0	0
			Sicca Rs. ...	1478	12	9

Major Kyd the Superintendant at the Andamans attends the Board, for the purpose of explaining the References to the Chart mentioned in his Letter of the 25th Instant and this being done the Chart is returned to him, and he withdraws.

Agreed that Major Kyd be informed that the Governor General in Council approves of the Instructions he left with **Engineer Stokoe** in his Letter dated the 28th of June for **putting the Companys Settlement at the Andamans in a State of defence to resist any Attacks of Privateers, or any Small French Armament.**

Ordered that he be directed to furnish two Copies of the Plan alluded to in that letter of the Point of the Island that one may be transmitted to the Honble Court of Directors and the other remain in Bengal.

Agreed that the Detachment of **Sepoys** at Port Cornwallis be encreased to the Strength of two Companies to be made up of **Volunteers** from the Battalions at Barrackpore.

That a Small Detachment of European Artillery consisting of 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal two Gunners and 10 mattrosses be held in readiness to proceed to Port Cornwallis.

That a Detachment of 1 Serang 1 Tendal and 40 experienced Gun Lascars be drafted from the Artillery Lascars at the Presidency for the same purpose.

Agreed that the Commander in Chief be requested to issue the necessary Orders in Conformity to the foregoing Resolutions.

Agreed that a proportion of Artillery and Stores, according to the List furnished by Major Kyd be in readiness to be sent to Port Cornwallis, and that the Military Board do give the Directions that are required in consequence upon receiving the Indents that will be furnished by the Superintendant.

Agreed that the Superintendant be authorized to procure as many Bildars as can be sent in the next Vessels that may be dispatched to the Andamans and that he be directed to apply to the Garrison Storekeeper for the additional Supply of Provisions that will be wanted at the Settlement for the use of these men.

Agreed that the Vessels on the Andaman Station be armed, that the Establishment recommended by Major Kyd be authorized in lieu of that now existing that Orders be sent to the Master Attendant to assist in procuring the additional Europeans that will be immediately wanted for the Sea Horse, and for any other Vessel on that Establishment that may in future be fitted out, when that happens.

Ordered that a Copy of the new Establishment be sent to the Acting Marine Paymaster for his guidance, and that he be informed that the new Establishment for the Sea horse to take place from the 1st of next Month.

Ordered that Commissions, corresponding as far as possible with those issued to Commanders &ca. of Country Ships, since the beginning of the War, be given to the Commanders and Officers of the Vessels at the Andaman Station.

1793. — No. XL.

Fort William **9th August 1793.**

Read a **Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.**

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir,—Accompanying I have the pleasure of transmitting to you for the inspection of the Governor General in Council, **my Account Current** with the Honble Company brought up to the period of my Leaving Port Cornwallis with the Various Accounts of particulars referred to in it.

I will beg the favor of you to observe to the Board that on my taking Charge of the Settlement, I found that every class of people were paid in Sicca Rupees ; conceiving however that to bring this Establishment to a Conformity with all other Military Establishments it would be the wish of Government, to have the accounts kept in **Sonant Rupees** ; I have with some little difficulty made this Charge as will be perceived by the Pay Rolls from the 15th March.

Fort William I have the honor to be &ca.
5th August 1793. (Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant at the Andamans.

Ordered that a Copy of Major Kyd's Letter be sent, with the Account enclosed in it and the Vouchers thereof, to the Military Auditor General, with Instructions to Examine and Report on the Account.

The Auditor General is to be informed that it is the intention of the Governor General in Council that the present Superintendant at the Andamans shall be allowed, from the time of his Appointment, the Pay and full Batta that his Rank may entitle him to on that Command, that is the Pay of his actual Rank, and the full Batta of the Rank immediately superior.

1793. — No. XLI.

Fort William **26th August 1793.**

The following Letter and its Enclosure were received, on the 24th Instant, from the Commissary of Stores.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir,— I herewith have the Honor to enclose an Invoice, and two Bills of Lading, for Stores Shipped on the **Sea Horse Schooner, Commanded by Lieutt. George Thomas,** for the Andamans.

I have the Honor to be &ca.
Fort William (Signed) **W. Golding** Commissary of Stores.
24th August 1793.

Enclosed in the Letter from the Commissary of Stores 24th August.

Invoice of Stores dispatched on **the Brig Sea Horse to the Andamans**
Captain George Thomas Commander.

Fort William 23rd August 1793.

Saws	Pit	... ...		3
	Crosscut	in 3 bundles		10
Spunges with Rammers		in one do.	6 pdr.	4

Shot fixt to Bottoms Grape } in 23 Mangoe Boxes	... ...	6 do.	100
Round } in 23 Mangoe Boxes	... ...	6 do.	400
		12 do.	1200
„ Loose Round ...	... ...		6
Rope White Country in 2 Bundles Wt. 6 „ 27/ } 5 In Coils ...	... ...		1
Buckets Fire or Gun in 1 do.	... ...		6
Dragropes Gun } in 1 Bundle	... ...	pr. 12 pd.	2
„ „ } in 1 Bundle	... ...	do. 6 do.	2
Match Gun Country wt. 31 } in 1 bundle	... ...	S. Rs.	10
Linstocks with Cocks } in 1 bundle	... ...		2
Twine Jute in 2 do.	... ...	Mds.	2
Cartridges Empty Serge	... ...	12 pnder.	600
„ „	... ...	6 do.	200
Blocks Iron for Gins	... ...		2
Gins ...	... ...		1
Cartridges paper Balled Musquet in 18 100 lb. B'ls.	... ...		2400
Powder Bengal Coarse	... ...	100 lb. Barrels	10
„ „ Medium	... ...	do.	10
„ „ Fine	... ...	do.	10
Tarpawlins Large in 6 Bales	... ...		20
Carriages Garrison wood trucked 12 pder.	... ...		6
Ordnance. Iron Guns Cwt. 202-1-23	... ...	12 pds.	6
Handspiks Common Unshod	... ...		12
Spunges with Rammers in Bundles	... ...	12 Poundr.	12
Ladles Copper Gun and wadhooks (in two do.)	... ...	12 Do.	6
Carriages Field Gun and Limbers	... ...	6 Do.	2
Ordnance Brass Guns English (Cwt. 11-1-22)	... ...	6 Do.	2
Handspiks Traversing	.. ..		4
Ladles Copper Gun and wadhooks (in 1 Bund.) Package	... ...	6 Do.	2
Barrels Empty 100 lb. with 4 Copper hoops Common	... ...		18
Boxes Mangoe	... ...		23
Gunny Chutties	... ...		110
Nails Europe 10d.	... ...	Seers	5
Okum	... ...	Mds.	1
Plank Teak Sheathing	... ...		3
Rope Jute Lashings	... ...	S. Rs.	17
Twine Bengal	... ...	Seer	5
Wax Cloth ...	... ...	pieces	4

(Signed) Wm. Golding
Commissary of Store.

Agreed that the following Letter be Written to Major Kyd and that the Instructions that will be entered after it be sent to Lieutt. Thomas who Commands that Vessel.

Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant of the Andamans.

Sir, — **The Company's Brig Seahorse** belonging to the Andaman Station, being ready to depart for Port Cornwallis, it is the Board's desire that you will send such Instructions as you may think necessary to Lieutenant Wells, and Senior Officer in Charge of the Settlement during your absence, Concerning the People and Consignments of Stores &ca. embarked on the Vessel forwarding to him at the Same Time the enclosed Bill of Lading, and Copy of an Invoice transmitted to this Office by **Lieutenant Golding.**

You will also receive herewith a Copy of Sailing Orders to Lieutenant Thomas Commander of the Seahorse, that it may be sent to Lieutenant Wells.

Council Chamber I am &ca.
24th August 1793.

Lieutenant George Thomas Commanding the Company's Brig, Sea Horse.

The Bildars and Coolies intended for the Service at the Andamans and the Consignments of Military Stores Provision, & other Articles, for that Settlement, having been embarked on the Vessell under your Command you are directed on Receipt of this to weigh your Anchor; and make the best of your way to Port Cornwallis, where on your Arrival you will follow the Orders of the Senior Officer in Charge of the Settlement for future Guidance.

You will pay Particular Attention to the Accommodation of the Natives Proceeding on the Sea Horse, and give such orders to your Officers as you may think necessary to prevent any improper interference on the part of the Ships Company with them during the Passage.

Council Chamber I am &ca.
24th August 1793.

1793. — No. XLII.

Fort William **6th September 1793.**

The Secretary lays before the Board a Bill of **Mr. Brittridge**, amounting to Sicca Rupees 1,250, Consisting of a Charge of Sicca Rupees 1200 for engraving **a Chart of the North Part of the Andamans** and Sa. Rs. 50 for Printing off 100 Copies of it on Super Royal Paper.

Ordered that the Bill be passed the charge being conformable to the Agreement made by Captain Blair, and Ordered that it be paid by the Civil Paymaster in whose Favor an Order on the Treasury is to be issued for the Amount.

Read a Letter from Mr. R. Brittridge. To Edward Hay Esqre.

Sir, — In the bill which I had the pleasure to send to you yesterday for Sicca Rupees 1250 a Charge for One hundred impressions taken off the Copper Plate of the Chart of the North part of the Andamans, which I learn from my Sircar you have not yet received In consequence thereof I beg leave to inform you that they were delivered to **Captain Wales, who forwarded them to Captain Kyd.**

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant
September 4th 1793. (Signed) R. Brittridge.

Ordered that Major Kyd be desired to send to the Secretary as many Charts **(100 in Number)** furnished by Mr. Brittridge of the North Part of the Andamans as are not required by the Superintendant at Port Cornwallis, and that Mr. Brittridge be required to transmit **the Copper Plate to the Secretary of Government.**

1793. — No. XLIII.

No. 1.

16th September 1793.[26]

Letter **from Superintendant at Andamans dated 10th September.**

Reports that the Cornwallis Snow requires great Repairs, and requests that the Master Attendant be desired to examine into the State of the Vessel and return her to the Andaman Establishment as soon as possible, Informs that three Vessels will be always necessary to be constantly employed to transport Provisions &ca. offers a Vessel built by the late Colonel Kyd (Terms) — Requests an Order for ten thousand Rupees on Account of the Expences of the Andaman Establishment.

The Marine Officers to examine into the State of the Cornwallis Snow Major Kyd desired to state the Specific terms of Monthly hire for the Vessel he mentioned including Wear & Tear and all risks excepting that of Capture — The charge for the Commander, Officers & Crew Govt. will take upon themselves — Treasury Order Issued.

No. 2.

Read a **Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans Dated 14th September.**

Informs that Mr. Brittridge only Struck off **80 Copies of the Chart of the North East Harbour of the Andamans** and that it was his intention to have sent them with the Copper Plate to the Secretary's Office.

To be Deposited in the Secretary's Office. **Ten Copies to be sent to Madras, Bombay and the Superintendant of Prince of Wales Island — and Twenty to be forwarded to the Court of Directors.**

1793. — No. XLIV.

Fort William 7th October 1793.

The following Letter was received yesterday **from Lieutenant Wells at Port Cornwallis.**

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary &ca. &ca.

Sir, — I have the honor to inform you of my having drawn the undermentioned Bills, on the Governor General in Council at Thirty days Sight, for Cash paid by Individuals into the public Treasury of this Settlement, Vizt.

1793	Payable		Sicca Rs.		
Augt. 10th.	To Mr. David Wood or Order for	... ...	600	0	0
Septr. 18th.	To Do. Do.	... ...	300	0	0
20.	To **Messrs. Paxton Cockerell Trail & Co.** or Order ...	...	2800	0	0
		Rs.	3700	0	0

Amounting together to the Sum of Three Thousand and Seven hundred Sicca Rupees.

I have the Honor to be with Respect
Sir
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
(Signed) **Edmund Wells, Lieut. In tempry. Charge at the Andamans.**

Port Cornwallis
23rd September 1793.

Ordered that the Bills, above advised be duly honored.

[26] [The two next letters, abstracts of which (copied from the Index of 1793) only are given below, are not to be found in detail in the Consultation Book.]

1793. — No. XLV.

Fort William **7th October 1793.**

Read Letters from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — As I have understoood from the **Military Auditor General** to whom **the accounts** of the expences incurred at the Andamans, since the period of my being appointed to the Superintendance of that Settlement have been Submitted, that there are some charges for which there does not appear to be any authority in his Office, I have thought it best to prevent the Board being troubled with references, to give a more full explanation with the Accounts than I thought necessary when I gave them in, which will enable you to judge what further information it may be necessary for you to transmit to the Auditor General to enable him to Audit their Accounts which I am pretty Confident are Conformable to the Spirit of the instructions I have from time to time received from the Board.

The first Charge in my Account Current, is for Cash, advanced to **Captain Blair**, which he applied to me for, to enable him to pay up the Establishment to the period when I took Charge, this as a Contingent Charge should in Compliance with the Resolution of Council of the 18th Febry. last, have been accompanied with Captain Blair's Receipt as a Voucher, and an explanation, but which I did not think necessary to give as the transaction would appear in Captain Blair's Accounts.

The Second Article of charge is entirely of a Contingent Nature being for a great Variety of Small Articles, found absolutely Necessary for the Settlement, — as by the account of particulars, which I suppose is Sufficiently explanatory with this Bill it is not possible to furnish all the Vouchers as enjoined [by] the Resolution in Council as Many of the Articles furnished are of a trifling nature purchased in the Bazar for which there was no Bills, but I will beg you to call the Board's attention to this Resolution and to Request they will please to Consider whether an officers being required to declare upon honor, that the Charges he makes are just, does not preclude the necessity of a Voucher.

The Third Article is for advance of Pay to such Artificers and Labourers as I imagined could be conveyed in the Vessels that were at that period under dispatch towards completing the establishment then thought necessary — Many of these people it was found could not be taken with Safety, on these Vessels, and were put on shore at Fultah, and were discharged by my directions on my finding from the lateness of the Season and the Inclemency of the Weather, that it would have been extremely inconvenient and imprudent to have encreased the Number of Settlers, — the whole of these People therefore do not appear on the Returns as an encrease to the establishment but only such as actually went — Nor will any pay be drawn for those till the Month of June, the period to which they are paid by this Advance, — as there will appear on the Returns, **a Beach Master and Assistant,** and some Boat Lascars that were not authorised by the Board's Resolution of the 18th February it will be Necessary that the Auditor General be acquainted, that this encrease was by the Boards permission in consequence of my application pointing out the Necessity of such an Establishment.

The Fourth Charge is for my Pay and Batta which is consonant to the Standing Regulations of the Service.

The Sixth and Seventh Articles are the Pay abstracts of the Sepoy Detachment and of the Commissaries Establishment, which I have no doubt is according to the forms laid down by the Regulation.

The Eighth Article is for the Pay of Artificers and laborers from the 15th of February to the end of May — their Pay Rolls it will be observed are only for such people as I found at the Settlement and will not agree with the Monthly Return of People present, Many of whom will not begin to draw pay till the 1st of June as before remarked in Speaking of the 3rd Article of charge.

The Ninth Article is for the Pay and allowances of the Engineer Officer as fixed by the Resolutions of Council on that head.

The last Article of the Account Current is for my Agent's Commission on a draft for 5,000 Sa. Rs. for Cash received into the Treasure Chest from various individuals as will appear in the Credit side of the Account of this Charge I acquainted you when it occurred and had thro' you the Boards authority for making it.

Fort William I have the honor to be Sir Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
1st October 1793. (Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

Agreed that the Subject of the above Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans shall lie for consideration.

1793. — No. XLVI.

To **Colin Shakespear Esqr.** Sub Secretary.

Sir, — In answer to your letter of the 16th September I beg you will be so good as to inform the Board, that **I can afford to hire the Nautilus Brig to Government** for 650 Sa. Rs. per Month, as will appear by the following Calculation, which is made upon Supposing the Value of the Vessel to be 16,000 Rupees, which I beg leave to assure the Board is a Moderate Valuation.

I also transmit a necessary Establishment of officers and Men for that Vessel with a calculation of the Monthly expence of Provisions and Wear and Tear, which was made out by Lieutenant Wales.

A Note from Mr. Downie which also accompanys this points out that the Insurance against the dangers of the Seas, will be 14 pr. Ct. Supposing the Vessel goes three times out of the River in one year.

The whole possible expence to Government for this Vessel employing and paying their own Officers and Crew will be 1755 Rs. pr. Month.

Fort William. I have the honor to be &ca.
7th October 1793. (Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

Wear & Tear pr. Month	300	0	0
Insurance on 16,000 Rs. at 14 pr. Ct.	186	0	0
Interest on 16,000 Rs. at 10 pr. Ct.	133	0	0
Rs.	619	0	0

Enclosed in do. 7th October.

Major A. Kyd Superintendant at Andamans.

Sir, — The Insurance Office to which **Fairlie Reed & Co.** are Secretary will Cover your little Vessel for One Year for 12 per Cent against every danger but that of the Enemy and they require an additional premium of One per Cent for every time she may Sail out of the Hoogly oftener than one in the Course of twelve Months.

Mr. Reid says that before the Insurance is made, they must know the Name of the Vessel, and if she is here will send their inspector to look at him (*sic*).

I am Sir Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
26th September 1793. (Signed) **R. Downie.**

Enclosed in the Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans 7th October.

Monthly Establishment for the Nautilus Brigg.

1	Captain @ 375 C. Rs. pr Month ...	323	4	5
1	First Officer „ 150 „ ...	129	5	0
1	Second Do. „ 100 „ ...	86	3	4
1	Gunner ...	40	0	0
1	Carpenter ...	40	0	0
4	Quarter Masters 20 each ...	80	0	0
1	Caulker ...	15	0	0
1	Syrang ...	15	0	0
1	First Tindal ...	12	0	0
1	Second Do. ...	10	0	0
1	Cusah [Cossob, butcher] ...	10	0	0
15	Lascars ...	105	0	0
3	Captain's Servants ...	24	0	0
2	Officers' Servants ...	16	0	0
34	Mens Pay for one Month is ...	905	12	9
	Provisions for these Men one Month ...	200	0	0
	Wear and Tear of Vessel per Month ...	300	0	0
	Sicca Rupees ...	1405	12	9

I have calculated the Wear and Tear upon a supposition that the Vessel may want every 6 Months a Suit of Sails and a Cable and Anchors which I think is as little as can possibly be allowed for, if she does not want them, she will other things that will come to the same rents.

Agreed that the Nautilus Brig be freighted by Government for 650 Sicca Rupees per Mensem, that the Establishment proposed by Major Kyd for the Vessel be kept up on account of the Company; and that the necessary Orders in consequence be sent to the Acting Marine Pay Master by the Secretary.

1793. — No. XLVII.

Superintendant at the Andamans 7th Octr.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Accompanying I have the honor of transmitting you a letter **from Lieutenant Wells** in charge of the Settlement at the Andamans which I have just received by the Union Brig — as also the Surgeons Reports of Sick for the Months of July August and September which papers I request you will be so good as to lay before the Board for their Information Respecting the state of the Settlement.

I am very happy to have it in my power to acquaint the Board that by my private letters from Mr. Wells and Mr. Wood, I learn **that the alarming Sickness**, which prevailed during the first part of the Rainy Season **has been very Much got under** and there is very great hopes that on the expected Returning fair Weather, the Settlers will again be healthy.

You will perceive by Lieutenant Wells's letter that some part of the Provisions last indented for had not been received, this was Owing to the Seahorse, being unable to bare (*sic*) the whole, and the remaining part is now in charge of the Acting Commissary of Supplies ready to be sent by the first opportunity.

I will also beg of you to represent to the Board that the greatest part of the live Stock sent by the Seahorse perished from the Severity of the Weather which that Vessel experienced [in] her passage and that as the Settlement is very Much in want of fresh Provisions it will be very Necessary that the Cornwallis Snow should (as soon as she can be spared from the Pilot Service) be delivered again to the Charge of Lieutenant Wales in order that she may be speedily fitted out and a Crew provided.

If on Considering on the answer I have given to Mr. Shakespear's letter, respecting **the Nautilus Brig** the Board are pleased to employ that Vessel for the Andaman Establishment, and if they do not intend to Continue the Union Brig on freight. I beg that **Lieutenant Roper May be appointed to the Command of her,** when he May immediately proceed to fitting her out, which I will give him every Means of doing in the best Manner; and I think the alteration that May be necessary to Make on her to fit her for the Service [can] be completed in little More than a Month from the time it is commenced.

I have the Honor to be Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servant

Fort William (Signed) **A. Kyd**
October 7th 1793. Superintendant Andamans.

Enclosed in Do. 7th October.

To Major A. Kyd Superintendant of the Settlement at the Andamans at Fort William.

Sir, — The Honble Company's Brig Seahorse arrived here on the 15th Instant with two Sirdars & Eighty Coolies, all in perfect health and were immediately landed. I have the pleasure to add, that they will be in course of a day or two commodiously lodged, tho' they are at present some what otherwise by our total want of Tents; not one having been received by this Conveyance.

All the Military Stores are likewise landed, and the two brass Guns; but I have thought it better on many Considerations to leave the heavy Ordnance on board, as besides the want of Means to land them untill a Raft be constructed, we are at present wholly unprovided with People to use them, or any proper place for their reception.

The Dholl and Ghee is also on shore, a considerable proportion of my last Indent No. 3 dated June 27th 1793, on the Garrison Storekeeper, still Remains due, if admitted by the Military Board, and I hope it will be sent by the next Vessel. Our former Dholl in Stores, is very old and chiefly of the Kissarry kind, which the Bengal Natives believe to be, from its indigestible quality, only fit for use in a particular Season, and exceedingly improper for Men under ill Health.

I beg leave to refer to your inspection the Surgeon **Mr. Wood's Reports of the Hospital** for the complete Months of July and August, And to the present date with his concluding Remarks, which are enclosed, and will convey to you correct information of the State of the Sick.

Since my last, **per the Rose** the Weather has been in general less violent than about that Time Yet the Rain has been so frequent, and some times heavy since that period, as to afford few oppertunities of doing any Work without Doors, besides repairing the damages it has Occasioned to the Buildings. It has for this reason been utterly impracticable to do any thing further than what I mentioned in my former Letter, towards the general Plan of Defence for the Settlement. But as soon as the People by the Seahorse were sufficiently recovered from the common Inconveniences of their Sea passage, Namely, on the Morning of the 17th, they were all delivered over to the Charge of **Ensign Stokoe** who is now industriously employed in the construction of the Works agreeably to your written Instructions to him, and shall during the progress thereof receive every additional aid of Labourers that can possibly be given to him after providing for the other indispensible Duties of the place.

I shall lose no time in making such an addition to the Building now occupied by the European Non Commissioned Officers as will afford proper accommodation to the Artillery Men who (from the perusal of the Correspondence you have favored me with Copies of) I shall expect to be sent from the Presidency as soon as you deem the Season Sufficiently suitable.

The Union Brig, which I mentioned to have dispatched to the Carnicobars on the 12th of July, did not return to this Port untill the 12th of August, having experienced very adverse Winds and bad Weather, but sustained no material damage. **Lieutenant Roper** was unable to procure more Live Stock than 20 small Hogs, and about the same number of Fowls ; but brought an ample supply of Coconuts, Limes and other Fruits of that Kind, which were very acceptable to all the People.

By the present dispatch of that Vessel, I have allowed some People of different descriptions to proceed to Calcutta, the Names of whom, and Motives on which I was induced to comply with their Requests are contained in the Enclosure No. 1. They have all received their full pay and allowances up to the 30th Instant.

I have likewise the honor to enclose No. 2 my Account Current of Cash disbursements, made up to the 31st of the past Month together with the several particulars and Vouchers appertaining, and marked as therein specified (Vizt. No. 1 to 12) which I request you will be pleased to forward to the Secretary of Government.

Also No. 3 a Schedule of the Bills which under the general Instructions, I have drawn upon the Governor General in Council, for Monies paid by Individuals into the public Treasury here. I beg to observe, though possibly it may not be a Matter of Moment, that the blank Bills with which I am furnished are wholly "first of Exchange" the Counterpart or "second of Exchange" to complete the Setts, have been omitted to be sent ; and I presume if it be of any consequence, they will be forwarded by a future Oppertunity.

Monthly Returns for June and July of the different Classes of People in the public Employ, are also enclosed for your Information and are marked A. B.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most obedient humble Servt.

(Signed) **Edmund Wells** In tempry. Charge of the Settlement.

Port Cornwallis
Sept. 23rd 1793.

Enclosed in Do. 7th October.

Report of the Sick under Medical treatment at Port Cornwallis during the Month of July 1793.

[A detailed account for each day is given ; the following are the total figures for the month.]

Remaining in Hospital on 30th June	55
Admitted during July	147
Discharged "	86
Dead "	9
Remaining in Hospital on 31st July	107

Port Cornwallis (Signed) **David Wood**
August 1st 1793. **Actg. in a Medical Capacity.**

Report of the Sick under Medical treatment at Port Cornwallis, from the 1st of August to the 1st of September 1793.

Admitted during August	116
Discharged	130

Dead	6
Remaining in Hospital on 31st August	87

Port Cornwallis (Signed) David Wood

September 1st 1793. Acting in a Medical Capacity.

Report of the Sick under Medical treatment at Port Cornwallis from the 1st to the 22nd Sept. 1793.

Admitted during September	55
Discharged "	76
Dead "	3
Remaining in Hospital 22nd September	63

In the beginning of August, the Sick list had encreased to an alarming degree, upwards of **one fourth the people in the Island, were totally unfit for any kind of duty.** The principal complaint was **the remitting fever,** that commenced in July. The disease upon the whole, has not been fatal, but many have been reduced to the greatest state of debility, from the Obstinacy of the complaint, and the **indurations of the Spleen** which were exceedingly common and appeared to be the Chief cause of the tedious recoveries.

Latterly **I was objected [? obliged] to leave off the use of Mercury** for the obstructions, on account of the great debility of the patients, the least degree of Salivation would have sunk them past recovery. The obstructions of the Spleen could not proceed from **the use of the Bark,** for my stock was unfortunately all expended, by the beginning of August. I was obliged to have recourse to **the Camphire Julep, Chyrotta & the Saline mixture.** The greater part of August was pretty favorable weather, which was of great advantage to the Sick, & towards the end of the Month, the list was considerably reduced, In the course of the month six deaths happened, three occasioned by the flux, & three from fevers.

From the 6th of Septr. the weather has been very favorable ; the sea breeze has set in almost daily. There has not so many fallen by as in the preceeding Month, & those who have been lately taken ill, have **regular quotidians or tertians**; There are sixty on the list this day, about fourty of these are convalescents, twelve fevers, the others trifling complaints. I look forward with pleasure to the approaching fair weather, when I expect the Sickness of the people will be greatly removed. Three deaths have happened in the course of this Month, the first a boy who had a fever, & who was afterwards **seized with the flux** ; the second a labourer who had been ill with a fever for a considerable time, but had got it checked for several days [before] his death ; the third was also a labourer, he had been in the Hospital from the beginning of Febry., his complaint a **large Concerous [growth] on his left leg and ankle.**

(Signed) **David Wood Acting in a Medical Capacity.**

Port Cornwallis

Septr. 22nd 1793.

Agreed that Lt. Roper be appointed to the Command of the Nautilus, as recommended by Major Kyd, the Board having determined that the Freight of the Union shall be discontinued, & agreed that Major Kyd be desired to have the Nautilus fitted out for Service without delay.

1793. — No. XLVIII.

Fort William 7th October 1793.

Read a Letter and its enclosure from the **Secretary to the Hospital Board.**

To **John Tombelle Esqre. Sub Secretary.**

Sir,—I am directed by the Hospital Board to transmit to you the enclosed Copy of a List of Necessaries which they have received from Mr. David Wood acting Surgeon to the Andamans, which they request you will lay before the Governor General in Council, and to acquaint his Lordship that they beg leave to recommend that they may be authorized to direct the Purveyor to furnish the necessaries required.

I have the Honor to be Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servant

Fort William Hospital Board Office (Signed) **A. Campbell**, Secry.
the 7th October 1793.

Enclosed in Do.

Necessaries &ca. wanted for the Use of the Settlement and Cruisers at Port Cornwallis.

10 Dozen Madeira Wine
3 Do. Brandy
4 Do. Vinegar
2 Do. Lime Juice
1 Maund Tamarinds
4 Do. Sugar
4 Do. Bazar Oil
6 Bags Flower
10 Seer Candles for the use of the Dispensary
Stationary for Reports, Indents &ca.

(Signed) **David Wood** Acting in a Medical Capacity.

Edmund Wells In tempry. Charge of the Settlement Port Cornwallis (A true Copy).
Septr. 23rd 1793.

Agreed that the Hospital Board be authorized to direct the Purveyor to furnish the Necessaries wanted at Port Cornwallis, and desired to have them in readiness for dispatch to that Settlement by the first Opportunity that offers.

1793. — No. XLIX.

Fort William the 21st October 1793.

Read a Letter **from the Superintendant at the Andamans.**

To Edward Hay Esqre. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — As I have learnt that the Corwallis Snow is arrived at the **Banksall**, I beg you will be so good as to represent to the Board the necessity of ordering her to be delivered immediately in charge to **Lieutenant Wales**, and that the Master Attendant may be directed to proceed with all expedition to the necessary repairs and equipment, to render that Vessel fit for the Andaman Service.

As the Board have also been pleased to determine on employing the Nautilus Brig, I have to request that Lieutenant Roper may be ordered to take charge of her, from the 1st of November, that he may proceed with his equipment, and providing a proper Crew.

As Officers are wanted for the Nautilus, and seniority in promotion has been strictly attended to, I hope the Board will approve of **Mr. Timings**, now Second Officer of the Cornwallis, being appointed first Officer to the Nautilus and **Mr. Somerville** who has been an Officer of the Union to replace Mr. Timings.

Fort William I have the honor to be &ca.
21st October 1793. (Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

The Governor General in Council observes, upon the first part of Major Kyd's Letter, that Orders have been already given for delivering over the Cornwallis Snow to the Charge of Lieut. Wales.

Agreed that the Marine Officers be instructed to proceed, with all expedition, in ordering the necessary Repairs & Equipment of the Cornwallis, to render that Vessel fit for the Andaman Service.

Agreed that Lt. Roper be directed to take Charge of the Nautilus Brig from the 1st of November next, and to provide, for the Vessel, a proper Crew.

Agreed that Mr. Timings, second Officer of the Cornwallis, be appointed first Officer of the Nautilus, and that Mr. Somerville be appointed 2nd Officer of the Cornwallis, in Mr. Timings's place.

1793. — No. L.

Fort William **1st November 1793.**

Read a Letter **from Major Kyd.**

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I will be much Obliged to you to lay my request, before the Governor General in Council, that they will please to permit an Order to be issued for the delivery of Ten Tons of broken Guns and Shot from the Arsenal, as Ballast for the Nautilus Brig. I have made enquiry and find there is a Sufficient quantity in the Arsenal, that can be well spared.

I have the honor to be &ca.

31st October 1793. (Signed) **A. Kyd.**

Agreed that the Military Board be desired to give Orders for Complying with the above Application, and informed that the Nautilus has been freighted by Government to proceed on Service at Port Cornwallis.

1793. — No. LI.

Fort William **6th December 1793.**

Read a Letter **from the Superintendant at the Andamans.**

Superintendant at the Andamans **31st Novr.**

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — As the Cornwallis Snow will be ready to sail for the Andamans in a very short time, I beg you will acquaint the Governor General in Council that as the most favorable Season for transporting Settlers to the Andamans has commenced, I should wish part of the Detachment to be embarked on that Vessel that was determined in Council Should be sent, in consequence of my letter of the 25th July last, but which was postponed in consequence of the great sickness that prevailed amongst the Settlers at that time. I will therefore beg that the Board will be pleased to request the Commander in Chief to order the Detachment to be formed, and have to Suggest the necessity of another Subaltern Officer being appointed to the Detachment of Sepoys at Port Cornwallis which will now consist of two complete Companys.

As there are some very necessary Artificers and Tradesmen, that must be sent by the Cronwallis to supply the place of those that have died or have been obliged to leave the place, on account of Sickness, that Vessel will only be able to convey the European Artillery men and Lascars, and the Sepoy Detachment which will take some time to form will be in readiness to go by other opportunities.

As I understand that it is the intention of the Board to send **Two Hundred of the Male Convicts to Port Cornwallis** this Season, I take the liberty of suggesting the propriety of having them immediately sent from the different Jails, to Calcutta that they may be in readiness to embark on favorable opportunities offering; and I also beg leave to point out that this is the most probable time to obtain Vessels on easy terms of freight to convey those people with a sufficient stock of Provisions for them to the Andamans, as the touching at Port Cornwallis will not interfere much with the Voyages generally undertaken at this time to **Pegu and to the Malay Coast**, Already two small Vessels have been tendered to me, and I have no doubt that I shall have many other Officers, — If the Board therefore think it expedient to adopt this mode of conveying these people to the Andamans, I beg they will be pleased to direct that proposals for freight may be made, or if they think good, I will endeavour to make the most advantageous agreement with the Owners, who have made proposals to me, first acquainting the Board of the terms for their consideration.

As it would not be safe to send many Men of such desperate Characters in an unarmed Country Ship, part of the Sepoy Detachment may be sent on each Vessel as a Guard.

Calcutta — I have the honor to be &ca.

30th November 1793. — (Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendant Andamans.

The Governor General in Council refers to the Proceedings of the 29th July, where a letter dated the 25th of that Month, from the Superintendant at the Andamans, and the following resolutions then passed upon it are recorded.

"**Agreed** that the Detachment of Sepoys at Port Cornwallis be increased to the strength of "two Companies, to be made up of Volunteers from the Battalions at Barrackpore."

"That a small detachment of European Artillery, consisting of 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, 2 Gunners, " and ten Matrosses be held in readiness to proceed to Port Cornwallis, &c."

" That a Detachment of 1 Serang, 1 Tindal, and 40 experienced Gunlascars be drafted from the " Artillery Lascars at the Presidency for the same purpose."

Agreed that the Commander in Chief be requested to issue Orders for forming the detchment mentioned in the first of these resolutions, and to appoint another Subaltern Officer to the Sepoy detachment at the Andamans.

Agreed, that the Commander in Chief be further, requested to give Directions that the proportions of European Artillery and Gun Lascars, to be sent to Port Cornwallis, may be Ordered, and in readiness to embark on the Cornwallis Snow.

Agreed in Pursuance of the intention that a Number of Convicts should go to the Andamans that Orders be issued from the Nizamut Adawlet for sending to Calcutta from the nearest Gaols, two hundred of the Persons in readiness to embark, and that Major Kyd be desired to receive proposals from the Owners of Country Vessels for conveying the Convicts to the Andamans, with Six Months provisions, laying before the Board the Proposals that may be made to him for their consideration.

1793. — No. LII.

Read a Letter from the Assistant to the Commissary of Stores.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Inclosed I have the honor to send you the Invoice and two Bills of Lading of the Stores sent on the Cornwallis for the Andaman Island. A Copy also has been sent to the Military Board.

I am &ca.

Fort William — (Signed) **Those. Auburey** Asst. Comry. Stores.

6th Dec. 1793.

Enclosed in Do.

Invoice of Stores dispatched on **the Snow Cornwallis Lieut. Wales Commander** for the Andaman Islands and goes consigned to the Commanding Officer there.

Fort William **29th Novr. 1793.**

Paint Ground Yellow Oker in 1 Iron Bound Cask	... ...	Maunds	1-12-8
Paint Ground Red Lead in 1 Do. Do.	... ...	„	2-21-12
Rope Europe in 2 Bales 4½	... ...	In Coils	2
Steel (Bars 44) in 4 Bundles	... ...	Maunds	5
Twine Jute in 5 Do.	... ...	Do.	8
Canvas English } in 2 Bales	... ...	Bolts	10
Linen Dungaree } in 2 Bales	... ...	Pieces	9
Canvas Chittagong in 2 Bales	... ...	Bolts	8
Tents Pins } in 5 Bundles	... ...	...	700
„ Mallets } in 5 Bundles	... ...	...	10
„ Poles in 10 Bundles	... ...	Setts	10
Shot fixt to Bottoms Grape in 25 Mangoe Boxes 12 K.	... ...	...	300
Planes Trying Double } in 1 Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	6
Smoothing Do. } in 1 Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	6
Fore Do. } in 1 Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	6
Portfires in 1 Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	400
Aprons Leaden ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	8
Hammers Gun ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	2
Pincers Tube... ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	2
Priming Wires ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	8
Drifts Gun ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	8
Bills Gun ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	8
Measures Powder ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	3
Locks Pad Brass ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	2
Boxes Tube Tin ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	2
Cases Portfire ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	2
Pouches Cannon Cartridge ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	4
„ „ Priming ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	4
Tompions with Collars ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	2
Straps Tube Box ... ... } in one Mangoe Chest	... ...	...	2
Spikes Gun Ray ... ... } in the foregoing Mangoe Chest } 6 [?]	...	...	8
Tubes Empty Copper ... } in the foregoing Mangoe Chest } 6 [?]	...	...	500

Bolts Iron	...	60
Saws Lock	...	2
Chissels Firmer	...	24
Stones Oil	...	2
Twine Europe	Seers	12-8
Tents Private in 5 Bales	...	10
„ Fly's Marquee in 1 Do.	..	1
Measures Pewter from 1 Galln. to ¼ of a Pint in 1 Mangoe Box Package	Setts	1
Boxes Mangoe	...	30
Casks Iron bound	...	2
Gunny Chutties	...	20
Nails Europe 10d.	Seers	1
Okum	Do.	5
Twine Bengal	Do.	1

Charges Shipping Sont. Rs. 4-10-9.

(Signed) Thos. Aubrey,
Asst. Comry. of Stores.

1793. — No. LIII.

Fort William 16th December 1793.

The following Letter was received, on the 13th Instant **from the Superintendant at the Andamans,** and upon its being Circulated, was returned with the orders, that will be entered after it.

Superintendant at Andamans 13th December.

To Edward Hay Esqre. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble the Governor General in Council that **Mr. Copestake** the Owner and Commander of a very well found and Commodious Vessel of 150 Tons Burthen is willing **to land One hundred Men** and One Thousand Bags of Grain **at Port Cornwallis** for the Sum of 3,000 Sa. Rs. which as Insurance is very high at this time, appears to me to be a Moderate demand. If the Board therefore will accept of this Offer, for the transporting Convicts, I request that I may be Authorized to Settle with Mr. Copestake, and that Eghty Convicts may be ordered to be held in readiness to embark. I will immediately take measures to have a party of the Sepoys ordered to be raised in Readiness to embark with them, as a guard, to make up the Number of Men which the Vessel can accommodate. If the Garrison Store Keeper is to furnish the provisions, I beg he may be directed to consult with me on the proportions of Rice, Dhol, Ghee and Salt that will be necessary and I shall beg leave to propose that the Provisions be of a Coarser kind, than what has been supplied for the other Settlers. As there are only two Vessels belonging to the Company employed as Transports to the Andamans and as there will now be more reason for encreasing the number than when I represented the Necessity of it, and Offered the Nautilus Brig I beg leave to propose that I may be authorized to freight a small Vessel for four Months as the Board have been pleased to employ the Nautilus on another Service. At this period I have reason to think that a

fitting Vessel may be freighted on reasonable terms, which if the Board Agree to I will Acquaint them of before I Make any Agreement.

Calcutta I have the honor to be &ca.

13th December 1793. (Signed) **A. Kyd,** Superintendant Andamans.

1793. — No. LIV.

Fort William **16th December 1793.**

In circulation for Orders. A Letter of this Date, **from Major Kyd,** the Superintendant at the Andamans.

(Signed) E. Hay
Secry. to the Government.

13th Decr. 1793.

I think the proposals of Mr. Copestake for landing One hundred Men and One thousand bags of Rice at Port Cornwallis for the Sum of Sa. Rs. 3,000 Reasonable, and therefore recommend the Acceptance of them and that Major Kyd be Authorized to settle with Mr. Copestake.

Provisions [? Previous] to directing the Garrison Store keeper to furnish the Provisions for the Convicts, Captain Kyd may be desired to examine those returned from **the Pigot** and if they should not be of a [sufficient] quantity to answer the Garrison Store keeper may then be directed to furnish the provisions wanted, after [consulting] with Major Kyd, I agree also in the proposition for freighting a Vessel for four Months, in lieu of the Nautilus.

(Signed) { **J. Shore.** **Peter Speke.** **Wm. Cowper.** }

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 215.)

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

1. WHEN the breasts of suckling women become hard and painful they take three balls of clay, pass them three times round the painful breasts and then throw them into a well, being careful at the time to turn their backs on it. As the balls dissolve the breasts will soften.

2. Rocking a cradle,[1] when empty, will produce acute pain in the stomach of the infant who occupies it. To prevent this, a wooden ladle is placed in the cradle when lying empty and is removed as soon as the infant is placed in it.

3. If a woman has veins running in a serpentine directions on her thigh, it indicates that she will lose all her husbands — should she re-marry on losing the first. Women have been known to remain single to avoid this calamity. An old gentleman lately showed me a woman who had done so. Another woman, residing near the Empress Mill, Nagpur, with three such marks on her thigh, has lost two husbands, each within a short period after marriage.

4. Dropping fire on night-soil produces pain in the stomach of the person whose excreta it contains, while spitting on the excreta of another person gives tonsilitis to the spitter.

5. To stunt the growth of a dog pass it through a ring made of the cloth (*chambâl*) which is generally placed on the heads of women when carrying water or loads.

6. When a child is in the habit of eating uncooked rice the people believe that there will be a heavy downpour of rain on the day the child is married, irrespective of the time of the year the marriage takes place.

7. **Modes of detecting a theft or fraud.** — Take a *lôṭâ* (a brass cup for drinking water) and fill it with fresh water from a well. Place some rice on a clean spot, then take a grindstone and place this over the *lôṭâ*. Burn some frankincense and repeat the name of the suspected person and at the same time touch the stone slightly with your fingers, without moving it. If the person named is guilty, the stone will turn round on the *lôṭâ*, as if moved by some unseen hand.

This method is adopted, not only in detecting fraud, but also in ascertaining whether a person will be successful in any undertaking (*e. g.*, the passing of an examination, recovery from illness, *etc.*). It is also used to find out whether sickness is bodily or mental (possession).

Another mode is to place a handmill before a number of persons. Each one, in turn, throws a little grain into the mill and works it. If the mill moves with difficulty for anyone, he is guilty.

Yet another method is the following. A piece of white cloth is torn into a square and folded in half. Then a piece of stick is inserted between the folds and rolled tightly between the fingers — at the same time the name of the suspected person is repeated. The cloth is then set aside and left untouched for some time. If the person whose name was repeated at the time of folding the cloth is guilty, the stick will come out of the folds, on unwrapping the cloth.

[1] The Central Provinces cradle is a rude miniature hammock attached to the roof rafters.

8. Sometimes the walls and roofs of houses are very low — just a little above the level of the ground. In such cases dogs will sometimes climb upon the roof. This is looked upon by the Hindus as a bad omen and as foreboding disaster to the occupants of the house To ward off any calamity befalling them, the dog is deprived of its ears and tail. If, however, the dog evades its pursuers, a Brâhman is called in, who performs a short ceremony. To see a dog bereft of ears and tail is not an uncommon sight in those parts of India, where there is a large Telugu community.

9. If a dog scratches a hole in front of a house, it is considered a bad omen. It means that some member of that house is to die; and if a member of that family happens to be ill at that time, so strong is the belief in this superstition that all hopes of recovery are despaired of. The patient himself will lose heart, if made aware of the fact.

10. When a dog stretches itself fully on the ground[2] or shakes its ears, people regard these actions as indicating some calamity to the inmates of the house.

11. Children sometimes amuse themselves by riding upon the back of a dog. Hindu parents, however, will not allow this. They believe that by doing so the children are likely to get worms in the stomach.

M. R. PEDLOW.

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER.

THE part played by the mother's brother in many marriage ceremonies is well known, but no explanation of the following superstition has been offered :—

Hoshiarpur Account.

A child who first teethes from its upper jaw is considered unlucky to its maternal uncle. The ceremony performed to remove the evil effects is this : the mother of the child goes beyond the limits of her village on the path leading to her parents' house. From the opposite direction comes the maternal uncle of the child bringing with him a white brass tray, 1¼ seer of rice, seven pice, one yard of cloth and four iron nails. All these things, except the tray and the nails, are knotted in the cloth. The maternal uncle drives the four nails in the ground in a square form and touches the teeth of the child with the tray, and then puts the tray and the cloth, with the other articles wrapped in it, within the square between the nails and goes back to his house. The uncle and his sister neither talk nor see each other's faces. The sister sits with her child clinging to her shoulder, with her veil drawn and her back towards her brother, who returns silently after performing the aforesaid ceremony, which is called *dántôṅ kî ṭhakná*, or the charm of the teeth.

Karnal Version.

When front teeth of the upper jaw of a child of either sex happen to come out first, it is a bad omen to the maternal uncle. His sister (*i. e.*, the mother of the child) sends word to him of the event. On receiving the message the maternal uncle takes a bronze cup of medium size, a quarter of a seer of *kasar* or *pañjîri* (wheat flour baked in *ghi* and mixed with sugar), and half a cocoanut in a piece of red cloth (*kharwá*), and proceeds to his sister's house without informing her or any other person in the house of his arrival, which is kept strictly secret. He goes quickly on to the roof of the house in which his sister is residing and puts the cup, etc., on it, or if there is no staircase he throws them on. After performing this ceremony he silently retraces his steps without speaking to, or seeing the face of, his sister, and returns home. When it is known that the ceremony has been performed, the things are taken from the roof and made use of without scruple.

Patiala Ceremony.

This ceremony is performed in a different way in those villages which are situated in the neighbourhood of Patiâlâ A time is fixed and a place appointed for the ceremony. The mother of the child goes to the place, which is always fixed beyond the limits of the village, on the road to her brother's house. He starts from his own village and halts a mile from the place to get information of his sister's arrival. He brings with him an old three-pie coin (*Mansûrî paisá*) with an iron nail, but nothing else. When he is informed that every thing is ready, he proceeds to the place. His sister takes up her child in her arms so that its face is towards the way her brother is coming, she herself standing facing the village whence she came. The brother comes silently and opens the mouth of the child, touches its teeth with the *paisá* and iron nail, without showing himself or seeing the face of his sister, and burying these things on the spot returns to his village.

Note.

Any further particulars concerning this, or any similar belief, might be noted. Why should the mother's brother of all people be affected by this particular occurrence ? Is his fate bound up with that of his sister's child in any other way ?

H. A. ROSE,
Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.
Simla, 27th July 1901.

[2] To ward off any calamity, the person who observes these movements in the dog, spits three times on the ground.

NOTES ON FEMALE TATTOO DESIGNS IN INDIA.

BY B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.

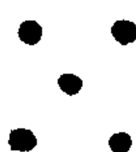
(With a Note by H. A. Rose.)

1. **The mole** is a well-known protection from the Evil Eye. It is also an emblem of the **Chândani,** corresponding to Venus, whose approach to the Moon, a personified *male* (as distinguished from the female[1] of the West) is a natural phenomenon held to represent the meeting of a loving pair. The Moon is called Râktîpatî or Târâgaṇapatî, "King of the Night," "Husband of the Stars."

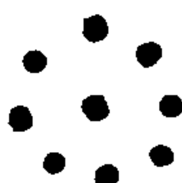
2. **Rôhini** is his favourite wife, and she is represented thus ●, while a crescent shows the Moon. A dot between the horns  represents the face of the Moon, which is often, however, drawn like the human face in profile  with another dot below it to represent his loving consort. It is an emblem of conjugal happiness.



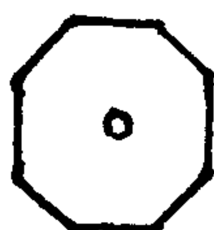
3. A line between the eyebrows represents the red powder or the ashes applied to that spot as a protection from all evils. It is called **angâra,** or **vibhûti.**



4. **The Pânch or five Pâṇḍavas,** who lived in conjugal happiness — without disagreement — with one wife, represent domestic harmony among brothers.

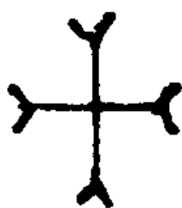


5. The nine planets or **grâhs** are supposed to have great influence over the destinies of mortals; and as a charm against their occasional evil influence **a ring is worn containing the nine gems,** such as diamond, ruby, coral, topaz, pearl, emerald, sapphire, cat's-eye and *gômêd,* known to commerce as the Burmese ruby. The ring is represented in the tattoo mark.

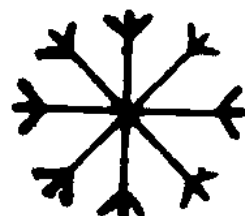
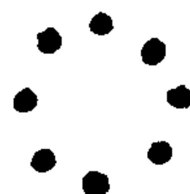
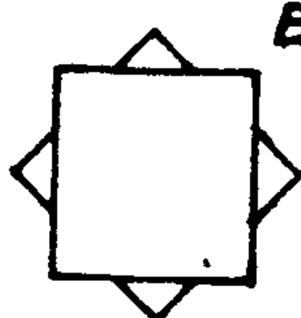
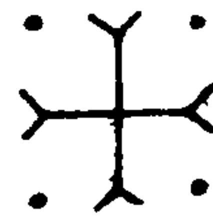


6. This eight-sided figure represents **the lotus** (called **phûl** in the tattoo mark), which is the seat or pedestal of Lakshmî, the goddess of wealth. It also represents the whole universe, and is drawn in different ways. Thus —



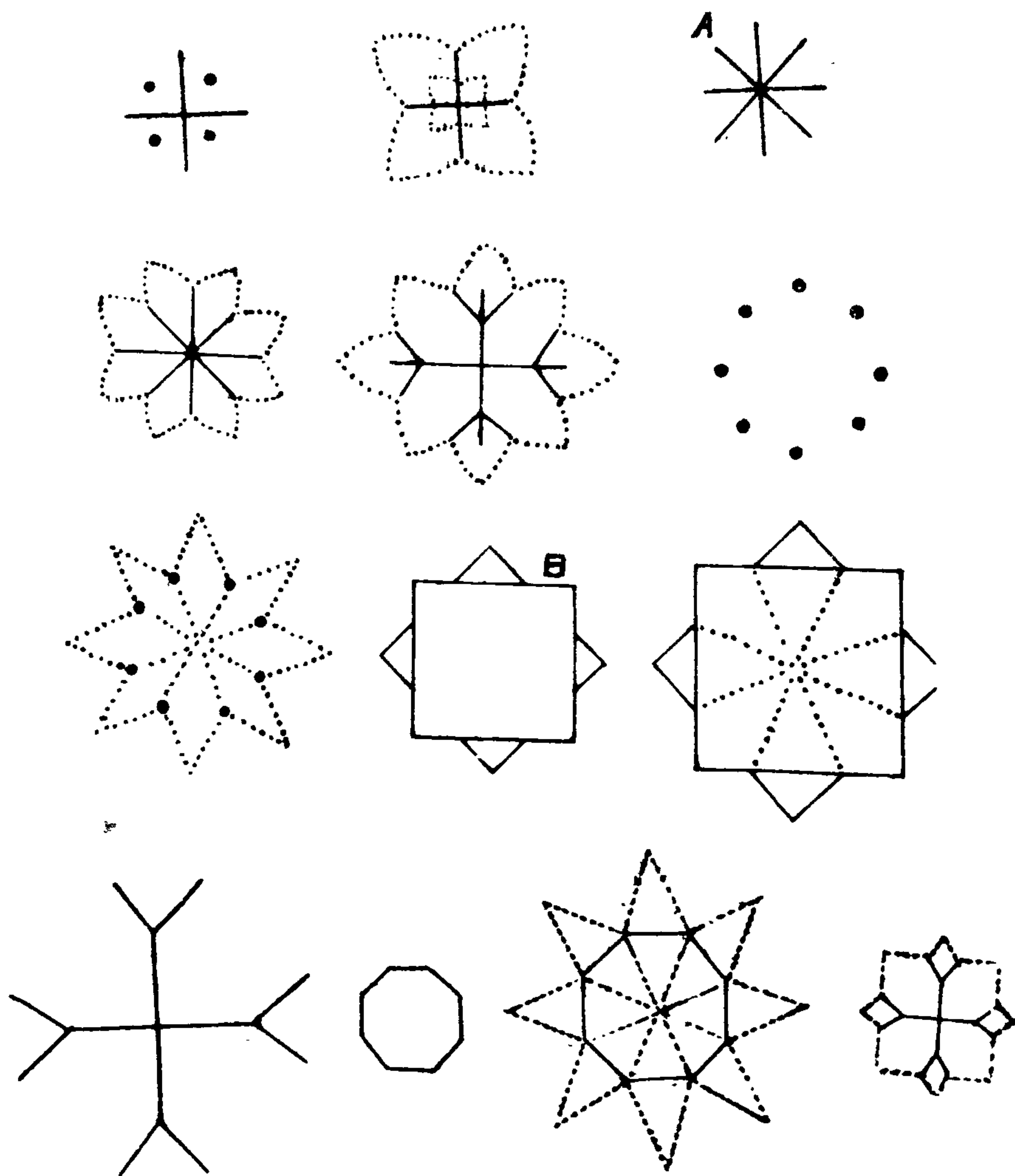
      



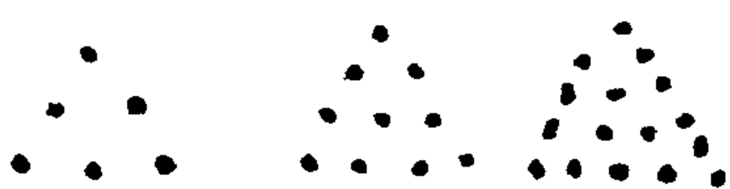
[1] Compare Shakespeare's "It is the East, and Juliet is the sun! Oh, rise fair Sun, and kill the envious Moon!"

It would be interesting to trace the development of the lotus in these designs, the following dotted enlargements will give an idea thereof: —



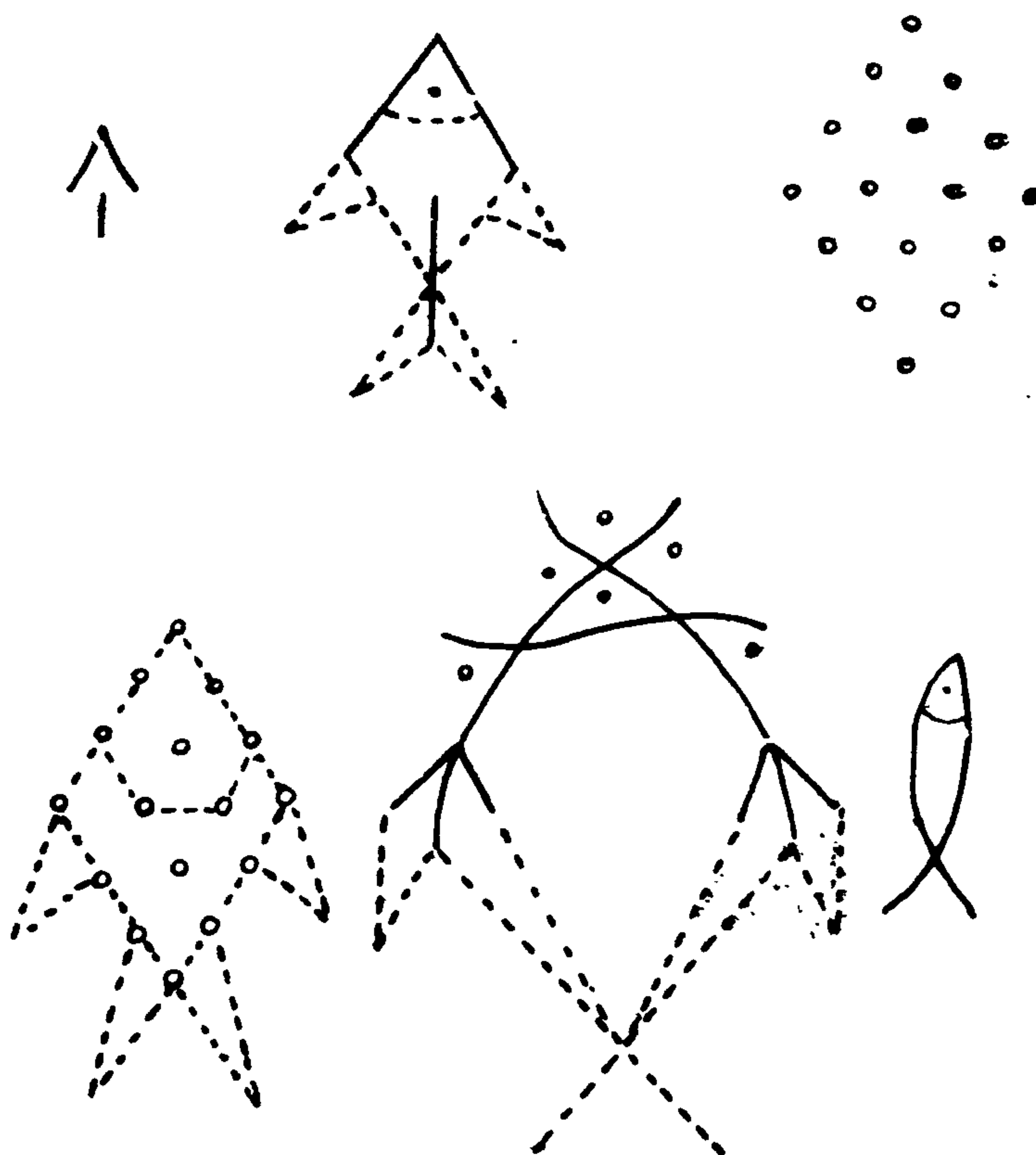
The mystic sign **A** shows the eight directions, while **B** shows the eight points of the compass produced by placing two squares, one above the other, with their planes crossing each other — the squares representing Heaven and Earth. Among the animistic races who have no conception of the "world above" the straight square in linear or dotted lines represents the four corners of the globe.

7. In Gujarât this emblem represents a pair of scales , and has found a place on the early coins of the Honourable East India Company. Is it used by the Baniâs or traders of the Panjâb?

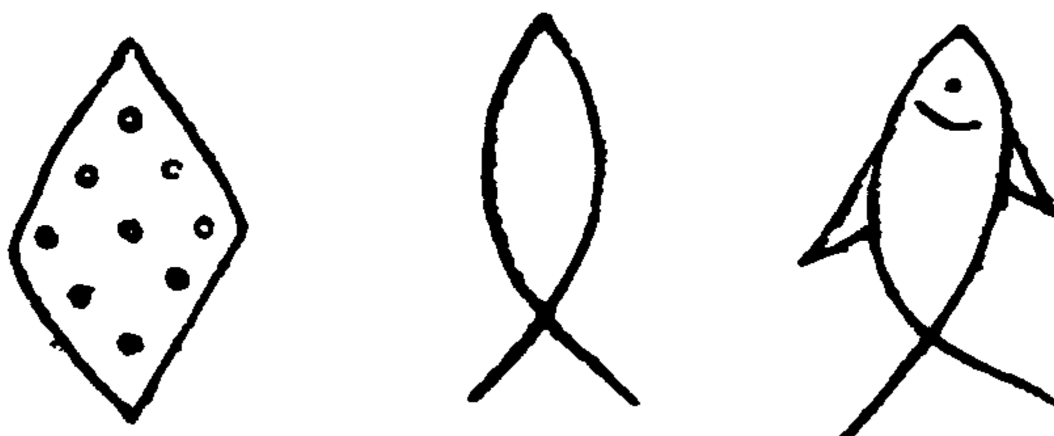


8. These are triangles, the mystic representations of the female power, **yôni**. Compare Sûdrakamalâkara's Rules of Worship for the Sudrâs. When a Brâhman performs a religious ceremony in the house of a Sûdra he draws a triangle in water on the ground and not a *svastika* 卐 or a square ☐, as he would in the house of one of the "twice-borns." This triangle is called *yôni* in the text mentioned above.

9. This is the emblem of the **fish** : —

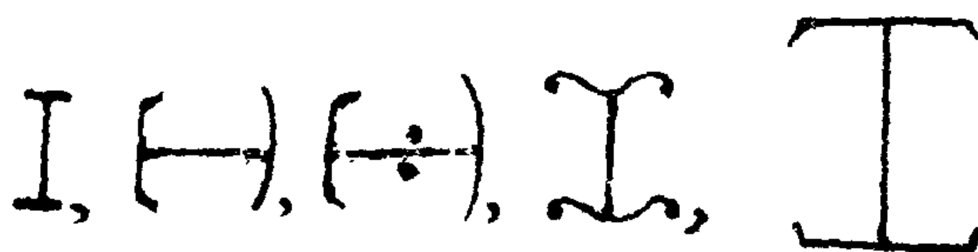


But what is a "fish" and why is it lucky? Originally it represented the female power, the **yôni**, thus —



The triangle is the more primitive emblem of the **yôni**: thus —

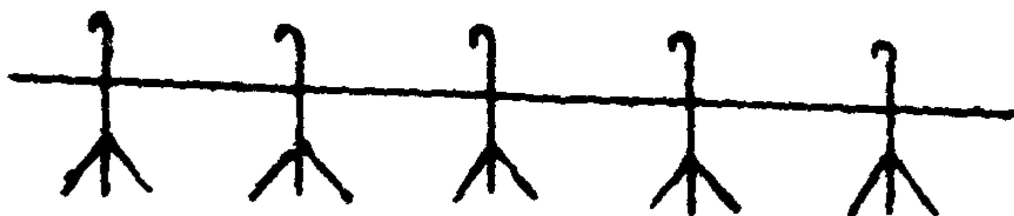


10. The profession or caste is very often indicated by the tattoo marks, though it has not usually been intentionally included among them. It will be interesting to find out whether  **atêran or utêran** (spindle) is tattooed by women of the spinning castes, who were originally nomads, and are now mat-makers or rope-makers, still unsettled in their habits.

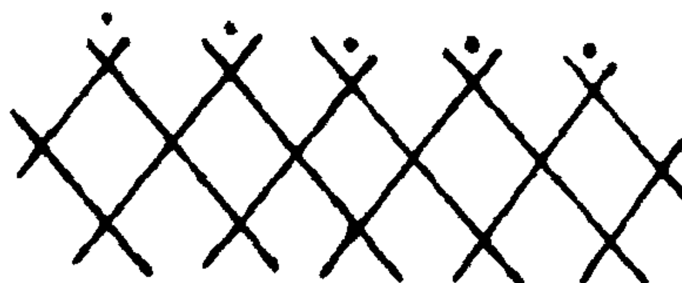
11. The milk-maids of Kṛishṇa are thus represented : —





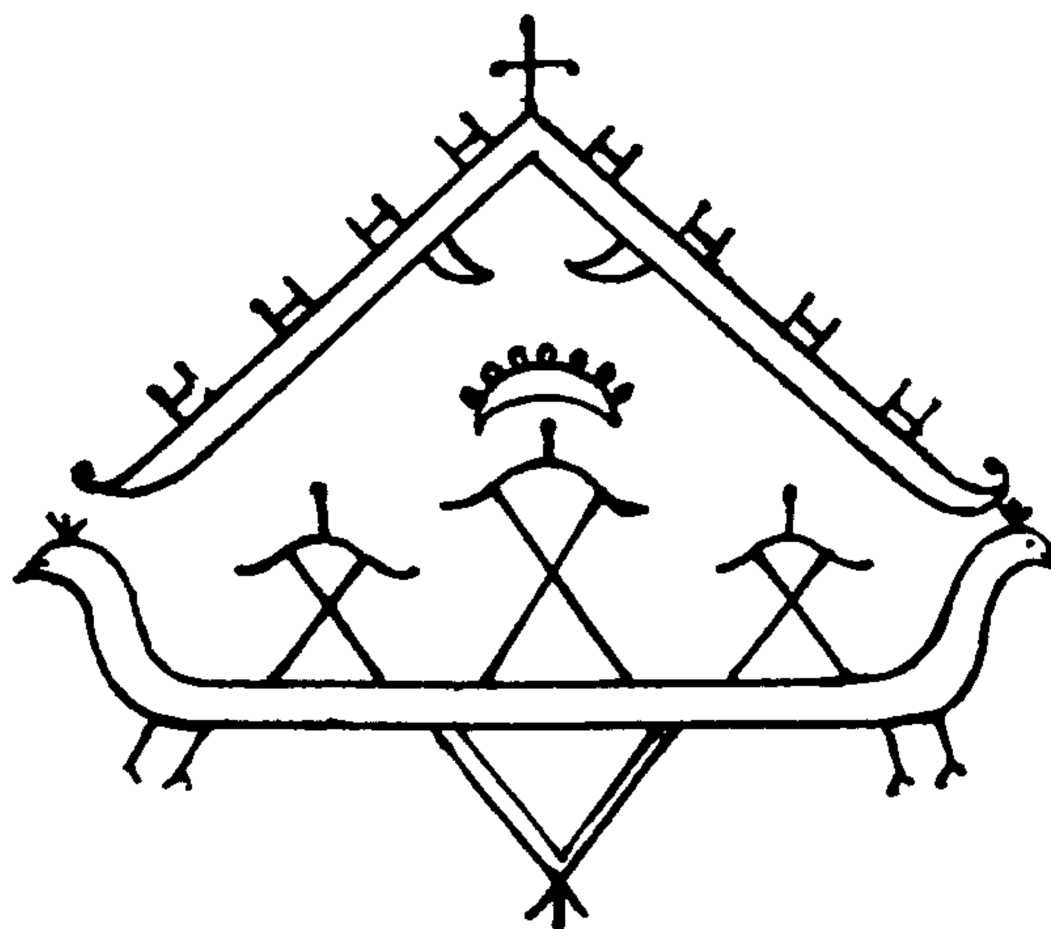






These emblems will possibly show that the woman who bears them is a milk-maid, **Ahir or Gôvâl by caste.** It may be carefully noted that the number of maids shown is always *five.*

12. The tattoo mark known as **Kaṇhayya's mukat or crown.**



There is no mistaking the caste of a woman using this. Although the design is called *mukat* or crown only, it is the throne — the peacock throne (*mayûr*) of Kṛishṇa or Kaṇhayya. He is seated in the centre, with a crown over his head; to the left is his crowned wife, Rukmiṇî, and to the right his brother, Balarâm. The women who bear this emblem on their arms are Râjputs of the lunar race. Their great ambition, a brave husband, a warrior on horse-back, is also pourtrayed.

13. **The camel** as a beast of burden was a very useful animal to caravans. The Kâsârs, traders in copper and brass pots at Nâsik, have two camels on the pedestal of their goddess. Women with these marks will be found to be Banjâras by caste, the dotted and linear delineation distinguishing one tribe from another. Those with the dotted lines will possibly be northerners and those with the heavy linear designs the southerners, or more "mixed."

Conclusion. — These notes are intended to show that an **ethnographist has much to learn from the tattoo marks,** that they are not mere ornaments, that they are not without motive, and that a careful study thereof will afford valuable information towards **the explanation,** among other things, **of Oriental symbolism,** and, in some instances, **of primitive rock carvings.**[3]

Note on Female Tattooing in the Panjâb.

(By H. A. Rose.)

The Panjâb notes, collected at the Census, show that tattooing is more prevalent among the nomad and pastoral tribes than among the settled and civilized ones. That some Muhammadan women still practise it, in spite of the prohibition in the *Qurân*, is an interesting feature.

Among marks, (1) the *madhavî* (churn ⚹), (2) the *atêran* (spindle), (3) the camel, (4) the needle, (5) the sieve, and (6) the warrior on horse-back, clearly **denote the castes** of the women using them; but as most of these designs have not been grouped according to castes, it is difficult to discuss the question of identification fully. However, it will be no surprise to find that the women are, respectively, (1) milk-maids, (2) spinners, (3) traders or members of caravans, (4) cobblers, (5) farmers, and (6) Râjpûts. These marks are the survivals of **obsolete totems,** even if they be not now recognized as such.

(*a*) The lotus, (*b*) peacock, (*c*) fish, (*d*) triangle, and (*e*) *svastika* are **signs of luck,** and if tattooed on the left arms they are much more so. The *chakra* (wheel), the stars, the *pâuchî* and the "Sîtâ's kitchen" are **protective charms.** Sîtâ was protected by the enchanted circle (*taboo*) drawn

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[3] [*Antē*, Vol. XV. p. 66: Vol. XXX. p. 143 f. — ED.]

round her *gumphá* (hut, kitchen), and she was enjoined not to leave the latter during her protector's absence. She disobeyed the order out of charity towards Râvaṇa, who was disguised as an ascetic, and was thus carried off by him.

The practice of tattooing a scorpion, a snake, a bee or a spider has its origin in **sympathetic magic,** which is supposed to protect people so marked.[3]

The dotted and continuous lines used in drawing these figures may enable ethnographers to distinguish the tribal origins of different sects. The Gujarâthîs of Bombay and the Todas of Madras use the dotted process, while the Marâṭhâs and Drâviḍas use the linear one. Careful investigation may give us definite data.

Among the nomads mentioned, the Kanjars are a criminal tribe of cattle-lifters and dakaits. They are notoriously versatile, and change their tribal name so constantly that it has always been difficult to trace them. If tattoo marks can be so classified as to enable the police to say definitely whether a gang consists of Kanjars, Sânsîs, Multânî Banjârâs, Hajrabâsîs, Singuvâlis, Ôḍs, rope-dancers, or acrobats, a great administrative gain would accrue.

The fear of losing one's identity in heaven among these wandering tribes is due to the fear of being abducted[4] or lost on earth in the jungles. Tattooing on a sensitive part also of the body owes its origin to **sympathetic magic,** but **the spider** deserves special mention, as it is credited with the power of producing leprosy. The parrot is a love-bird, and has special value as a charm.

The most important part of the information collected is the belief that the tattoo marks migrate to Heaven with "the little entire man or woman" (soul[5]) inside the mortal frame.

Considering the results of this preliminary inquiry, it is to be hoped that some one will take steps to obtain **separate plates for each caste,** showing the designs as they actually are in shape and size, and noting on each sheet the tribe or caste and the place of birth of the individual. The latter will show the effects of environment. **The notes given above will show how important the subject is from an ethnographical point of view.**

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE PROF. C. P. TIELE.

(*Translated into English by G. K. Nariman.*)

Sources.

Very abundant are the writings out of which one may learn to study the **Mazdayasnian religion** as it flourished under the sway of the Sassanides, and has since to the present day been preserved in a few districts of Persia, but above all in Western India. Before the *Avesta* became known in Europe, we had to content ourselves with these and with the reports of the classical authors for an acquaintance with **Zoroastrianism.** At the close of the seventeenth century, the erudite professor at Oxford, Thomans Hyde, essayed, on the basis of these sources, and preponderatingly on the more recent ones, an account of the religion of the ancient Persians, Parthians and Medians.[1] It goes without saying that the founts of our information comprise much that is old, that they communicate to us many a tradition and depict for us many customs which have existed for centuries. But what is old in them and what of a later date can be positively ascertained only by means of a comparative exposition of

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[3] See Fraser's *Golden Bough*, p. 9.

[4] Compare — "They, Khyens [Chins], allege that they were driven to it (tattooing) because their women were naturally so beautiful that they were constantly carried off by neighbouring tribes." — Sir John Lubbock in *Original Civilization*, p. 64. [Evidence of this more than doubtful, however. — ED.]

[5] *Vide* Fraser's *Golden Bough* for this belief.

[1] *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum Eorumque Magorum.* Oxon. 1700.

the most primitive of the indigenous records. One is warranted in the surmise that considerably more of them could be proved as archaic and original, if we possessed the *Avesta* in its entirety, or at least a greater portion of it than the present fragmentary remnants. However, on such surmises no history can be constructed; accordingly we shall leave them out of account and employ them only occasionally to elucidate facts of historical validity. As authentic sources for the period with which we are exclusively concerned they are of little utility.

The sources from which to build a history of the religion of the Persian or Iranian peoples, previous to the fall of the Achæmenide empire, are relatively scanty; though this paucity of materials is outweighed by the superior significance of the most important of them, the *Avesta*, which embodies most of the relics of **the sacred scripture of the Zarathushtrians** in the original language. A few fragments discovered in the last decades, and which were not comprised in the ordinary canon, decidedly belong to these sacred writings. We must here content ourselves with a cursory notice of this main fountain of our information. Another chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the contents, the dates, the character and the history of these books. Besides these we have, though of subsidiary importance for our knowledge of the religion, the **inscriptions** of the later Achæmenide dynasty, of which the most prominent was discovered at Behishtân in Media, and at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustum in Persia proper. They are composed in old Persian, a tongue which is indeed different from that of the *Avesta*, but closely allied to it. Moreover, most of them are accompanied by a translation in modern Susian, in which we see with greater probability the tongue of Elam or Susiana in the times of the Achæmenides. The core of its contents is not of a religious, but of a historical, nature. Still the monarchs confess to their faith in **Ahuramazda, the mighty God,** and impute to his grace their domination and their triumphs. Their professions are more emphatic and less effusive than those of the kings of Assur, Babel, or Egypt, when they glorify their gods. Multifold data for a description of the Iranian creed of yore are derived from the *Bundehish*, a composition in Pehlevi, the language of the Sassanian era. And if the hypothesis enunciated by the Coryphaeus of Pehlevi savants, E. W. West, turns out correct; namely, that this work is a rendering or a manipulated version of the *Damdat Nask*, one of the lost books of the *Avesta*, there is no objection to our making such use of the book. No one will deny that much of what it is composed of is of remote antiquity. But the redaction which we possess dates at the earliest from 9th century of the Christian era, from an age in which Sassanian rule had long before come to an end, and when **Mazdayasnianism** was no more the state-religion. Even if the *Damdat Nask* formed the ground-work of the book, it is at all events no exact translation of it. Let alone the allusions to the Arabs, which may be later accretions, it includes so much that could issue from the Sassanian times alone, that we should act uncautiously, did we assume the rest as testimony to the religious conceptions of the centuries which preceded Alexander. An off-hand sifting of the evidence is out of the question. We shall therefore not draw upon this source. The same applies in an increased measure to the other Pehlevi works, whose value for the interpretation of the *Avesta* we are not inclined to dispute; while we cannot consider them as original documents for the investigation of the religion of our period.

The solitary contemporary of the Achæmenides among the Hellenic writers, who relate something about the religion of the Persians, is **Herodotus**. His friend **Ktesias**, who was physician at the court of Persia, had the fairest opportunity of instructing his quondam countrymen in the predominant faith in his land of adoption. Perhaps he did write on the subject, but the fragments of his works preserved to us to-day do not deal with religion. When we reflect, however, how little reliance he merits respecting his historical narratives and likewise regarding the little that he says about the creed of the Babylonians and the Assyrians, that is probably not much to be deplored. Herodotus[2] gives a comparatively exhaustive account of the religion and usages of the Persians, which very probably concern the Medians too. Whether he personally visited Persia, which is not certain, or learnt of the home and the history of the Persians only through the Persians of Asia Minor, which is

[2] Book I. 131-140.

more likely, in either case he depicts the circumstances as they obtained at the time of Artaxerxes I. about the middle of the fifth century B. C. Had he got to make use of older Greek sources, his portrayal would refer to a somewhat preceding age. But we have no sufficient grounds for this conjecture.

This much is confirmed : what he records is produced neither by himself nor by his authority from the sacred literature of Persia. It is the result of personal or second-hand observation and oral communication, — not the official doctrine of priestly schools, but the every-day practice, which, as a matter of course, is to some extent divergent from the prescriptions and ideals of the theologians. This before all must be borne in mind in estimating the worth of his portrayal, which must not be branded as falsehood, when it seems to contradict the latter, but which at the same time does not argue a different time and a different sphere for the origin of the *Avesta*. The coincidences between the *Avesta* and Herodotus are too many for us to doubt that he actually has in mind **the Zarathushtrian religion.** But he is not uniformly accurate. What he asserts about the Persian names[3] shows that here he misses the meaning of his authority, and when he holds Mithra[4] for a female divinity, whom the Persians had assimilated from the Arabs, it is manifest that he has misunderstood him. Such discrepancies, however, are easily emended, and no reasons are forthcoming why we should refuse to credit his accounts. On the contrary, they supply a valuable means of inquiry into the tenets of the Zarathushtrian religion, as already accepted in general under the Achæmenides.

It is much to be deplored that the works of **Theopompos** have perished beyond recall. In the eighth book of his *Philippina* this contemporary of Philippus and Alexander handles the **Magian teachings.** In connection with the tradition of the Parsis that Alexander had the holy writings of Zarathushtrianism translated into Greek, which is not certainly to be literally understood, it would be of immense consequence to know what Theopompos had read or heard of the precepts contained in them. **Plutarch** was cognisant of his work and consulted it. He cites him where he recounts the successive world epochs, which the Persians admitted, and with reference to the conflict between Aromazdes and Areimanios and the annihilation of the latter. Probably he is beholden to the same authority for his careful account of **Zarathushtrian theology** which he presents in the same work.[5]

It must be, then, that he derived his information from **Hermippos,** a contemporary of Ptolemaios Euergetes (247-22 B. C.), of whom Pliny[6] assures us that he had studied the precepts of the Persians from their own books, and had published a detailed account of the two million verses which they contained. Hermippos' work, too, is hopelessly lost, to the incalculable detriment of the history of Mazdayasnian religion. Not so much because we would have learnt what is conspicuously absent in the archaic and the recent autochthonous sources, but because from it we should have derived what was already in vogue among the Zarathushtrians, and because it would have shed considerable light on the question of the date of the *Avesta.*

On this account it is that the reports of **Diogenes Laertius**[7] (who also cites Theopompos) that Eudoxos, the contemporary of Plato, and Aristotle knew the doctrine of the conflict of Zeus-Oromazdes and Hades-Areimanios, is of the greatest moment despite its brevity.

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[3] Chap. 139.

[4] Chap. 131.

[5] *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 46-47. The explanation he gives with regard to the four out of the six Ameshaspends is tolerably correct; but he has not quite understood Haurvatat and Ameretat. His account of the 24 of the gods of Oromazdes' creation hiding themselves in an egg, which is broken by as many counter-creations of Areimanios, has so far found no corroboration in any old Zarathushtrian text. For a notion in the later writings harmonising with this idea, see Windischmann : *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 284.

[6] *Historia Naturalis* XXX. 1. To Windischmann the two million seems an exaggeration, and, instead of *vicies centum milia versuum*, he would read *vicies dena milia versuum*. He indicates that the 200,000 lines tolerably correspond to what is related of the bulk of the *Avesta* during the times of the Sassanides. I, too, would not answer for the accuracy of the two million. But the Sassanian *Zend Avesta* was held to be merely a remnant of the richer literature which existed at the time of Alexander.

[7] *Prooemium*, 6 and 9.

Strabo,[8] belonging to the first century B. C., also deserves mention, since what he relates from his own experience of the Persian rites among the Cappadocians is essentially pertinent, notwithstanding that he obviously draws upon other writers, in part even upon Herodotus.

Finally, **Pausanias'**[9] solitary allusion to the customs of the Magians is in tolerable concord with what we learn from the *Avesta*.

For the rest, we are content to allude to the not yet antiquated monograph of Fr. Windischmann[10] on the passages from the ancients bearing on Zarathushtrianism ; though we are unable to subscribe to the genuineness of the fragment of the dialogues ascribed to authors Lydus and Plato, to which he refers.

CHAPTER I.

The Sacred Writings.

I.

The Zend-Avesta of the Sassanides.

The history of the Mazdayasnian religion for a good part coincides with that of the sacred scriptures of the Zarathushtrians. Consequently we must first make a closer acquaintance of these writings. The greatest portion thereof has perished. As has been already stated, a rich Zarathushtrian literature existed when Alexander subverted the Persian empire, and on which Hermippos, among others, drew for the material of his work. According to a Parsi tradition, to which we shall revert in the sequel, the Greek invader consigned to flames some of the books, some he had despatched to his home, and only the Arsacides and subsequently the Sassanides (A. D. 226-636) are credited with having collected the remnants. It is certain that under the domination of the Sassanides a canon or a holy writ was in vogue embodying the ancient text, **Avesta**, **with its Commentary or Zend**, and usually on these grounds passing under the name of **the Zend-Avesta**. This canon fell into twenty-one *nasks* or books, of which in the 9th Christian century twenty were still extant in the original tongue, nineteen in the Pehlevi translation with elucidatory glosses. Even this collection no more exists. **It is extinct not exactly because of the irruption of Islam**, — by the 9th century it had long been in the ascendant — but only later under the Tartar sovereignty, owing to unfavourable times and the supineness and ignorance of the believers. The ensuing sections of this Chapter are devoted to the *débris* of this body of writings.

It might seem that a discussion of the **Zend-Avesta of the Sassanides** does not belong to our investigation, inasmuch as we do not pursue our research farther than down to Alexander the Great. But that is not so in fact. Even though the *Avesta*, had it been preserved to us intact, would have served as a source only, with certain reservations, for a knowledge of the Zarathushtrian religion prior to the fall of the Achæmenides. However much the more ancient ingredients were worked up into the spirit of the times and edited anew, still archaic writings are incorporated with it and constitute its pith and marrow. It is, therefore, pertinent to enquire what we can learn about them, if only that some desirable light may be shed upon what remains to us thereof.

On the contents of the Sassanide *Zend-Avesta* more or less complete information is afforded by **the Dinkart**, a composition in Pehlevi and dating from the 9th century A. D. The author seems to have had before him the original as well as the translation, with the exception mentioned above. To him only the latter version was intelligible. The former, the original text, was to him a book with seven seals. This is to be concluded from the fact that he has nothing to say concerning the contents of the one *nask*, which he possessed in the old language, but not in the Pehlevi rendering. What he, therefore, furnishes us is confined solely to excerpts from the version with all its inaccuracies,

[8] Besides Book XI. 8, 4. Comp. specially Book XV., and here, *inter alia*, 2, 14 ; 3, 1 ; 3, 7 *et seq.*; before all 3, 13 *seq.*

[9] V. 27, 2 and 3.

[10] "*Stellen der Alten Über Zoroastrisches*," in his *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 260-313. [For an English translation of this impertant work, *vide* Dastur Darab's *Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Classics*. — TR.]

periphasis, *scholia* and later additions. The abstracts at all events seem to be correct. Anyway, the synopsis of the contents of the *Vendîdad*, which the author presents is in tolerable accord with the prototype. But details touching the period of the Sassanides, nay more, here and there allusions to the Arabs, crop up, so that it is well to regard as old only what harmonizes with the dogma of the primitive texts, so far as they have come down to us.

The *Dinkart* contains two classifications of the 21 books, of which neither can be original. One divides them into three classes, to each of which belongs seven *Nasks* : seven Gathic, seven Hadha-Manthraic and seven legal works. This division is but partially in consonance with the contents of the books. From the writer's own words it is evident that, properly speaking, not more than four books appertain to the *Gâthas*, that not more than five can claim the designation of Juristic works, so that in point of fact all the rest must be recorded or at least characterized as *Hadha-Manthraics* or miscellaneous. The second classification is a theological triviality, according to which each *Nask* corresponds to one of the twenty-one words of the **Ahuna Vaerya Prayer**, which is the "fount of the fountains of religion." Perhaps more authentic, and, at any rate, more rational sequence, is that in which almost all the Persian *Revayâts* enumerate the books and which we shall follow in our rapid survey of the *Zend-Avesta.*

At the head stands the **Stot-Yasht, Staota Yesnya,** which at present is wholly embraced in the *Yesna* and comprises the most archaic litanies, the *Gâthas*, along with other ancient texts. Rightly does West, the Coryphaeus of Pehlevi scholars, remark that the *Stot-Yasht*, and especially the *Gâthas*, form the central point round which all *Nasks* are ranged, and that these texts in the Sassanian epoch were neither larger nor smaller than now. Perhaps they may be better styled **the foundation on which all the rest reposes.**

The three *Nasks*, which immediately come after, are or should be *scholia* on the *Gâthas* and the oldest prayers. The first of these, **the Sutkar,** can be so called only arbitrarily. I would hesitate to call this *Nask* a collection of homilies after the type of the *Gâthas*, notwithstanding it may be urged in extenuation that "homilies do indeed at times digress far from the text." In truth, so far at least as we can judge from the table of contents the *Dinkart* presents, several chapters have not the slightest bearing on the litanies with which tradition associates them.[11] **The Varstmansar** has much more of commentary. It is arranged not only in order of the prayers and psalms preceded by a prelude recounting the miraculous birth of Zarathushtra, but actually keeps to what we find in the corresponding passages of the Pehlevi *Yasna*;[12] though occasionally it deals with matter which is touched upon neither in the old texts nor in the version, to our knowledge, and although there is mention, naturally in a prophetic manner, of Mani and his followers (215 A. D. and the subsequent years), and even of the 9th and the 10th century "after the coming of the religion," *i. e.*, according to the native chronology of the 5th and 6th, or even the 6th and 7th, centuries after Christ. If we compared the *Gâthas* in a way with the Vedic *Saṁhitâ*, this *Nask* would be called a *Brâhmaṇa.* Still more intimately is **the Bako Nask** connected with the *Gâthas* and the appended texts, at least in respect of the sequence. The books do not pretend to be an exhaustive commentary, but the author selected a few sections (*bako, bagha*, piece or fragment), to which he superadds his own reflections, making it most difficult for us to ascertain the context.[13] We possess in the original the first three *Fargards* of the *Bako-Nask*, which give a kind of analysis of the three sacred formulæ.[14]

[11] Comp., *e. g.*, in *Dinkart* IX. Chap. 6, which should belong to *Yasna* 29, but which makes no mention of Geushurva; or Chap. 7, which treats of something quite other than the two spirits in *Yasna* 30 ; and so forth.

[12] The following may serve as an illustrative example : In *Fargard* 15, *inter alia*, *khvaethvadata*, marriage between near relatives, is spoken of, and Aurhmazd himself is cited as an instance. The occasion for this is furnished by a passage in *Yasna* 44, where Spenta Armaiti is called his daughter. This is combined with another myth which denominates her his spouse ; and therefrom the conclusion is arrived at that he, like Manu, was married to his own daughter.

[13] Only of these three *Nasks* do we possess to some extent a detailed analysis in *Dinkart* IX. ; of all the rest, so far as they were accessible to the author, only a summary of contents in *Dinkart* VIII.

[14] Especially *Yasna*, 19-21.

On these properly Gathic books follow seven others of miscellaneous contents, the **Hadha-Manthraic,** which treat of religious ceremonies, customs, legends, myths, of cosmogony and the Mazdayasnian law. The most important of these *Nasks* seems to have been **the Damdat,** "The production of the creation," a sort of genesis of the spiritual and the material world. The book also handles the same theme as **the Bundehish,** a Pehlevi writing of which only a recension of the 9th century has descended to us, and, as noted before, has been the ground-work of the same. Another of these books, **the Vishtasp-Shasto,** is held to have its reflex in the so-called **Vistasp Yasht,** the original text of which has been preserved. If that be so, we have here a somewhat younger writing, embodying, *inter alia,* in a form of instruction imparted by Zarathushtra to king Vishtaspa, the precepts of Mazdayasnianism, defective in structure and not very original.

What was included in **the Vashtap-Nask,** which next comes up, we do not know, since it was lost very early. The two following, **Spend** and **Chithradat,** have this in common, that both deal with legends of saints and prophets ; the second, which chronologically should be the first, proceeding from Hoshang to Zarathushtra, the first from Zarathushtra to Shoshyans. **The Bakan Yast Nask** comprised at the lowest fifteen of the *Yashts* which survive in the primitive text. In these *Yashts* the epic stories of Iran occupy prominent position. Then come five books on legislation, of which the last, **the Vendidad,** is extant. Like all law books of authority, they relate to a motley farrago of all possible subjects bearing on religion, on civil, on political matters. Nor does the tolerably detailed conspectus of its contents help us to discover a logical sequence. Only we are able to denote the first, *Nikatum,* as a species of penal code, and the fourth, *Sakatum,* as a regulation affecting personal and family concerns. But these general designations would apply to several of these chapters. The question, whether they are the Pehlevi redaction of very archaic texts, does not lend itself to an easy solution. There is much in them which may be ancient, but more of which the contrary is less doubtful. In the synopsis of the contents of the penal code just referred to, there is nothing which may prevent our locating it in the times of the Achæmenides or even earlier. The same in general would hold good of the others, did we not omit to add that they have been reduced to unison with the later social and political exigencies and religious tenets, and that they have been copiously interpolated. Thus, to cite only a few illustrations, what is laid down in the *Ganabasarnijat* with reference to soldiers and their generals need not be of a posterior period. But when, in another chapter of this *Nask,* the enemy are depicted as subserving the king of kings and doing homage to the Yazatas, and when they are threatened with death, should they recalcitrantly decline to adopt the Iranian nationality, we rest assured that it is the voice of one of the orthodox of the Sassanide times. It is possible to distinguish between the original and the subsequent accretions only when, as in the case of a portion of the Juristic book of *Hushparam,* the *Avesta* text is also available to us.[15] **Whether these law books were ever enforced** and are founded on legal decisions it is difficult positively to affirm. It is not improbable as regards the Sassanide period ; in the epoch with which we are concerned they were perhaps no more than sacred scripture in which the clergy and the theologian had drawn his ideals, while **in public life they exercised no binding authority.**

The whole collection closes with **the Hadokhta Nask,** which, in virtue of its name *(Hadha-Ukhta),* was a supplement to the other texts, and was by consequence composed of heterogeneous materials; but likewise embodied very old ingredients. Various fragments of it have survived in the primitive language, and the name of the *Nask* is cited in the younger *Yashts.*

A conclusion of no small moment, which may be deduced from our exposition, is that the **Gâthas, along with the allied texts, occupied the same exalted position in the Zend-Avesta of the Sassanides that they at present hold,** and that then, too, they constituted the

[15] The contents of two *Fargards* of this *Nask* mostly correspond with the *Nirangishtan,* edited and translated by Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta,* III. p. 91, *seq.*; but the order of succession is altogether different. Darmesteter has not observed that the first part of the *Avesta-Nirangishtan* has its parellel, not in the *Fargard* of the same name in the *Nask,* but in the preceding one of *Aerpatishtan.*

quintessence, and were allowed to be the most primeval and sacrosanct documents, of the Zarathushtrian revelation. Moreover, it is obvious that the *Zend-Avesta* comprised neither more nor less Gathic texts than are incorporated into our *Yasna*. This is indicated by the order of the three Gathic *Nasks*, which have the form of *scholia* to the holy formulæ and the *Gâthas*, though they belong to a description of commentary not rare in later centuries too, which obscure more than they illuminate. At all events they show with what reverence the ancient documents were cherished and how the people beheld in them the *fons et origo* of the divine communications.

The most important remnants of the sacred books that were still extant after Alexander, the weightiest before all, for our knowledge of the religion, remain; still we have to deplore the destruction of so many, if of less consequence, writings in their original condition. A greater amount of the Iranian literature of yore would not contribute a little towards the elucidation of its relics. Till then a delimitation of what has come down from antiquity and of the latter-day additions in the Pehlevi and Parsi literature would not be possible. If we had the book of the *Nasks*, *Chitradat* and *Spend*, extant, we should not laboriously have to piece together the fragments of the Iranian epos and the legends of Zarathushtra each into a coherent whole, but should have presented before us synopses of both. From the *Damdat* we should derive an insight into the old Zarathushtrian conception of the creation and the synthesis of the world, which we can but infer from sporadic allusion in the *Avesta* book and vague hypotheses reared on turbid sources. They would better acquaint us with the cult and the priesthood. But we must content ourselves with the salvage from the great shipwreck and now we have to face the question if we can confidently utilize the *débris*.

(To be continued.)

LADAKHI SONGS.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE, LEH.

(With the aid of the Rev. S. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe.)

(Concluded from p. 106.)

Khalatsei gling glu rnams yin	These songs [*i. e.*, Nos. XXI.-XXIX.] are **the gling glu[1] of Khalatse.**

Song No. XXI.—Heavenly Voices.

Text.	Translation.
1. amai bu zhung bltamspari dusla	1. When mother's little boy was born,
2. mi yulbo 'oddis 'ang khyangs	2. All the land of men was filled with light.
3. lhayi bu Kesar kun bltams tsana	3. When **Kesar** and the [other] sons of the gods were born
4. 'adzambu gling 'oddis khyangs.	4. All **'aDzambugling** was filled with light.
5. rgyal lcang lcanggi lcang stodna	5. On the top of the willow of the world
6. lha phrug ysum skyod 'adug lei	6. There are walking three sons of the gods.
7. lha skad cig diriri	7. There is a hum of heavenly voices.
8. rgyal lham chenmo kun skyod tsana	8. When all the great godly kings are walking
9. lha skad cig diriri	9. There is a hum of heavenly voices.
10. lhayi bu kesar kun skyod tsana	10. When Kesar and the [other] sons of the gods are walking,
11. lha skad cig diriri	11. There is a hum of heavenly voices.

[1] *gLing glu* are the songs sung at the Spring or Kesar Festival, when everybody practises archery. The *gLing glu* of Khalatse and the *gLing glu* of Phyang may be usefully compared. This song was included (*ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 359 ff.) in "A Ladakhi Bonpo Hymnal."

12. rgyal lcang lcanggi lcang stodna
13. lhamo kun skyodded lei
14. lha skad cig diriri
15. jojo 'abruguma skyod tsana
16. lha skad cig diriri
17. shel lcam 'abruguma skyod tsana
18. lha skad cig diriri

12. On the top of the willow of the world
13. There are walking three goddesses.
14. There is a hum of heavenly voices.
15. When the noble **'aBruguma** is walking,
16. There is a hum of heavenly voices.
17. When 'aBruguma, the crystal wife, is walking,
18. There is a hum of heavenly voices.

Notes.

1. *bltamspari*, for participles ending in *pari*, compareS ong No. XVII. Note on6 . 2. 4. *khyangs;* just as *khyabpa* was derived from *'agebspa*, *khyangpa* was derived from *'agengspa*. 3. *kun*, for *kun*, in the sense of 'and so on,' compare *ante*, "Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga," Philological Notes, No. VI., 19. 5. *rgyal lcang*, originally probably *rgya lcang*, the willow with far-spreading [branches]. The prefixed *l* of the second syllable was sounded with the first. It is the tree of the world, mentioned in Ladakhi Wedding Ritual, Songs Nos. V., VI., VII., and VIII. 8. *rgyallham*, for the addition of final *m*, compare *ante*, "Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga," Philological Notes, No. V., 1. 13. *skyodded*=*skyoddad*, see *Ladakhi Grammar*, present tenses.

Notes.

If I am not altogether mistaken, this hymn contains an explanation of the phenomenon of **thunder**. It is thought to be caused by the walking of the gods. The word *lhaskad*, which I translated by 'heavenly voices,' may be taken for any sound, caused by the mouths, hands or feet of the gods. The idea of thunder is not so very far-fetched, if we consider that, according to Song No. XXIX., lightning is called 'Kesar's sword,' and that the word *diriri* may have been originally *ldiriri*, which is used to express the rolling of thunder.

Song No. XXII.—Dedication of the Arrows.

Text.

1. thangka bdemoi kha mdā shing legsmo rig yod.
2. thang de bdemoi kha mdā shing legsmo rig yod.
3. mdā shing ringmobo
   agui mdā shing zhig yin lo
4. dezuggi mdā shingbo
   agubai lagtu phul
5. dezuggi mdā shingbo
   agu drungbabai lagtu phul lei
6. mdā shing chung chungbo
   jojobai phang shing rig yin
7. dezuggi phang shingbo
   aneyi lag de la phul
8. dezuggi phang shingbo
   ane bkur dmanmoi lag de la phul lei

Translation.

1. On the beautiful plain there is a fine arrow-tree,
2. On that beautiful plain there is a fine arrow-tree.
3. The long arrow-shaft
   is an arrow-shaft of the Agus.
4. Such arrow-shafts
   offer to the hands of the Agus!
5. Such arrow-shafts
   offer to the hands of those who are before the Agus!
6. The short arrow-shaft
   is a spindle-stick of the ladies.
7. Such spindle-sticks
   offer to the hands of the wife [of the heavenly king]!
8. Such spindle-sticks
   offer to the hands of **Ane bKurdmanmo**!

Notes.

5, 6, 7. the syllable *ba* in *agubai*, *drungbabai*, *jojobai* was inserted only for the sake of singing. 7. *jojo*, the reiterated form, is always used with the feminine, *jo* with the masculine.

Notes.

All the arrows, used at the Kesar Festival, are to be considered as being dedicated, the longer ones to the Agus, the shorter ones to the **heavenly queen Ane bKurdmanmo.**

Song No. XXIII.—Kesar's Four Victories.

Text.

1. buthsa ngarangngi dgung lo brgyadpoi nangdu
   shar ande bandhe γsum btulpa yin
   buthsa de kunni kha 'agying 'agying rig 'agyingspa yin
2. buthsa ngarangngi dgung lo bcu γnyispai nangdu
   ri rgyal blon chen kun btulpa yin.
   buthsa de kunni kha 'agying 'agying rig 'agyingspa yin.
3. buthsa ngarangngi dgung lo bcu drugpai nangdu
   bdud khyabpa lagring kun btulpa yin
   buthsa de kunni kha 'agying 'agying rig 'agyingspa yin
4. buthsa ngarangngi dgung lo bco brgyadpai nangdu
   hor ngan kun btulpa yin
   buthsa de kunni kha 'agying 'agying rig 'agyingspa yin.

Translation.

1. When I, a boy, had reached my eighth year,
   I subdued **the three Andebandhes of the East.**
   The boy has been triumphing over all of them.
2. When I, a boy, had reached my twelfth year,
   I subdued all the great ministers of the hills.
   The boy has been triumphing over all of them.
3. When I, a boy, had reached my sixteenth year,
   I subdued the devil **Khyabpa lagring** and his men.
   The boy has been triumphing over all of them.
4. When I, a boy, had reached my eighteenth year,
   I subdued all the bad Yârkandîs.
   The boy has been triumphing over all of them.

Notes.

1. For the *Andebandhes* of the East, compare *Kesar Saga* No. V. 1-8. There we have seven of them. 2. *Kun*, compare Note No. I. 3. 3. *Khyabpa lagring* means 'coverer longhand.' This is perhaps another name of **Agu Za** in *Kesar Saga* No. III.

Notes.

In this song we have probably the four victories, which were prophesied in "the Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga" No. V. 11-16. Instead of the word 'Yârkandîs' in 4 'Mongolians' may be said, compare Jäschke's *Dictionary*.

Song No. XXIV. — Kesar and the Mules.

Text.

1. buthsa ngai ngosla nyon dang wa drezha khampa
2. buthsa ngai bdagla γsan dang wa drezha khampa
3. rtsvakha nang gar bzangpo za chogpa 'adug
4. drezha khampa khung khungbo cila bco 'ad lei
5. chu mig gar bzanpo 'athung chogces 'adug
6. drezha khampa khung khungbo cila bco 'ad lei
7. sa ljab bdemoi kha 'adug chogces yod
8. drezha khampa khung khungbo cila bco 'ad lei

Translation.

1. Oh, you brown mules, listen to me, to a boy!
2. Oh, you brown mules, please, listen to me, to a boy!
3. There is quite enough of good pasture;
4. Oh, you brown mules, why are you crying *khung khung?*
5. There is quite enough of good wells;
6. Oh, you brown mules, why are you crying *khung khung?*
7. You have been [long] enough on good pasture;
8. Oh, you brown mules —' y are you crying *khung khung?*

Notes.

4, 6, 8. *Khung khung* imitates the voice of the mules, *bo* is the emphatic article. 7. *saljab*, means the name as *sacha*, pasture ground.

Notes.

This song is to be placed after Kesar's return from **Hor.** Then he found that the mules had taken **the King of Hor's** part. It is almost certain that the word *'adre*, a certain spirit, was mixed up with the word *dre*, mule, and thus the original spirits became animals.

Song No. XXV. — On the Srar Pass.

Text.

1. srargyi lai stengna thang dkar mgo dkar kun chadde luste 'adug

   ane bkur dman rgyalmos ngala rogs shig mdzad
2. srargyi lai stengna phorog nag chung kun chadde luste 'adug

   ane bkur dman rgyalmos ngala rogs shig mdzad
3. srargyi lai stengna γyuma phoron kun chadde luste 'adug

   ane bkur dman rgyalmos ngala rogs shig mdzad.
4. srargyi lai stengna shangku mjug zlum kun chadde luste 'adug

   ane bkur dman rgyalmos ngala rogs shig mdzad
5. srargyi lai stengna sragpa cundru kun chadde luste 'adug

   ane bkur dman rgyalmos ngala rogs shig mdzad.

Translation.

1. On the **Srar Pass** the strength of the white-headed falcon is broken, and he remains behind!

   Oh, queen **Ane bKurdmanmo,** come to my help!
2. On the Srar Pass the strength of all the little black crows is broken, and they remain behind.

   Oh, queen Ane bKurdmanmo, come to my help!
3. On the Srar Pass the strength of all the turquoise pigeons is broken, and they remain behind!

   Oh, queen Ane bKurdmanmo, come to my help!
4. On the Srar Pass the strength of all the bushy-tailed wolves is broken, and they remain behind.

   Oh, queen Ane bKurdmanmo, come to my help!
5. On the Srar Pass the strength of all the earless stone-partridges is broken, and they remain behind.

   Oh, queen Ane bKurdmanmo, come to my help!

Notes.

chadde, in all the verses, means originally 'is cut off.' *rogs*=*grogs*, *Lad. Gr.* Laws of Sound 3. 3. *phoron*=*phugron*, pigeon. 4. *shangku*=*scangku*=*spyangku*, *Lad. Gr.*, l. of s. 1; 5, *cundru*, earless, derivation not known.

Notes.

This song is a prayer rendered by Kesar, which he addressed to the queen of the gods, when crossing the difficult Srar Pass. This pass he had to cross on his journey to the North.

Song No. XXVI. — Kesar, Returning to 'aBruguma.

Text.

1. γyuma phoronla rdzuste
   γnam stod mthonpola 'agyingba chana
   khra skya dkarpola rdzuste
   γyuma phoronni sna skyilla chen lei.

Translation.

1. If she, taking the shape of a turquoise dove,
   Should go to soar in the highest skies,
   I, taking the shape of a white falcon,
   Will go to take her home again.

2. γyuma phoronla rdzuste
dgung stod mthonpola shorna
khra skya ḍkarpola rdzuste
γyuma phoronla 'adedpa chen lei.

3. nyamo γser migla rdzuste
mthso stod mthonpola 'agyingba chana
chu sram kamala rdzuste
nyamo γser miggi sna skyilla chen lei.

4. nyamo γser migla rdzuste
mthso rgyan mthonpola shorna
chu sram brang dkarla rdzuste
nyamo γser migla 'adedla chen lei.

2. If she, taking the shape of a turquoise dove,
Should go to flee into the highest zenith,
I, taking the shape of a white falcon,
Will go to follow after her.

3. If she, taking the shape of the fish 'goldeye,'
Should go to float in the deepest ocean,
I, taking the shape of a whitebreasted otter,
Will go to take her home again.

4. If she, taking the shape of the fish 'goldeye,'
Should go to flee into the widest ocean,
I, taking the shape of a whitebreasted otter,
Will go to follow after her.

Notes.

1. *phoron* = *phugron*, dove; *sna skyil* literally 'hinder the nose,' *i. e.*, 'meet from the front.' 3. *Kama*, said to mean the same as *brang dkar*, whitebreasted. 4. *rgyan* = *rgya*, wide. *Lad. Grammar*, Laws of Sound 5.

Notes.

Kesar, after having taken the food and drink of forgetfulness, had forgotten 'aBruguma. Now, that the birds, coming from the South, brought him a message from her, decides to win her again by all means; actually there was no need to use the transformations mentioned in the above song.

Song No. XXVII. — 'aBruguma's Farewell to Kesar.

Text.

me ma khrulli Kesar

1. stangscanni rgyalpo nyerang
steng nang lha yulla skyod zana

lha yulli lhamo kun mthongse
mi yulli jojo ning rjed ma rjed.

2. stangscanni jo nyerang
steng nang lha yulla skyod zana

lhamo nang sitarrâm kun mthongse

mi yulli 'abruguma 'aphang ma 'aphang.

3. stangscanni rgyalpo nyerang
yog nang klu yulla skyod zana

klu yulli klumo kun mthongse
mi yulli jojo ning rjed ma rjed.

4. stangscanni jo nyerang
yog nang klu yulla skyod zana

klu yulli klumo kun mthongse
mi yulli grogs skal 'aphang ma 'aphang.

Translation.

O Kesar, who never lettest the fire fall!

1. Oh, my clever King!
When thou wilt go to the upper land of the gods,
And seest all the fairies of heaven,
Then do not forget thy wife from the land of men.

2. Oh, my clever Lord!
When thou wilt go to the upper land of the gods,
And seest all the **Sitarrâms** among the fairies,
Then do not reject 'aBruguma from the land of men.

3. Oh, my clever King!
When thou wilt go to the lower land of the snakes,
And seest all the *nâginî* of it,
Then do not forget thy wife from the land of men.

4. Oh, my clever Lord!
When thou wilt go to the lower land of the snakes,
And seest all the *nâginî* of it,
Then do not forget thy helpmate from the land of men.

Notes.

1. *stangs can* means 'clever in strategies;' *zana* = *tsana*, when; *mthongse* = *mthongste*, seeing. 2. [*sitarrām* seems to be a reference to Sîtâ, the heroine of the *Râmâyaṇa*, disguised as a "fairy," under the hermaphroditic name Sîtâ-Râma, according to a combination of the male and female names of allied deities common enough in India.—Ed.]

Notes.

As the Kesar Myth tells us, Kesar forgot *'aBruguma* all the same, after having taken the food and drink of forgetfulness.

Song No. XXVIII. — Young Kesar.

Text.

1. la khala yaspabo
   lagsmobai mentog cig yassed lei.
2. la stod nang mthonpo kunla
   yzugscanni mentog cig yassed lei.
3. darung yaspai sgang zhig yod lei
   sngamo yaspai mentoggi jo.
4. darung yaspai sgang zhig yod lei
   kalimānni mentoggi jo

Translation.

1. A flower, blooming on the pass,
   Oh, a pure flower is in bloom!
2. On all the high passes
   A flower of fine shape is in bloom!
3. Thou art but half opened,
   Oh Lord [who art] like a flower of the morning!
4. Thou art but half opened,
   Oh Lord [who art] like a *kalimān* flower!

Notes.

3 and 4 may be translated just as well 'Oh Lord of the flower of the morning; oh Lord of the *kalimān* flower.' The *kalimān* flower is not of a beautiful appearance, but has a very sweet scent.

Notes.

This song refers to the supposed spring hero, who has carried spring up to the high passes. All the same he has not yet displayed his full glory (the flower is only half opened).

Song No. XXIX. — Kesar, the God of Lightning.

Text.

1. saricanni la mgona
   nagpoi sprin cig yongnged lei.
2. saricanni la mgona
   dum dum sprin cig yongnged lei.
3. nagpo sprinpoi dkyil dena
   jo lagsmoi snamralla glog 'abarred lei.
4. nagpo sprinpoi dkyilpona
   rgyal lham kesarri snamralla glog 'abarred lei.

Translation.

1. On the height of the **Sarican Pass**
   Black clouds are gathering.
2. On the height of the Sarican Pass
   Torn clouds are gathering.
3. In the middle of the black clouds
   Lightning flashes from our good Lord's sword.
4. In the middle of the black clouds
   Lightning flashes from the godly King Kesar's sword.

Notes.

3, 4. *snamral*, respectful for *ralgri*, sword.

Notes.

This song furnishes us with one of the strongest arguments to prove Kesar's nature-origin.

Song No. XXX. — The Nyopa's Carpet.

A Wedding Song.

Text.

A. — Nangmas : —

1. nam stod mthonpo de
su dang ganggi stan.
2. gangs stod mthonpo de
su dang ganggi stan.
3. brag stod mthonpo de
su dang ganggi stan.
4. mthsom stod mthonpo de
su dang ganggi stan.
5. mkhar stod mthonpo de
su dang ganggi stan.
6. sa 'og phon che de
su dang ganggi stan.
7. khrom zed kha sngon de
su dang ganggi stan.
8. sha stan sebo de
su dang ganggi stan.
9. rtsva shing nags thsal de
su dang ganggi stan.
10. snambu yug ring de
su dang ganggi stan.

B. — Nyopas : —

1. nam stod mthonpo de
nyi zla γnyiskai stan.
2. gangs stod mthonpo de
sengge γyu ralli stan.
3. brag stod mthonpo de
skyin chen ba rganni stan.
4. mthsom stod mthonpo de
nyamo γser miggi stan.
5. mkhar stod mthonpo de
mi chen gongmai stan.
6. sa 'og phol che de
rgya nag rgyalpoi stan.
7. khrom zed kha sngon de
agu dpallei stan.
8. sha stan sebo de
agu khru btungngi stan.
9. rtsva shing nags thsal de
bya dang byigui stan.
10. snambu yug ring de
nyo 'am spun bdunni stan.

Translation.

A. — **People of the house ask : —**

1. The high sky,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
2. The high glacier,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
3. The high rock,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
4. The high ocean,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
5. The high castle,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
6. The wide earth,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
7. The blue-bordered saddle-cloth,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
8. The grey deer-skin,
Whose and what carpet is it ?
9. Those meadows and woods,
Whose and what carpet are they ?
10. That long piece of woollen cloth,
Whose and what carpet is it ?

B. — The Nyopas says : —

1. The high sky
Is the carpet of sun and moon.
2. The high glacier
Is the carpet of the lion with the turquoise mane
3. The high rock
Is the carpet of the mountain goat, the old ox.
4. The high ocean
Is the carpet of the fish 'golden eye.'
5. The high castle
Is the carpet of great men.
6. The wide earth
Is the carpet of the King of China.
7. The blue-bordered saddle-cloth
Is the carpet of **Agu dPalle.**
8. The grey deer-skin
Is the carpet of **Agu Khru btung.**
9. Those meadows and woods
Are the carpet of the great and little birds.
10. That long piece of woollen cloth
Is the carpet of the Nyopas, the seven brethren.

Notes.

A. 4. *mthsom*=*mthso*, lake. 6. *phonche*: or *phoolche*, much, in this connection 'much land.' 7. *khrom zed*=*khromme zed*, 'glittering brush,' used for velvet. 10. *yug* means 'not sewn,' I am told; thu 'a long woven piece of cloth.'

B. 3. *ba rgan*, old ox; compare Song No. XV, 29. 8. Agu *Khru btung* (the spelling of the name is doubtful) has not a human, but a falcon's head.

Notes.

This song shows clearly the general character of the wedding songs. It is not in direct connection with the rest of the wedding songs, but forms a scene by itself. After the Nyopas (*lit.*, "buyers" of the bride) have entered the house, they are not allowed to sit down on a carpet, until they have answered the questions, which form the first half of this song. [This custom seems to be allied to the world-wide "impossible riddle" of Folklore, which is a variant of the idea of the "impossible task" as a supernatural method of identifying of the expected hero. The root idea here would seem to be that the Nyopas have to prove that that they really are Nyopas before being received, and the proof is in the Folklore method of answering certain formal riddles, as one of the "signs" of the coming hero. — ED.]

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 284.)

1793.—No. LV.

The following Letters were written on the 13th Instant, to **Major Kyd**, the Agent for Fort **Marlbro', and the Register** of the Nizamut Adawlut.

No. 1.

To Major Alexander Kyd, Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir,—I have received your Letter of the 13th Instant, and laid it before the Board, who direct Me to Acquaint you that you are Authorised to settle with Mr. Copestake for the Conveyance of one hundred Men and one thousand Bags of Grain in the Vessel you Mention to the Andamans, and landing them at Port Cornwallis on the Terms to which you have reported him willing to agree.

Orders will be given for eighty Convicts to be held in readiness to embark in this Vessel ; and you will be pleased to Acquaint **Mr. Barlow the Register to the Nizamut Adawlut**, when She will be prepared to receive them.

The Governor General in Council has instructed me to advise you, in respect to Provisions that there are in Store, under charge of **Mr. Perreau, the Agent for Fort Marlbro'** 425 Bags of Rice and 290 Bags of wheat, which were intended for that Residency, but could not be taken on board the Ship that was to have carried them, and that, if the whole or any Part, of this Grain should, be found of a Quality that will answer for the Convicts, Mr. Perreau is directed to deliver it over to your Order.

You are desired to let me know whether you will require the whole, or any, and that Part of this Store ; and upon receiving your Answer, I shall be able to judge of the Quantity of Rice in Addition to Dholl, Ghee, and Salt which the Garrison Store Keeper should provide, in such Proportions of each as you may point out.

The Governor General in Council further directs me to acquaint you that he approves of a small Vessel being freighted for four Months, for the Andaman Station. the Nautilus Brig having been employed on other Service; and desires you to report to him, as you propose, before you make an Agreement for the Hire.

Council Chamber
14 Decr. 1793.

I am &ca.
(Signed) E. Hay, Secry. to the Govt.

No. 2.

To **R. L. Perreau Esqre.** Agent for Fort Marlbro'.

Sir,—I have received your Letter of the 5th Instant, transmitting a Copy of one written to you from Cox Island, on the 29th Ultimo, by the Commander of the **Honble. Companys Ship Pigot**, by which and the Memorandum annexed to it, it appears that 425 Bags of Rice and 290 Bags of wheat intended for the Residency at Fort Malbro' have been returned from that Ship.

The Governor General in Council directs me to acquaint you that a small Supply of Grain being required to be sent on a Vessel going to the Andamans, he desires that you will allow Major Kyd, or any Person sent by him to inspect the Grain Abovementioned, and if the whole any Part of it should be found to answer the Purpose. for which it is wanted, that you will have it delivered over to Major Kyd's order.

The Remainder or so much as may not be taken by Major Kyd, is to be resold as you propose and a Quantity, equal to that sent back from the Pigot may be purchased and dispatched to **Bencoolen** when a proper Opportunity Offers.

Council Chamber
10th December 1793.

I am &ca.
(Signed) E. Hay Secry. to the Govt.

No. 3.

To **G. H. Barlow Esqre.** Register to the Nizamut Adawlut.

Sir,—The Governor General in Council, having been pleased, in the Court of Nizamut, to recommend that a Number of Native Convicts should be sent to the Andamans, and a Vessel, which is to be hired by Major Kyd, the Superintendant being reported capable of accommodating Eighty of such Convicts, the Board have passed a Resolution that they should be transported on that Vessel.

You are therefore desired to intimate this to the Adawlet, and give Orders, under their Directions, for the Convicts to be in readiness to embark obtaining from Major Kyd the necessary Information when the Vessel will be prepared to receive them. A Guard will be sent with the Men.

Council Chamber
14th December 1793.

I am &ca.
(Signed) E. Hay Secry. to the Govt.

The Secretary Acquaints the Board, that the Cornwallis Snow being ready to proceed to Port Cornwallis, he sent the Sailing Orders to Lieutenant Wales the Commander of the Vessel, desiring him generally to attend to such further Instructions as he might receive from Major Kyd, the Superintendant, at that Settlement.

1793. — No. LVI.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqre. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I have received your letter of the 14th Instant, and will immediately sent [? treat] with **Mr. Copestake** for the freight of his Vessel to the Andamans, and will take Measures as directed by the Board, for embarking the Convicts, as soon as possible. I imagine that the Rice prepared for Fort Marlbro' is too fine a quality. for the Convicts, but as both Rice and Wheat must be soon sent for the

use of the Settlement at the Andamans; and as Mr. Copestake's Vessel will take a Considerable large[r] quantity than what is necessary for the Convicts, I will prepare the usual indents on the Garrison Store keeper, who may be directed to take the Grain from Mr. Perreau.

I beg you will Acquaint the Governor General in Council that I have taken Measures to find a proper Vessel to be hired as a Transport and inclose a letter from **Mr. Smith who offers the Snow Daphne** which Vessel I have examined and think her every way fit for the Service, the terms I also conceive to be very reasonable at this time, as the Vessel is larger and in every respect better for the purpose than the Union which was formerly employed and the freight which was fixed by some of the principal Merchants in Calcutta, is exactly the same. If the Board will therefore be pleased to accept of Mr. Smith's proposal I request that the necessary orders may be issued for Surveying the Vessel, and making the Agreement with the Owner, which I imagine Should be done by the Marine Pay Master to commence from the 1st of January next when the Vessel will be wanted.

As I am now considerably in advance for the expences of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, I request that the Board will be pleased to Order me an Advance of Ten Thousand Sicca Rupees on Account, from which Sum I will pay Mr. Copestake his freight, and if the Board think it right I will keep a Seperate Account, of all expences incurred for the Convicts, as well as Seperate Indents on the Garrison Store keeper for Provisions to be supplied for their use.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most obedt. humble Servt.

Calcutta (Signed) **A. Kyd** Superintendt. Andamans.

15th December 1793.

Enclosure.

Major A. Kyd.

Sir, — Having now made every necessary Enquiry concerning the Insurance &ca. I beg leave to make an Offer of the Snow Daphne to the Honble Company for the term of either 4 or 6 Months, to be employed during that time in any manner they think proper.

She at present has 4 Carriages ? Guns 3 and 2 Pounders and 20 Musquets and Bayonets and will be manned with 40 Men (Officers and Servants included) She is a good Sailer Coppered, not quite 3 years old and now in good Order and ready for Sea will carry 2500 Bags of Rice having worked down in the S. W. Monsoon with 2450 on board and made a quick passage. She is able to mount 12 Carriage Guns if necessary.

In the Situation above mentioned I beg leave to make a Tender of her to the Honble Company for Sicca Rupees Two thousand, five Hundred pr. Month and will take all Risks on myself (the War Risk excepted), and in case she should happen to be taken by any Power at War with Great Britain I propose to Value her at Sicca Rupees Eighteen Thousand.

I hope the above terms will not be found unreasonable, and if they should be approved of I trust I shall give every Satisfaction to my Employers.

Calcutta I am &ca.

13th December 1793. (Signed) **Matthew Smith.**

Ordered Upon the Subject of the 1st Paragraph of the Letter, dated the 15th Instant from Major Kyd that the Garrison Store keeper be informed that there are in [charge] of Mr. Perreau Agent for Fort Marlbro'; 425 Bags of Rice and 290 Bags of Wheat, that were intended for that Settlement, but were returned from the Pigot, which was to have carried them, and that, if any of this Grain should be found to be of a description and Quality that will answer, generally, for the Andamans, or for the Convicts going thither, Mr. Perreau will deliver up the same to the Order of the Garrison Storekeeper, to Assist in enabling him to Comply with Major Kyd's Indents.

Ordered that Directions be sent Accordingly to Mr. Perreau.

Upon the Subject of Mr. Smith's Proposal, the Board determine that the Daphne shall be surveyed by the Master Attendant and **Mr. Gillett,** and their Report desired whether she be, in all respects, a proper Vessell to be freighted by the Company as Transport for 4 or 6 Months. They are also to report what they judge to be her Value.

Agreed that an Order on the Treasury be issued, in favor of Major Kyd, upon Account, and that he be acquainted that the Board entirely approve of his keeping a seperate Account of all Expences incurred for the Convicts, as well as of his making seperate Indents on the Garrison Store keeper for Provisions to be supplied for their Use.

Fort William **20th December 1793.**

Read a **Letter from Messieurs Thornhill and Gillet.**

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — In Obedience to the Orders of the Governor General in Council communicated to us in your Letter of the 16th Date, We have Surveyed **the Snow Daphne,** and find her to be in good Condition and in all Respects a competent Vessel to be freighted by the Company for the Andaman Station Her Burthen is 250 Bags and Stores 1800 in her Hold the tween (*sic*) Decks being 6 feet under the Beams makes her very convenient for carrying Troops.

We are of opinion that her Value is from 17 to 20 Thousand Sicca Rupees but that she would not fetch so much at the present period as there is so little Want of Shipping.

We are Sir Your most Obedient Servants
(Signed) **Cudbert Thornhill Master Attendt.**
Gabl. Gillett.

Marine Office
the 19th Decr.

Agreed that the Daphne Snow be freighted for the Andaman Service for the Period of 4 Months, at the rate of 2500 Rupees per Mensem, and that Major Kyd be desired to conclude necessary Agreement, in consequence, with the Owner of the Vessel.

1794. — No. I.

Fort William **3rd January 1794.** The following Letter from **Lieutenant Wells at Port Cornwallis,** was received, on the 31st Ultimo, by **the Seahorse,** and Circulated for the Perusal of the Members of the Board.

Mr Wells, 14th December 1793.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government General

Sir, — In the expectation that **Major Kyd, Superintendant of the Andamans,** will have left the Presidency before this can be received, I do myself the honor to address you with my Communication of this Settlement for the information of Government.

My last Letter to Major Kyd is under Date 23rd September pr **the Union Snow Lieutenant Roper,** which sailed from hence the following day.

I am now necessitated to dispatch the Honble Company's **Brig Seahorse,** without waiting an arrival from Calcutta, principally for the purpose of expediting a further Supply of some particular Articles of provision, for which I forward Indent to the Military Board. The Seahorse having in her last trip brought only half the quantities indented for, and the unexpected detention of **the Cornwallis Snow,** have together reduced our Store to nearly an exhausted State. I am therefore induced earnestly to request that this Vessell may be allowed to Sail again on her return, as soon as possible or we shall otherwise sensibly feel the want of these essential means of subsistence, Should an earlier Conveyance offer by any of the Eastward bound Traders, that would undertake to touch at this Port, I beg leave to suggest the expediency of embracing such an Opportunity, as the means of securing an important Convenience to the Settlement. Not knowing

what People or Stores Major Kyd may have left at Calcutta for a future Conveyance, I have limitted my Indents to the Articles most pressingly requisite. If there be any Spare Room in the Seahorse after providing for other particulars, I would Recommend that her Lading be completed with Rice and Dhall in equal quantities. And should there be Accommodation for more Passengers, Coolies will be the Most usefull Class to send.

Enclosed is my Account Current of Receipts and Desbursements up to the 31st of October with the Documents Appertaining Marked No. 13 to 23, which I beg you will be pleased to lay before the Governor General in Council, at the same time remarking that the Arrears due to the different Establishments of People now here for the Months of October and November, Amount to Sonat Rupees Nine Thousand Eight hundred (9,800.0.0) and upwards; and before the Seahorse can return to us, will be more than double that Sum, so that Unless Major Kyd shall have embarked with a supply of Cash, I imagine it will be thought proper to send it by this returning Vessell. Twelve Thousand Sicca Rupees (Sa Rs. 12,000.0.0) in Gold or Silver with the sums which may be expected from Individuals here for Bills on the Governor General in Council will, I conceive, be Sufficient.

I have also enclosed a List of Bills drawn on the Governor General in Council since my last Advice.

The Rainy Season seems to have terminated about the Middle of last Month [November] and is Succeeded by favorable Weather, which has proved beneficial to the Health of the People in general. For a more particular Account of the Numbers of Sick in the Hospital during September October and November, I beg leave to transmit **the Surgeon Mr Woods** Reports for those Months.

I have thought proper to send by this opportunity Thirteen persons whose ill State of Health requires, in the Surgeon's Opinion, removal from this place and I beg leave to trouble you with his List, and particulars of their Cases.

I have the honor to be &ca
(Signed) **Edmund Wells**
In tempy Charge of the Settlement.

Port Cornwallis
14th December 1793.

Ordered that the Papers received from Lieutenant Wells be sent to the proper Offices, and that the Secretary be directed to Communicate his Letter to Major Kyd.

1794. — No. II.

Fort William **20th January 1794.** Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I request you will be pleased to inform the Governor General in Council, **that the Daphne Snow**, has now got on board part of the last Provisions and Stores indented for by Lieutt Wells for the Settlement at the Andamans, and that part of the Detachment of Sepoys is also ready to embark.

On this Vessel I find that Forty Convicts can be sent, and if the Board thinks fit, I beg that they may be directed to be delivered to me, when I shall apply for them to the Register of the Niyamut Adawlut.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Obedt humble Servant
(Signed) **A. Kyd**
Superintendant Andamans.

Calcutta
20th January 1794.

Agreed that Instructions be sent to the Register of the Nizamut Adawlut in Compliance with the above request and that he be desired generally to attend to any similar Application made to him by Major Kyd.

1794. — III.

Fort William **24th January 1794.** Read a Letter from the Assistant to the Commissary of Stores.

To Edward Hay Esq^{r} Secretary to the Government

Sir, — Enclosed I have the honor to send you the Invoice & two Bills of Lading of the Stores sent on **the Snow Daphne** for the Andamans. A Copy also has been sent to the Military Board.

I have the honor to be &c^{a}

Fort William (Sig^{d}) **Tho^{s} Aubury**

23rd Jan^{ry} 1794. Ass^{t} Comss^{ry} Stores.

Invoice of Stores Shipped **on the Snow Daphne** by order of **Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General** &c^{a} **Captain Mathew Smith Commander** for the Andamans and goes consigned to the Commanding Officer there. Fort William **22^{d} Jan^{ry} 1794.**

Hatchets	Hand	in one Mangoe Box		150
Bills	Hand	in one D^{o}		250
Axes	Broad	in two D^{o} W^{t} 6.17. 8		100
	Felling	in two D^{o} 5.13.12		100
Mamuties		in 8 bundles 16.14.12		200
Axes	Pick	in 2 D^{o} 3.35.12		50
Nails	Europe 8^{d}	in 2 Bags	Maunds	2
	10^{d}		D^{o}	2
Halves [hafts ?]	Mamuty	in 9 bundles		200
	ax Broad			100
	Felling			100
	for Picks			50
Pattans [? Rattans]	Malacca	in one bundle		10
Pitch		Single Barrels		2
Dammer	Raw China	in 6 Casks wth Pattan [Rattan ?] Hoops	Md^{s}	10
Blaneirons [? Planeirons]				10
Planes	Plough			1
	Bead			6
	Rabbit			2
Chissels	Mortice			12
Drum	Heads Country	in one Mangoe Box		10
	Hoops			4
Files	Handsaw			50
	Pitsaw			50
	Half round			40
Lines	Log Europe		Skains	10
Saws	Hand			6
Twine	Jute	in 7 Bundles	Md^{s}	10

Package

Bags	Gunny	4
Boxes	Mangoe	7
Casks	with Rattan hoops	6
Gunny Chutties		50

Nails	Europe 8d ...	... Seers	2
Okum	...	... Do	12
Rope	Jute Lashings	... Skains	15
Twine	Bengal ...	... Seers	3

	Rs.	a.	p.
Shipping Charges ...	2	3	4

(Signed) **Thos Auburey**
Asst Commissary Stores

Ordered that a Copy of the Above Invoice be delivered with one of the Bills of Lading to Major Kyd to be sent to Lieut. Wells who is in the temporary Charge of the Settlement at the Andamans.

1794. — No. IV.

Fort William **14th February 1794.** Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

Superintendant at the Andamans 14th February.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Governor General in Council that **the Seahorse Brig** being in Readiness to Sail with part of the Detachment of Sepoys and **twenty Convicts,** and all the Stores and provisions being embarked that I imagine we shall be in want of for Some time it is my intention with the Boards permission of proceeding to the Andamans on that Vessel **taking the opportunity of the Convoy of the Indiamen now under dispatch to pass the Situation where the greatest danger from Privateers may be expected.**

Upon my arrival at **port Cornwallis** I Shall dispatch one of the Vessels for **the remaining part of the Convicts** that I find we Shall be able to take this Season for which purpose, I have left a small Detachment of the Sepoys under charge of **Lieut. Sandys Fort Adjustant.**

I have the honor to be Sir Your most obedient Servant

Calcutta
14th February 1794

A. Kyd
Superintendant Andamans.

P. S. As all the Convicts enbarked are Hindoos, and cannot be prevailed upon to eat provisions that is dressed on board, I have been obliged to indent on the Garrison Storekeeper, for dry provisions for their Subsistance during the Passage and beg that he may have the Boards Authority for Supplying it.

Agreed that the Orders, requested in the Postcript to the above Letter, be sent to the Garrison Storekeeper and that notice thereof be transmitted to the Military Board.

The Secretary is directed to acquaint Major Kyd that the Permission he desires to proceed in the Seahorse to the Andamans is granted, and the Secretary to the Government is informed that he is to give the usual Sailing Orders to the Commander of the Seahorse Brig, referring him to Major Kyd for further Instructions.

1794. — No. V.

Fort William **21st February** 1794. **Read again a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans, dated the 1st** and recorded on the Proceedings of the 7th of **October 1793.**

Ordered that a Copy of Major Kyd's Letter be sent to the Military Auditor General with the following Information, relative to the Accounts of the Andaman Establishment for the three first Months of **Major Kyd's** Superintendance.

That the first Item in his **Account Current** for Cash advanced to Captain Blair, on the Application of the latter, to enable him to pay up the Establishment to the Period when Major Kyd took charge of it is to be passed. Captain Blair having given Credit for the Sum in his Accounts which have been passed and allowed.

That the second Item in Major Kyd's Account Current being for a Variety of small Articles, declared to be necessary for the Settlement at the Andamans is also to be passed under Major Kyd's Attestation that the Charge is just and corresponding with the Account of Particulars which he has furnished.

With respect to the third Item, this is to be likewise passed, under the Explanation delivered by Major Kyd and the Military Auditor General is to be informed that **the Beach Master and Assistant** and the Boat Lascars entered on the Returns, were authorized as an increase to the Establishment, by a Resolution that was passed subsequent to the 18th of February 1793.

As to the 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8 Articles, alluded to in Major Kyd's Letter, they are to be passed; and the Military Auditor General is to be acquainted, on the Subject of the 5th that it was the Board's Intention, that Major Kyd should draw the Military Allowances of the Superior Rank, for Instance, on his first appointment, when he held the Rank of Captain he was entitled to draw **the Batta of a Major**, and afterwards, when he was promoted to the Rank of Major he became entitled to **the Batta of Lieut. Colonel.**

The 9th Article does not require any Order upon it being to be passed of Course.

The Board agree that the Military Auditor General shall be authorized to pass the last Article of Charge, made by Major Kyd, being for his Agent's Cammission on a Draft for 5000 Sa. Rs. the Amount of Cash paid into his Treasure Chest by sevaral Individuals, this Charge having at the Time been admitted tho' precluded for the future, by a different Mode of drawing Bills having been Established for the Superintendant's Guidance.

Agreed that Major Kyd be instructed to transmit in future, all his documents and Charges of whatever kind and in whatever Department, exepting those of a trivial Nature for which it may be impracticable for him to produce the Vouchers (the latter being to be sent direct to the Governor General in Council with the necessary Explanations) to the **Military Auditor General** who is to be furnished with Copies of all Letters from Major Kyd and Authorities given to him relative to his Charges and Establishment, and will transfer to the proper Department, at the Close of the Year, such Items of Charge as do not appertain Strictly to the Military Accounts.

1794. — No. VI.

Fort William **27th March 1794.** The following Letter was received on the 26th Instant, by the Snow Daphne, from **Major Kyd,** Superintendant at the Andamans.

Superintendant of the Andamans dated 11th March 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government

Sir, — I have to acquaint you for the information of the Honble the Governor General in Council that I arrived here on the Sea Horse Brig on the 1st of this Month having made a very Quick passage — I had the Satisfaction to find every work at the Settlement, in a greater State of forwardness, than I could have expected considering **the Great Sickness** that has prevailed Amongst Every class of People and I am sorry to say that there is yet a very large proportion of Sick but principally Amongst the Europeans & Lascars of the Artillery Detachment, which lately arrived as the Settlement is now very much encreased and as the Surgeon has great fears, that there will still be a greater Number of Sick during the app[r]o[a]ching Rainy Season, he foresees that the Duty will be to[o] much for one person, there, more especially as he has himself been subject to **an entermitting fiver,** which he has not been able to Shake off I have to request therefore that you

will represent to the Board the necessity of sending **another Surgeon** to remain here during the Rainy Months, and as it is a matter of consequence to trace the Cause of this great Sickness, I hope they will think it expedient to pitch upon a person, of professional reputation and experience.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the different vessels with **the Convicts** arrived Safe, and that these people have condeund [! conducted] themselves, in the most orderly Manner, attaching themselves to labour with the greatest good will.

I now Dispatch **the Daphne Snow for Sixty More convicts** and the remainder of the Detachment of Sepoys, and have indented on the Garrison Store Keeper, for four months Provisions for that Number of convicts as also for a small proportion of provisions for the Settlement.

I beg you will represent to the Board that we feel very much **the want of a public Agent in Calcutta** who would take the Care of procuring the Various classes of people we want from time to time to take Charge of Sepoys and others that may have occasional leave of absence, and to procure them passages on their return as also to furnish and send down a great variety of small articles, which cannot be procured in the Company's Stores **Lieutenant Sandys Fort Adjutant of Fort William is from his Situation a fit person,** and from his great attention and readiness at business, would be very agreeable to me but as it will be imposing on him much additional trouble, as well as the necessity of employing some additional Servants, I think it would be just that he had some allowance for performing this Duty.

Accompanying is a List of Sick people that the Surgeon has thonght necessary to recommend being sent to Bengal on the Daphne, as he has no hopes of their recovery here, as well as some People who have Furloughs and different artificers and Labourers who have applied for their Discharge.

There is also a List of Bills of Exchange for Sums that I have received into the Treasury which I have been necessitated to draw at 15 Days Sight as I have found that people would rather send up their Money by the Vessels than receive Bills at one Months Sight as prevented [? provided] by the Board as however it is of [[? for] your convenience to Keep as much of the Cash here as possible, to save the trouble and risk of sending it frequently down I hope that this diviation will be admitted of.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Most obedient humble Servant

Port Cornwallis
10th March 1794.

(Signed) **A. Kyd**
Superintendant Andamans.

List of Passengers directed to proceed pr Daphne to Bengal.

3	Sepoys	2	Women
2	Sirdars }		
33	Coolies }	2	Women
1	Serang }		
2	Lascars of Artillery }		
4	Chittagong Lascars		
1	Potter		
1	Fisherman	2	Women
1	Washerman		
48	Men		
6	Women		
54	Total		

Port Cornwallis
March 9th 1794.

(Signed) A. Kyd
Superintendant, Andamans.

List of the Sick recommended for a Passage to Bengal.

Sudial Seapoy	Scorbutic
Serang Artillery Lascars	Huter fiver [?]
Gumanic Artillery Lascar	Pthis is Pellononalis [Phthisis pectoralis ?]
Hutcha Artillery Lascar	Scorbutic
Suvari Washerman	Scorbutic
Sunessie Coolie...	Foul ulcer on left leg, Scorbutic
Oochal Coolie	Inclaration [induration] of Speun [? Spleen]
Rawron Coolie	Diar shoa [Diarrhœa] general Debility
Mangoo Coolie...	Feverish general Debility
Hingan Coolie	Flux
Bawanie Sing Coolie	Inflamation of Eyes
Ganpaul Coolie...	general Debility
Modoo Coolie	Scorbutic
Harrow Coolie	Scorbutic
Luchan Coolie	Scorbutic
Nawagie Coolie	Flux
Sitaram Coolie Supdt	General Dibility
Nemoo Coolie	General Dibility
Nemy Coolie	General Dibility
Meroi Coolie	Scorbutic
Nunno Coolie	General Debility
Rafick Coolie	Drop[s]ical
Ramdass Coolie	Superannuted

Port Cornwallis (Signed) **D. Wood**

the 5th March 1794. **Actg in a Medical Capacity.**

Ordered that a Copy of the first Paragraph of Major Kyd's Letter Dated the 10th Instant, be sent to the Hospital Board, and that they be desired to recommend an assistant Surgeon, properly qualified, to be appointed to Port Cornwallis.

Ordered that the Secretary be direct to send Notice to the Judicial Department that the Daphne Snow will be ready to receive on Board Sixty more Convicts, in a few Days, and that the necessary Directions must be given for sending them to the Andamans. The Adjutant General is also to be advised that the Remainder of the Detachment of Sepoys for Port Cornwallis may embark in the Daphne, which will Sail for the Settlement in a Week or Ten Days from his Receipt of the Notice.

Agreed that the Suggestion in Major Kyd's Letter, relative to the appointment of a Public agent for the Andamans shall be over for the present.

Ordered that Copies of the Lists of Passangers per Daphne, — and of the Sick recommended to be sent to Bengal, be transmitted to the **Town Major**, and that the List of the Bills of Exchange, which are to be Duly honoured be forwarded to the Accountant General, with a Copy of the last Paragraph of Major Kyd's Letter relative to them.

Read a Letter and its Enclosures from the Garrison Store Keeper.

Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Having received two Indents Copies whereof are enclosed, for a Supply of Provisions for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, and for **60 Convicts** expected to be sent there on the

Daphne, I request that you will advise the Governor General in Council thereof, and communicate to me his orders whether the Indents shall be complied with.

I have the honor to be &ca.

Garrison S. Kr Office (Sigd) **G. A. Robinson**

25th March 1794. Garri. S. Kr

Indent No. 6.

To George Robinson Esqr Garrison Store Keeper.

Names of Stores.	*Articles indented for*	*Purposes for which wanted.*	*Admitted by the Board.*
Rice ... ... Maunds	525	For 4 Months Subsistence to 60 Convicts expected at Port Cornwallis for the Snow Daphne.	
Doll ... ... do.	180		
Ghee ... ... do.	42		
Salt ... ... do.	36		

Port Cornwallis (Signed) **Edmund Wells**

March 9th 1794. **Commissary of Provisions.**

A true Copy G. A. Robinson G. S. Kr

Indent No. 5.

To Lieut. George Robinson Garrison Store Keeper Fort William.

	Total recd. Since 1st May 1793.	**Balance remaining motion [?]**	**Articles Indented for**	**For what purpose wanted.**	**Admitted by the Board.**
	Mds.	**Mds.**	**Mds.**	**For the Subsistence of the Settlers at the Andamans.**	
Rice ... ... Maunds		1766	400		
Dholl ... ... do.		530	100		
Ghee .. ... do.		130	20		
Salted Meat, Tincs [? junks]		6	4		

I do hereby Certify that the Articles Specified on this Indent are indispensible necessary for the purpose abovementioned after the most careful Examination.

Port Cornwallis (Sigd) **E. Wells,**

1st March 1794. Commsry of Provision.

A true Copy (Sigd) G. A. Robinson G. S. Kr

Agreed that the Garrison Store Keeper be directed to Comply with the above Indents, and Ordered that the Notice of the Authority given to him for doing so, be sent to the Military Board.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 291.)

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS FOLKLORE AND SCIENCE.

I PUBLISH the accompanying document in full, just as received from an English-speaking Telugu Brâhmaṇ correspondent, because I have several times noticed that the Indian mental attitude towards scientific thought is not appreciated by those European writers on Oriental subjects, who are not personally deeply acquainted with the East.

The accompanying document shows clearly, that the spirit which gives rise to folklore is still an active force in India, and that folklore is being created daily afresh in that country in precisely the same manner as obtained in the centuries long ago. And for the same reason: that the Native still takes a subjective and personal view of facts observed in Nature, and attaches to his own life what to the abstract thinker are obviously accidental occurrences. In this case a pair of small birds — apparently some form of honey-sucker, the young of which differs in plumage from the adult — nested near my correspondent and their offspring have continued to nest there. The sparrows have worried them, as sparrows always will. The whole of the actions described are ordinarily incidental to bird life, as all, who, like myself, have carefully observed it, are well aware. Yet my correspondent's "scientific" explanation is that the bird world had "appointed" these little birds to attend on him in his loneliness! The story is also put forward as a "scientific" explanation of an old-world folktale, though there is no "science" in it. The deduction that the birds as a body had "appointed" the honey-suckers, or whatever the small birds were, to attend on my correspondent being a purely "folklore" assumption, to account for what he had observed.

As I have already had reason to remark in this *Journal*, the native Indian mind is as far removed as ever from attuning itself to Western scientific thought. It picks up the "patter" quickly enough and uses the expressions, but the sense is not usually there. It can argue acutely from a given basis and it can observe closely, but it cannot as yet create a sound basis for argument from the observation. Indeed, at present to the Indian science does not differ from poetry.

This point seems so often and so consistently to be overlooked by European students writing in European arm-chairs, that I feel constrained to publish and comment thus on the *ipsissima verba* of a correspondent, whose good faith is beyond all dispute.

I may add that this is very far from being the first instance in which what I have published as a folklore incident in this *Journal* has been presented to me originally by a Native correspondent as an absolutely true fact.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Letter.

Colonel Richard Carnac Temple, C. I. E.; Sir,— I solicit your favour of publishing the annexed contribution to the *Indian Antiquary* in an early number. I state on solemn affirmation that what I have described as my personal experience is entirely true. — Please oblige as an act of grace.

Yours truly,
B. ROYDU,
Maha Raja.

Nagpore, Sitabuldi,
21st November 1901.

Folklore among Tailings [Talings and Telugus] and Science.

The following folklore, into which a scientific element enters, is interesting, as it shows that birds not only change their colour, as is observed among the domesticated ones, but also that they can at option present the peculiar colours of quite a different species!!

Folklore.

Once upon a time there was a very grand marriage celebration in the world of birds and an universal invitation was proclaimed. But all the feathery guests not being altogether seemly, such as were unseemly requested others for mutually exchanging at least some of their adornments. Objections ensued against such vainglory of false and borrowed show, but importunities prevailed; and the jay and the parrot exchanged their legs, while the peacock exchanged its beautiful bill and legs for those of the flamingo, on condition that they should be restored subsequently. The marriage jubilee being over the parrot and the peacock demanded their ornaments, but the jay and flamingo answered, "Ah, if we return them it will prove that we all have been a false show!!" Thuswise nothing was returned and thuswise it is that at present the legs of the parrot are heavy, dull

and unseemly, while those of the jay are very beautiful and elastic, and similarly it has befallen the peacock and the flamingo!! But the promise thus undone ruptured their friendly association!! (Æsop's fable of a jackdaw on presenting its peacock feathers was pecked and expelled by peacocks is somewhat analogous.)

Scientific Element.

From childhood I wandered abroad "*Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow,*" but while I sojourned at Nagpore I suffered a bitter persecution from people through their mistaken ideas. During this period of many years the brute world of birds and beasts appointed a small number of individuals from among them to wait upon and serve and please me, even with their lives. But mankind were too awful for large wild birds, antelopes and foxes to approach me, while I, fearing too much Government law, could not dwell in woods. Some tiny wild birds, smaller than the common house-sparrow, approached me at my own house, which is in the centre and most crowded part of Sitabuldi, a suburb of Nagpore. These beautiful, little, and rare wild birds were much troubled by people, but they persevered, their duty being above their lives, and one pair of them, building a nest near my pillow on the second floor, succeeded in rearing a generation. The male parent is jet black with shot colours, while the female is simply whitish gray. Their offspring are quite unlike their parents, the young male being like a male house-sparrow in colour, which is a mixture of black, white and reddish in variegation, and the female is like a female house-sparrow, but they have relieved their parents in their dangerous duty and their parents have quite disappeared. Their assuming foreign colours may be to befriend the house-sparrows and not to appear strange to people, but the former have incessantly troubled and pecked them, so that they seem to abandon their present appearance and embrace the colours of their parents!! At present, the young male, though not altogether changed, bears some of its sire's colour on the back, while all below it continues like a male house-sparrow, which it altogether resembled a couple of months before. The new generation dare not build a nest close to me owing to the great troubles in the previous generation, as they are continually vexed by the sparrows which are larger and stronger; and also they have seen that even now people expel settled beehives and drive away other fellow-birds from my tree which overhangs my little house.

Also, their duty of attending on me is becomming lax day by day. Now they remain present only until 9 in the morning. But formerly their parents remained present day and night, going away by turns only for a few minutes for their food, which mostly consists of pollen and honey of flowers which they pick up with their over-an-inch-long and hooked beaks.

These little wild birds can bring no food for me, but they have attended on me by the sympathetic orders from the government of their brute world, which has served me during many years and from generation to generation, and this service will not cease for some years more.

Such is a true and faithful account as it bears on the science of Natural Philosophy.

Nagpore, Sitabuldi,
21st November 1901.

B. Roydu,
Maha Raja.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HUMAN SACRIFICE AND SERPENT WORSHIP.

U Budkha, son of U Muluk, of the Village of Kyndiar (Nongthymmai) in the Pergunnah 25 Villages in Khyein in the District of the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, was convicted before Col. W. S. Clarke, Deputy Commissioner and Sessions Judge, of murder on 28th March, 1882, and sentenced to transportation for life. He in due course arrived in Port Blair on 30th November, 1882: and in fullness of time is now about to be released to return in his old age to his native country.

The details of the judgment convicting him are unfortunately not available in the Penal Settlement, but the brief abstract of his crime is as follows: — Prisoner belongs to a sect known as **Rithlen, supposed to possess or keep in their houses a thlen or demon serpent, which is propitiated by offerings of the blood, nails, or hair of human beings.** The murder was committed to bring wrath on the house (? of an enemy).

The man is further described as a cultivator by occupation. "His house or family was suspected to be Rithlen: his society was avoided as that of a dangerous person."

R. C. Temple.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the Ântrôli-Chhârôli plates of A. D. 757.

I HAVE recently had occasion, in prosecuting a certain inquiry, to search maps which cover the territory included in the Gujarât division of the Bombay Presidency and the neighbouring Native States, and, at the same time, to look into various points in the ancient geography of that part of the country. And the result has been the accumulation of memoranda which I shall, from time to time, write up into notes for this Journal. While bringing forward some new matter, I shall have to go again over a good deal of ground that has been more or less covered by other writers, and especially by the late Dr. Bühler. But, as may have been even already recognised from my notes on the places mentioned in the Chokkhakuṭi grant of A. D. 867 and the Surat plates of A. D. 1051,[1] there are misreadings to be corrected and wrong identifications to be set right; and, to pave the way for anyone who may hereafter take in hand the work of preparing a map to illustrate the ancient geography of the parts referred to, in almost every case it is necessary to put on record more specific details, than have hitherto been given, as to the exact positions of the places that are to be dealt with.

The record treated of in this note has been edited by the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff., with a lithograph. The original plates were shewn to him by a Pâṭîl of Kârêli in the Ôlpâḍ tâluka of the Surat district in Gujarât, Bombay Presidency. And the Pâṭîl told him that they were found in excavating some foundations at a neighbouring village named **Chhârôli**, but better known as **Ântrôli-Chhârôli**, which is four miles to the south-east from Kârêli.

The record recites that, on a specified day in the month Âśvayuja, Saka-Saṁvat 679 (expired), falling in A. D. 757, a Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakkarâja II., who is to be referred to a branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa stock which preceded the Mâlkhêḍ family in Gujarât, granted to a Brâhmaṇ, whose father was a resident of **Jâmbûsarasthâna** and a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place,[2] a village (*grâma*) named **Sthâvarapallikâ** in the **Kâsakûla district** (*vishaya*). In defining the boundaries of Sthâvarapallikâ, it places that village on the west of (*a village named*) **Khairôda**, on the north of (*a village named*) **Pippalâchchha**, on the east of (*two villages named*) **Kâshṭhapurî** and **Vaṭṭâra**, and on the south of, again, **Khairôda**.[3] And, with regard to the construction of this passage, it may be remarked that this record belongs to a somewhat limited class of records, in which the positions of villages were defined, not by saying that such and such other villages, etc., were on the east, south, west, and north of them, but by saying that they were on the west, north, east, and south of those other villages, etc.

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji expressed the opinion that **Sthâvarapallikâ** is the modern **Chhârôli** itself, where the record was found. And in this he was quite correct. But he did not go into any of the other details. And it was left to Dr. Bühler to add that "the village of **Khairôda** "is represented by the modern **Khêrwa** and the town of **Kâshṭhapurî** by **Kâṭhôr**."[4]

Chhârôli is a village or hamlet in the Vêḷâchhâ sub-division of the Nausârî division of the Baroda territory, about eleven miles towards the north-east-by-north from Surat: it is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), in lat. 21° 19′, long. 73° 0′; and it is about two miles from the north bank of the Tapti, at its nearest point. It appears to be known as **Ântrôli-Chhârôli**, in accordance

[1] Page 254 f. above, and page 255 f.

[2] See page 334 below, No. 6.

[3] The original here says, according to the lithograph, *Khairôda-sîmvyâd-dakshiṇataḥ*; and the Pandit took *sîmvyâd* as standing by mistake for *sîma-madhyâd*, — "to the south of the middle of the Khairôda boundary."

[4] Vol. XVII. above, p. 197, note 56. In the official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878) this name is certified as Kaṭhôr, with the short *a* in the first syllable. But that seems to be certainly a mistake.

with a frequent Hindû custom, because its name is not unique, and because immediately on the west of it there is another village or hamlet which is shewn in the map as 'Anthroli.'[5] Its name is certainly derived from an ancient name **Sthâvarapallikâ.** And it is unquestionably the Sthâvarapallikâ of the present record. The maps, indeed, do not shew any traces of a name answering to that of **Pippalâchchha**; the lands of that village must have been absorbed into those of the places mentioned next. But **Kâshṭhapurî** is certainly the **Kâṭhôr** mentioned by Dr. Bühler, which is shewn as '**Kathor**' in the Atlas sheet and in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 14 (1879) of Gujarât: it is a small town on the north bank of the Taptî; its site is shewn three miles almost due south of Chhârôli; there is, however, no reason why its lands should not extend, or should not have extended in former times, so as to form part of the western boundary of the ancient Sthâvarapallikâ. Of the name of **Vaṭṭâra,** again, the maps do not shew any traces; this village must have been much where there now are the villages of 'Velanja' and 'Rundh' and the hamlet of 'Gadula.' But, two and a half miles north-by-east from Chhârôli, the maps shew a village named 'Kaniasi,' 'Kaniási;' and the Trigonometrical sheet shews the entry "**(Kherwa, old site),**" about half a mile on the south of 'Kaniási:' this is the **Khêrwa** mentioned by Dr. Bühler; and we may certainly follow him in taking it as a remnant of the ancient **Khairôda,** which was on both the north and the east of Sthâvarapallikâ: the remainder of the lands of Khairôda may have been absorbed into 'Pipodra,' two and a half miles north-east-by-north from Chhârôli, or into 'Akhakhol,' 'Akhákol,' three and a half miles east-by-north, or into 'Pardi,' 'Párdi,' marked as a large village, two miles east-south-east, from Chhârôli.

In this case, **only two out of five surrounding villages can now be traced**; namely, Kâshṭhapurî, which is Kâthôr, and Khairôda, of which a remnant survives in the deserted Khêrwa. But the name of Chhârôli itself is a corruption of the ancient name Sthâvarapallikâ. And the plates containing the charter conveying Sthâvarapallikâ were actually found at Chhârôli. Even on those grounds, therefore, there could be no reasonable doubt that the Sthâvarapallikâ of the record is the Chhârôli, the exact position of which has been specified above. But, further, the record places Sthâvarapallikâ-Chhârôli in a territorial division, the name of which it gives as **the Kâśakûla vishaya.** Similarly, by another record dated in A. D. 644, two villages named Sandhiyara and Pariyaya are placed in the same territorial division, there called, with the long *â* instead of the short *a* in the second syllable, **the Kâśâkûla vishaya.**[6] And those two villages are the modern 'Sandhiyar' and 'Pariya' of the Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), about five miles from the north bank of the Taptî, and respectively seven and a half miles, and five and a half miles, on the west of Chhârôli. And **the identification of Sthâvarapallikâ with Chhârôli is, thus, unquestionable.**

As regards **the Kâśakûla or Kâśâkûla vishaya,** — Dr. Bühler took its name as denoting "the district on the (northern) bank (*kûla*) of **the Taptî**;"[7] and to that there is, of course, no intrinsic objection. But, while Chhârôli, 'Sandhiyar,' and 'Pariya' are so near to the north bank of the Taptî, **the river Kîm** is only some six or seven miles away to the north from 'Sandhiyar' and 'Pariya,' and five miles to the north from Chhârôli. And, in the absence of any indication that the word **Kâśa or Kâśâ** occurs as a name of the Taptî, it is equally possible that the name of the district means "the country on **the** (southern) bank of **the Kîm,**" and that it gives us the ancient name of the Kîm.

Jâmbûsarasthâna, the place of residence of the grantee's father, is, no doubt, the modern **Jambûsar,** the head-quarters of the Jambûsar tâluka of the Broach district, about fifty miles towards the north-by-west from Chhârôli. It may be noted, indeed, that even this place-name seems to be not unique; according to the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879), there is a 'Jámbusar' somewhere in the Nawânagar or Jâmnagar State in Kâṭhiâwâr, and there is also a 'Jábusar' somewhere in the Mahî-Kânṭhâ territory. But other records of Gujarât, of A. D. 629, 634, and 644,

[5] In the Trigonometrical map, mentioned further on, both these places are marked as hamlets.

[6] Vol. VII. above, p. 250. For the identification of them, by Dr. Bühler, see Vol. XVII. p. 197.

[7] Vol. XVII. above, p. 197.

mention a place which they call **Jambûsaras**[8] and **Jambûsara.**[9] The record of A. D. 629 marks that place as one at which there was, as in the Jâmbûsarasthâna of the present record, a community of students of all the four Vêdas. That place is certainly **Jambûsar in the Broach district.** And there is no reason for thinking that any other place is intended in the present record.

The use and bearing of the words vâstavya and vinirgata.

Among the details given in the description of grantees in ancient Indian charters, reference was frequently made by the word **vâstavya,** 'dwelling at,' to **places of actual residence,** and by the word **vinirgata,** 'gone out from, come forth from,' to **places of departure,** that is to say, to places of previous abode which had been left in order to emigrate and settle elsewhere.

Occasionally, other words were employed, with apparently precisely the same meaning and bearing. For instance, the Ujjain plates of A. D. 1021 present, instead of *vinirgata*, the simpler word **nirgata,**— meaning the same thing, and seemingly used only in order to avoid a rather unpleasantly sounding repetition of the syllable *vi*,— in the description of the grantee as *śrî-Vâdâvi-nirggata*, "who has come from the famous Bâdâvi."[10] So also, instead of *vâstavya* we have **adhivâsin,** in the Haidarâbâd plates of A. D. 612, where the grantee is described as *Tagar-âdhivâsin*, "dwelling at Tagara,"[11] and **nivâsin,** in the Mâliyâ plates of A. D. 571, where the grantee is described as *Unnata-nivâsin*, "dwelling at Unnata,"[12] and again in the Alînâ plates of A. D. 649, where the grantee's father is described as *Kâsara-grâma-nivâsin*, "dwelling at the village of Kâsara,"[13] and **nivâstavya,** in verse, in an Eastern Chalukya grant of the period A. D. 945 to 970, in which the grantee's grandfather is described as *Kalvatorru-nivâstavya*, "dwelling at Kalvatorru."[14] And, instead of using any derivative from the root *vas*, 'to dwell,' the Nanyaurâ plate of A. D. 998 presents the word **abhijana,** and describes the grantee as *Tarkkârikâ-vinirggata-Dûrvvâharâ-grâm-âbhijana*, "who has come from Tarkârikâ, and whose ancestors dwelt (or were settled) at the village Dûrvâharâ."[15] In connection with this last word, it may be noted that the *Bhâshya* on *Pâṇini*, iv. 3, 89, 90 (Calcutta ed., 1809, p. 480), says, — nivâsô nâma yatra sampraty=ushyatê । abhijanô nâma yatra pûrvvair=ushitam, — "**nivâsa** is where a man is dwelling now at the present time, and **abhijana** is where his ancestors have dwelt;" and the comment given on the same *sûtras* in the *Siddhântakaumudî* (Calcutta, 1863, Vol. I. p. 587) says, very similarly, — yatra svayaṁ vasati sa nivâsaḥ । yatra pûrvvair=ushitaṁ sô=bhijana iti vivêkaḥ, — "where a man himself is dwelling, that is **nivâsa,** and where his ancestors have dwelt, that is **abhijana;** such is the distinction." The word **vâstavya,** which is from *vas*, 'to dwell,' with the affix *tavya* used in the active sense and accompanied by *vṛiddhi* instead of the more usual *guṇa*, is explained by the comment in the *Siddhântakaumudî*, Vol. II. p. 298, on *Pâṇini*, iii. 1, 96, as having the purport of *vasati*, 'he dwells, he is dwelling.' And *vinirgata* is the past participle, formed with the affix *ta* in the active sense, from *vi* + *nis* + *gam*, and means 'one who has gone out or away from.' There is, however, a passage which seems to treat *vâstavya* and *vinirgata* as nouns, meaning, respectively, 'a place of residence' and 'a place of departure:' it occurs in the Paṭnâ plates of the sixth year of Mahâ-Bhavagupta I., which conveyed a certain village — nânâ-gôtra-pravara-vinirgata-vâstavyêbhyô dvijâti-varêbhyaḥ;[16] it is difficult to take these words except as meaning — "to (*certain*) excellent Brâhmaṇs who have various *gôtras* and invocations and places of departure and places of residence."

But, **the special technical terms, most commonly used, were vâstavya and vinirgata.** Now, the latter of them will often, if not usually, not have any bearing at all as a help towards localising a record. For instance, in case No. 4 below, the mention of Pâṭaliputra as the place from which the grantee's father came, is no guide of any kind towards the identification of

[8] Vol. XIII. above, p. 84, line 85, and p. 90, line 85.
[9] Vol. VII. above, p. 248, line 10-11.
[10] Vol. VI. above, p. 54, plate ii., line 2; and see more fully in a subsequent Note of this series.
[11] Vol. VI. above, p. 73, line 14.
[12] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 166, line 27.
[13] Vol. VII. above, p. 75, plate ii., line 15 f.
[14] Vol. VII. above, p. 17, line 44.
[15] Vol. XVI. above, p. 203, line 9.
[16] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 342, line 9 f.

the village, Tenna, which was given to the son : Tenna is more than eight hundred miles away from Pâtaliputra ; and we find it only through the precise information, given in the record, that it was in the Lâta country and was surrounded by certain specified villages. And even in case No. 2, in which there is only a distance of some ninety miles between the place, Valabhi, from which the grantee himself came, and the village, Vaḍapadraka, which was given to him, the mention of Valabhî is no help towards the identification of Vaḍapadraka; the clue as to the position of the latter place, which has to be found, not anywhere near Walâ in Kâṭhiâwâr, but somewhere in Gujarât, is furnished by the fact, stated in the record, that the grant was made by a prince who was a lord of Lâta. In fact, **the epithets ending in vinirgata** are chiefly of interest in marking important ancient capitals and centres of learning, religion, commerce, &c., and in helping to account for the existence, in certain localities, of communities, such as those of the Audîchya, Kanôjia, and Srîgauḍa Brâhmaṇs of Gujarât, which claim foreign extraction. And even **the epithets ending in vâstavya** may not have any bearing as a help towards localising records, when they do not apply to the actual grantees themselves. But the case is very different when the epithet ending in *vâstavya* qualifies the actual grantee. Obviously, the grant of a village, or any similar donation, cannot be of any practical use, unless that village or other estate is sufficiently near to the grantee's place of residence for him to be able to conveniently arrange for and superintend the cultivation of his property and collect his dues. The mention of the grantee's place of actual abode may at any time be the only clue that we have towards the localisation of a record. And it may be of very particular importance, when we consider the extent to which the copper-plate records have been liable, as is so pointedly illustrated by the so-called Vakkalêri plates of A. D. 757, to travel far away from the localities to which they really belong.[17] In the case, therefore, of the word *vâstavya*, or of any substitute for it, it is important that there should be nothing incorrect in our application of the epithet in which it occurs.

There are plenty of **cases in which there is no doubt at all as to the application of either of the technical terms in question,** because the texts are of such a nature as not to permit of any possibility of ambiguity. For instance : —

1. — In the two sets of plates of A. D. 641 from Saṅkhêḍâ, **no pedigree of the grantee was given,** and the records conveyed fields in villages named Suvarṇârapalli and Kshîrasara, — Daśapuravinirggata-Kshîrasaragrâmavâstavya-Bharadvâjasagôtra-VâjasanêyaMâdhyandinasabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇa-Sûryyâya,[18] — "to the Brâhmaṇ Sûrya, who has come from Daśapura and dwells at the village of Kshîrasara and belongs to the Bharadvâja *gôtra* and is a student of the Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyaṁdina (school)." Here, we are given both the place of departure and the place of residence of the grantee himself. Daśapura, whence he came, is the modern Dasôr or Mandasôr in Mâlwa.[19] And, from the fact that the person who made the grant was the Gurjara prince Dadda II., and still more particularly from the statement, made in the record, that the two villages in question were in the Saṁgamakhêṭaka district (*vishaya*), we know that Kshîrasara, where the grantee dwelt, is to be found, with Suvarṇârapalli, somewhere near Saṅkhêḍâ in the Baroda territory, about a hundred and forty miles towards the south-west-by-south from Dasôr-Mandasôr.

But, **even when genealogical statements were introduced,** which was usually more or less the case, the texts were often constructed in such a manner as not to permit of any ambiguity. Thus : —

2. — The Baroda plates of A. D. 812 conveyed a village named Vaḍapadraka, — śrîValabhî-vinirggata-tachchâturvvidyasâmânya-Vâstyâ(tsyâ)yanasagôtra-Mâdhyandinasabrâ(bra)hmachâri-brâh-

[17] See Vol. XXX. above, p. 212, note 41.

[18] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 40, line 16 f., and note 8. In the record which correctly gives *Daśapura* instead of *Dâśapura*, *vâsin* was used instead of *vâstavya*. Regarding the point that the person who issued these charte was Dadda II., and not a fourth person of that name, see a subsequent Note of this series.

[19] See Vol. XV. above, p. 194, and *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 79, and note 2.

mana-Bhânavê bhaṭṭa-Sômâditya-putrâya,[20] — "to the Brâhmaṇ Bhânu, who has come from the famous Valabhî and is a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place[21] and belongs to the Vâtsyâyana *gôtra* and is a student of the Mâdhyaṁdina (school), and who is a son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Sômâditya." Here, the place of departure, Valabhî, is unmistakably specified as that of the grantee himself. It is the modern Walêṁ, Walâ, or Walâ, in the Gôhilwâḍ division of Kâṭhiâwâr. And we know, from the fact that the grant was made by the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja, lord of Lâṭa, that the village granted to him, Vaḍapadraka, is to be found somewhere in Gujarât; and, apparently, either it is to be located close on the south of Baroda,[22] or else it is to be identified with Baroda itself,[23] within about ninety miles east-north-east from Walâ.

3. — And so, also, the Kharḍa plates of A. D. 972 conveyed a village named Paṅgarikâ, — śrîmat Gejuravâvî-vâstavyâya ih=aiva kâry-âbhyâgatâya Bhâradvâjagôttra-Vahvṛichaśâkhâsavrahmachâriṇêḥ tri(tri)pravarâya śrîmat Śaṅkaraiya-pautrâya śrîmat Saṅgamaiya-sutâya śrîmat Chchhannapaiya-bhaṭṭâya,[24] — "to the illustrious Chhannapaiyabhaṭṭa, who dwells at the famous Gejuravâvî, who has come here indeed (to Mânyakhêṭa) on business, who belongs to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and is a student of the Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ*, who has a three-fold invocation of ancestors (in inviting the god Agni at the beginning of sacrifices), who is a son's son of the illustrious Śaṁkaraiya, and who is a son of the illustrious Saṁgamaiya." Here, the place of residence, Gejuravâvî, is unmistakably specified as that of the grantee himself. And we have identified[25] the village that was granted to him, Paṅgarikâ, with 'Pangry' in the Bîḍ district of the Nizam's Dominions, and his place of abode with a town close by, only five and a half miles away to the west, which is shewn in the maps as 'Givaroi,' Givrai,' and 'Gevrâi.'

4. — Again, one set of the Bagumrâ plates of A. D. 915 conveyed a village named Tenna, — Lakshmaṇa-sagôtrâya VâjiMâdhyandina-savrahmachâriṇê Pâṭaliputravinirggata-śrîTennapabhaṭṭa-sutâya Siddhapabhaṭṭâya,[26] — "to Siddhapabhaṭṭa, who belongs to the Lakshmaṇa *gôtra*, who is a student of the Vâji-Mâdhyaṁdina (school), and who is a son of the illustrious Tennapabhaṭṭa who came from Pâṭaliputra." Here, the place of departure, Pâṭaliputra, is unmistakably connected with

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[20] Vol. XII. above, p. 160, line 44 f.

[21] The meaning of *tat* in the expression *tach-châturvidya-sâmânya*, which is of very frequent occurrence, is made clear by other opposite expressions, of occasional use, such as *Udumbaragahvaravinirggata-Khêṭakavâstavy-Audumbaragahvarachâturvvidyasâmânya*, "who has come from Udumbaragahvara and dwells at Khêṭaka and is a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of Udumbaragahvara" (Vol. XV. above, p. 340, line 41 f.), and *Ânandapura-vinirggata-Khêṭakavâstavy-[Â*]nandapurachâturvvidyasâmânya*, "who has come from Ânandapura and dwells at Khêṭaka and is a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of Ânandapura" (Vol. VII. above, p. 79, line 14 f.) From a contrast of the two classes of expression, we can see that *tat* means "that place," with reference to the place which is mentioned by name immediately before the introduction of the *châturvidya*. In the two cases given above, the names of Udumbaragahvara and Ânandapura were repeated, because the use of *tat* would have wrongly located the communities of *Chaturvêdins* at Khêṭaka.

[22] See Vol. V. above, p. 145.

[23] See *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part I. p. 125.

[24] Vol. XII. above, p. 266, line 50 ff. For *châriṇêḥ*, read *châriṇê*. For *śrîmat Gejuravâvî*, read *śrîmad-Gejuravâvî*; and make similar corrections in the other three cases in which the writer failed to combine *śrîmat* with the words that follow it.

[25] See page 221 above. — Among the boundaries of Paṅgarikâ, the record mentions a village named Kiṇihigrâma, on the west. I have identified this village with the 'Keenugaon' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 55 (1882), three miles towards the north-by-west from 'Pangry'-Paṅgarikâ. Since that, I have found that the Atlas sheet No. 39, N. E. (1895), shews a 'Kinagaon,' — not given either in the full sheet No. 39 of 1855, or in sheet No. 56, — the position of which is about three and a half miles west-north-west from 'Pangry,' and three miles south-west from 'Keenugaon.' Whether 'Kinagaon' is a second village of the same name, or whether the position given to it is the proper position of 'Keenugaon,' is not apparent. But, in any case, it is probable that 'Kinagaon,' rather than 'Keenugaon,' is really the Kiṇihigrâma of the record.

[26] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 260, line 3 ff. from the top. The published text gives the name of the father as Vennapa; but the lithograph distinctly shews Tennapa. The translator has confused *vinirgata* with *vâstavya*, and has rendered *Pâṭaliputra-vinirggata* by "inhabitant of Pâṭaliputra."

the grantee's father.[27] The information, given in the record, as to the donor and as to the position and boundaries of the village, Tenna, which he gave to Siddhapabhaṭṭa, enables us to identify that village with 'Ten' in the Palsânâ subdivision of the Nausârî division of the Baroda territory in Gujarât, Bombay Presidency. And Pâṭaliputra, the place whence his father had come, is the modern Paṭnâ, in Bengal, more than eight hundred miles away in the direction of east-north-east from 'Ten.'

5.—So, also, the Sâṅglî plates of A. D. 933 conveyed a village named Lôhagrâma, — Puṁḍavarddhananagaraviuirggata - Kauśikasagôttra - VâjiKâṇvasavrahmachâri - Dâmôdarabhaṭṭa - sutâya Kêśavadîkshitâya,[28] — "to Kêśavadîkshita, a son of Dâmôdarabhaṭṭa who came from the city of Puṇḍavardhana and belonged to the Kauśika *gôtra* and was a student of the Kâṇva (division) of the Vâjin or Vâjasanêyin (school)." Here, again, the place of departure, the city of Puṇḍavardhana, is unmistakably connected with the grantee's father. And, while we have identified[29] the village, Lôhagrâma, which was granted to Kêśavadîkshita, with 'Lohogaon' in the Newâsa tâluka of the Ahmadnagar district, Bombay Presidency, we have every reason to locate Puṇḍavardhana, the place from which his father came, somewhere in Bengal, about a thousand miles away towards the east-north-east from 'Lohogaon.'

6. — And so, also, the Chhârôli or Antrôli-Chhârôlî plates of A. D. 757 conveyed a village named Sthâvarapallikâ, — Jâṁbûsarasthânavâstavya - tachchâturvvidyasâmânya - Vachchhasagôtra-Kaṇvasabrahmachâri-bhaṭṭaRêvisara-putrâya Kukkêśvaradîkshitâya,[30] — "to Kukkêśvaradîkshita, a son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Rêvisara who dwelt at Jâmbûsarasthâna and was a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place and belonged to the Vachchha (Vatsa) *gôtra* and was a student of the Kaṇva (school)." Here, the place of abode, Jâmbûsarasthâna, is unmistakably connected with the grantee's father. The information given in the record enables us to identify the village, Sthâvarapallikâ, which was granted to Kukkêśvaradîkshita, with Chhârôli itself, in the Ôlpâḍ tâluka of the Surat district in Gujarât.[31] And Jâmbûsarasthâna, the place of residence of his father, is, no doubt, Jambûsar in the Broach district, about fifty miles towards the north-by-west from Chhârôli.

7. — Again, the Waṇî plates of A. D. 807 conveyed a village named Ambaka, — Veṁgivâstavya - tachchâturvidyasâmânya - Bhâradvâjasagôtra - Taitṛi(ttirî)yasadvra(vra)hmachâri - Vishṇubhaṭṭa-pautrâya Dâmôdara-duvêdi-putrâya Dâmôdara-chaturvêd[i*]-bhaṭṭâya,[32] — "to Dâmôdarabhaṭṭa, familiar with the four Vêdas, a son's son of Vishṇubhaṭṭa who dwelt at Veṅgi and was a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place and belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and was a student of the Taittirîya (school), and a son of Dâmôdara who was acquainted with two Vêdas." Here, the place of abode, Veṅgi, is unmistakably connected with the grantee's grandfather. And, while the village, Ambaka, granted to Dâmôdarabhaṭṭa, is the modern 'Amb' or 'Ambé' in the Diṇḍôrî tâluka of the Nâsik district, Bombay Presidency,[33] Veṅgi, the place of abode of his grandfather, was a town some five hundred miles away towards the east-south-east-half-south, in the Ellore tâluka of the Gôdâvarî district, Madras Presidency.

8. — And so, also, the Râdhanpur plates of A. D. 808 conveyed a village named Rattajjuṇa, — Tigavivâstavya-tat[t*]raividyasâmânya-Tê(tai)ttirîyasavrahmachâri-Bhâradvâjasagôtra-Nâgaiyya-bhaṭṭa-pautrâya Chandiyammagahiyasâhasa-putrâya Paramêśvarabhaṭṭâya,[34] — "to Paramêśvarabhaṭṭa, a son's son of Nâgaiyabhaṭṭa who dwelt at Tigavi and was a member of the community of *Trivêdins* of that place and was a student of the Taittirîya (school) and belonged to the Bhâradvâja

[27] As far as grammatical possibilities are concerned, we might, no doubt, render that part of the original, which contains the reference to Pâṭaliputra, by "who is a son, come from Pâṭaliputra, of the illustrious Tennapa." But we may safely credit the composer with sufficient common sense to have used a separate word, *Pâṭaliputra-vinirggatâya*, if such a meaning had been intended. The same remarks apply to similar constructions in Nos. 5 to 9 below, and in other records.

[28] Vol. XII. above, p. 251, line 46 ff.

[29] See page 220 above.

[30] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 109, line 26 f.

[31] See page 330 above.

[32] Vol. XI. above, p. 159, line 38 f.

[33] See page 218 above.

[34] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 245, line 43 ff.; and see p. 241, note 2, regarding the word *gahiyasâhasa*.

gôtra, and a son of Chandiyamma-Gahiyasâhasa." Here, Rattajjuṇa, the village given to Paramêśvara-bhaṭṭa, is identified[35] with the modern 'Rátájan,' 'Rátanjan,' or 'Ratunjun,' in the Karjat tâluka of the Ahmadnagar district, Bombay Presidency. And Tigavi, the place of abode of his grandfather, may be a village somewhere in the Saṅgamnêr tâluka of the same district, about eighty miles towards the north-west-by-north from 'Rátájan.'[36]

9. — And the Kalas-Budrûkh plates of A. D. 1025 conveyed a village named Kalaśa, — śrîMadhyadêśâṁtaḥpâtiṬakkârikâbhaṭṭagrâmavinirggata-Mâdhyandinaśâkha-Bhâradvâjagôtra-Srî-bhaṭṭâbhidhânavipravara-pranaptrê śrîPadmanâbha-naptrê śrîSrîvatsanâyaka-sutâya svâdhyâya-snâna-dâna-paṁchabhûtayajñ-âdi-gṛihasthadharmm-ânushṭhâna-ratâya mahâpradhâna-pada-virâji-tâya śrî-Maṇamv-âbhidhâna-nâyakâya tad-guṇaiḥ pa[ṁ*]cha-tri(? vi)ṁśatibhiḥ su-vrâhmaṇaiḥ saha,[37] — "to the illustrious Maṇamvanâyaka, who delights in the performance of private study and bathing and charity and the five oblations to all created beings and all the other religious duties of a householder, and who is decorated with the rank of *Mahâpradhâna*, a great-grandson of that best of Brâhmaṇs Śrîbhaṭṭa who came from the *bhaṭṭa*-village Ṭakkârikâ which lies in the famous Madhyadêśa country and was (*a student*) of the Mâdhyaṁdina *śâkhâ* and belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and a grandson of the illustrious Padmanâbha, and a son of the illustrious Śrîvatsanâyaka; along with thirty-five (? twenty-five) excellent Brâhmaṇs possessing those same qualities (*of householders*)." Here, the village granted, Kalaśa, is the modern Kalas-Budrûkh itself, "the larger, older or original Kalas," in the Akôla tâluka of the Ahmadnagar district, Bombay Presidency.[38] Ṭakkârikâ, whence the grantee's great-grandfather came, has not yet been identified. It is, in my opinion, mentioned again as "the *bhaṭṭa*-village Ṭakârî" in line 10 of the Nanyaurâ plate of A. D. 1052, and as "the village Ṭakârî" in line 12 of the Bândâ plate of A. D. 1136 (?),[39] and as "Ṭṭakârî," for Ṭakârî, in line 11 of two of the Kaṭak plates of the thirty-first year of Mahâ-Bhavagupta I.;[40] and a further reference to it seems to be made in the expression *Ṭakkâra-pûrvva-Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya* in line 11 f. of the Kaṭak plates of the ninth year of Mahâ-Śivagupta.[41] A place with a very similar name, Tarkârikâ, is mentioned in the Nanyaurâ plates of A. D. 998,[42] and is referred to in the word *Târkkârika*, "of or belonging to Tarkârikâ," in line 29 of the Khajurâho record of A. D. 1001 or 1002;[43] in these two cases, however, the first syllable of the name has the dental *t*, not the lingual *ṭ*. The maps shew several places with such names as

[35] See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 242.

[36] The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) gives a village 'Tigaon,' with Saṅgamnêr as its post-town. This seemed to me to be the 'Tugaon,' — standing possibly by mistake for 'Teegaon' = 'Tigaon,' — of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 38 (1857), about eight miles north-east-by-north from Saṅgamnêr. And thus a suggestion made by me, that 'Tugaon' might be the Tigavi of the record, has been put forward in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 242. But, in the Atlas quarter-sheet No. 38, S. W. (1886), the name of 'Tugaon' has disappeared and has been replaced by 'Nilonde.' And, in the later maps, I cannot find, anywhere in that neighbourhood, any name at all resembling Tigavi, or 'Tigaon;' the name which is presented in 'Thoogaon K.' and 'Thoogaon B.,' in the full sheet of 1857, and in 'L. and G. Thugaon' in the quarter-sheet of 1886, in the Akôla tâluka, eleven miles west-by-south from Saṅgamnêr, marks the position of the ancient Thûhagrâma which is mentioned in line 40 of the Kalas-Budrûkh plates of A. D. 1025 (Vol. XVII. above, p. 121). I cannot at present find, in the maps, any name representing Tigavi or 'Tigaon,' except in the case of the 'Teegaon' of the Atlas sheet No. 56 (1882), a village in the Bîḍ district of the Nizam's Dominions, in lat. 19° 1', long. 76° 10', about seventy-one miles east-north-east-three-quarters-east from 'Rátájan.'

[37] Vol. XVII. above, p. 121, line 35 ff.

[38] The village Saṁgamikâ, which is mentioned in line 39 of this record, is to be identified, not with Saṅgamnêr, which is mentioned as Saṁgamanagara in line 83 of the Saṅgamnêr plates of A. D. 1000 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 220), but with a village, about one mile on the south-east of Kalas-Budrûkh, the name of which is presented as 'Sangone' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 38 of 1857, but as 'Sangwi' in the quarter-sheet No. 38, S. W., of 1886.

[39] Vol. XVI. above, pp. 205, 208. In each instance, the published version gives the name as Ḍhakârî, and, to a certain extent, the first *akshara* does resemble *ḍha* more than *ṭa*. But it is, at any rate, not so plainly a *ḍha* as the consonant is a *ḍh* in the *ḍhê* of *Ṭhâṭsûḍhêna* in line 19 on page 208.

[40] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 348, and note 8. The third of these records presents the name as "Ṭṭakarâ," through some carelessness (see *loc. cit.*).

[41] *Ibid.* p. 258.

[42] See page 331 above, in connection with the word *abhijana*.

[43] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 146.

Tankâra, 'Tankari,' 'Tankári,' more or less near to the Narbadâ, which would satisfy the condition of being in the Madhyadêśa or middle country. But, until we know the exact spelling of those names, it is difficult to suggest any particular identification.

In all the above cases, the texts were constructed in such a way, by the use of separate words, as not to leave any doubt as to whether the places of residence and of departure are to be connected with the grantees themselves or with some of their ancestors. The **cases which present anything of an ambiguous nature** are those in which the whole description of a grantee, including the mention of an ancestor, is presented, not in separate words, but in one unbroken compound. Of this class of cases, it will suffice to quote two instances, which are thoroughly typical of all the rest: —

10 — The Nausârî plates of A. D. 706 conveyed a field at a village named Samîpadraka, — Girinagaravinirggata-Sraddhikâgrâhâravâstavya-tachchâturvvidyasâmânya-Prâvâyanasagôtra-Vâja[sa*]-nêyaMâdhyandinasapra(bra)hmachâri-brâhmaṇaDatta-putra-brâhmaṇaDêvasvâminê.[44] Here, if, in transcribing, we should not insert a hyphen between *brâhmaṇaDatta* and *putra*, we should have a compound consisting of seven composite members, of which the first six, *Girinagara-vinirggata*, *Sraddhikâgrâhâra-vâstavya*, *tach-châturvvidya-sâmânya*, *Prâvâyana-sagôtra*, *Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyandina-sabrahmachâri*, and *brâhmaṇa-Datta-putra*, would all qualify the last member, *brâhmaṇa-Dêvasvâminê.* The translation would be — "to the Brâhmaṇ Dêvasvâmin, who has come from Girinagara, and dwells at the Sraddhikâ *agrâhâra*, and is a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place, and belongs to the (?) Prâvâyana *gôtra*, and is a student of the Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyaṁdina (school), and is a son of the Brâhmaṇ Datta." And this rendering would mark the Sraddhikâ *agrâhâra* as the place of abode of the grantee himself, and Girinagara as the place whence he himself had come. On the other hand, if we insert a hyphen between *brâhmaṇa-Datta* and *putra*, then the terms *Girinagara-vinirggata*, *Sraddhikâgrâhâra-vâstavya*, *tach-châturvvidya-sâmânya*, *Prâvâyana-sagôtra*, and *Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyandina-sabrahmachâri*, all qualify *brâhmaṇa-Datta.* The translation then is, — "to the Brâhmaṇ Dêvasvâmin, a son of the Brâhmaṇ Datta who has come from Girinagara and dwells at the Sraddhikâ *agrâhâra* and is a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place and belongs to the (?) Prâvâyana *gôtra* and is a student of the Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyaṁdina (school)." And this rendering connects both the place of departure, Girinagara, and the place of abode, the Sraddhikâ *agrâhâra*, with the grantee's father. Now, in this instance, the point is, perhaps, not a very essential one; for, Girinagara is the modern Girnâr near Junâgaḍh, in the Sôrath division of Kâṭhiâwâr; Samîpadraka is a village, now known as 'Sondarna,'[45] in the Chôrandâ subdivision of the Baroda territory, about a hundred and seventy miles towards the east-by-north from Girnâr; the Sraddhikâ *agrâhâra* seems to be the modern 'Sadhli,' eight miles east-by-south from 'Sondarna;' and, if that is the case, it is a matter of indifference whether it is to the grantee himself, or to his father, that the record assigns Sraddhikâ-'Sadhli' as a place of abode. But the matter is very different in the next instance.

11 — The Nausârî plates of A. D. 817 conveyed the above-mentioned village of Samîpadraka, which they specify as being in the country between the Mahî and the Narmadâ, — Bâdâvîvâstavya- । -Bhâradvâjasagôtra- । -Taittirîyasabrahmachâri- । -Bâdaḍḍiupâddhyâya-putra-Gobbaḍḍinâ[mnê].[46] The same remarks, as in the preceding case, apply in respect of the analysis of this compound. If we do not insert a hyphen between *Bâdaḍḍi-upâddhyâya* and *putra*, the translation is, — "to Gobbaḍḍi, who dwells at Bâdâvî, and belongs to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and is a student of the Taittirîya (school), and is a son of the *Upâdhyâya* Bâdaḍḍi." And this rendering, adopted by the editor, connects the place of abode, Bâdâvî, with the grantee himself. But Bâdâvî is Bâdâmi, the head-quarters of the Bâdâmi tâluka in the Bijâpur district, Bombay Presidency. Samîpadraka, as already stated, is 'Sondarna,' in Gujarât, some four hundred and seventy miles away to the north from Bâdâmi.

44 Vol. XIII above, p. 78, line 19 f.

45 See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 134, 149.

46 *Jour. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 140, line 58 f. As indicated by the editor, the marks of punctuation, between some of the members of this compound, are superfluous.

The grant of a village in Gujarât could not possibly be of any practical use to a person residing at Bâdâmi: in a period when no railways, motor-cars, or even bicycles were available, it would take him, unless he could fly or was the happy possessor of a *vimâna* or self-moving aërial chariot which could proceed independently of the direction of the wind, at least three months to travel to and fro by road for the annual inspection of crops and accounts; and he could not reduce that time very much, even if he should make his way to the coast and then travel by a sailing ship. In this case, it is absolutely certain that the specified place of abode was that of the grantee's father, and there is an implication that the grantee himself had become a settler in Gujarât, or was there and settled there when the grant was made to him. And, in this case, we must certainly insert a hyphen between *Bâḍaḍḍi-upâddhyâya* and *putra*, and translate, — "to Gobbaḍḍi, a son of the *Upâdhyâya* Bâḍaḍḍi who dwells at Bâdâvî and belongs to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and is a student of the Taittirîya (school)."

We may gather, even from this last instance alone, that the intention, in all similar cases, was to connect a place of abode or of departure, not with the grantee himself, but with his father or any other ancestor mentioned just before him in the same compound. And, that this was **the intended meaning in such compounds**, is further emphasised by the construction to which recourse was had in certain spurious records, which, though of no historical value, are yet instructive on such points as the present one. For instance, the spurious Umêtâ plates, which purport to have been issued in A. D. 478, claim that a village named Nigunda was granted, — Kânyakubjavâstavya-tachaturvidya-samânya-Vasishṭhasagôtra-Bahṛichasabrahmachari-bhaṭṭaMahidharas=tasya sunu bhaṭṭaMadhava,[47]— "the *Bhaṭṭa* Mahidhara, who dwells at Kânyakubja and is a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that place and belongs to the Vasishṭha *gôtra* and is a student of the Bahvṛicha (school); his son, the *Bhaṭṭa* Mâdhava; [to him*]." This ungrammatical construction is simply a partial analysis of what ought to have been presented in one continuous compound, similar to those which we have in the instances Nos. 10 and 11 above, namely, — Kânyakubjavâstavya-tachchâturvvidyasâmânya-Vasishṭhasagôtra-Bahvṛichasabrahmachâri-bhaṭṭaMahidhara-sûnu-bhaṭṭaMâdhavâya, — "to the *Bhaṭṭa* Mâdhava, a son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Mahidhara who dwells at Kânyakubja," etc. Similar ungrammatical constructions are presented in the spurious plates which purport to record a grant made by Dharasêna II. of Valabhî in A. D. 478,[48] and in the spurious Bagumrâ plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 493,[49] and in the spurious Ilâô plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 495.[50] And they shew plainly how the person or persons who composed those documents, also, would have interpreted such compounds as those which we have in Nos. 10 and 11. But, further, we have, in fact, a partial analysis, grammatically correct, of precisely similar compounds, in the instances given under Nos. 5 and 6 above. In each of those cases, a description of the grantee which might have been given in one unbroken compound exactly like those under Nos. 10 and 11, has been broken up into two separate words by the use of the datives *sutâya* and *putrâya*, instead of the bases *suta* and *putra*, after the father's name. And these two cases also, Nos. 5 and 6, shew plainly how the composers of those two records, again, would have interpreted the unbroken compounds in Nos. 10 and 11.

I am not able to quote any instance of the use of these unbroken compounds in cases in which mention is made of any ancestor prior to the father of the grantee. This fact, coupled with a comparison of the general nature of all the instances given under Nos. 1 to 9 above, leaves an impression that **it may have been the custom to use these unbroken compounds only when the father of the grantee was still alive.** And, in translating both these passages and those in which different constructions were employed, I have used the past and present tenses in accordance with that impression.

[47] Vol. VII. above, p. 64, line 15 f. of plate i. It does not seem necessary to encumber the transcription by correcting certain mistakes of the original.

[48] Vol. X. above, p. 284, line 17 ff.

[49] Vol. XVII. above, p. 200, line 14 ff.

[50] XIII. above, p. 117, line 13 f.

There is a **curious instance** in the Kâpaḍwaṇaj plates of A. D. 654, which purport to convey a certain village, — Mahichha[ka]vinirggata-Mahichhakavâstavy-aitachchâturvvidyasâmânya-Kauśikasagôtra-Vâjasanêyasabrahmachâri-br[â*]hmaṇaBappa-putra-Bhaṭṭibhaṭ[ṭ*]âya,[51] — "to Bhaṭṭibhaṭṭa, a son of the Brâhmaṇ Bappa who has come from Mahichhaka and dwells at Mahichhaka and is a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* of this same place and belongs to the Kauśika *gôtra* and is a student of the Vâjasanêya (school)." Here, **the same place, Mahichhaka, is presented both as the place of departure and as the place of residence of the grantee's father.** The editor, however, has told us that "the name Mahichhaka, which occurs twice in the grant, seems "to be a later correction in somewhat different characters."[52] Evidently, in this record we have **another instance of a genuine record having been subsequently tampered with.**[53] And the person who did that, did it in a careless and clumsy way, introducing the name of Mahichhaka by mistake for something else, either in connection with *vinirgata* or in connection with *vâstavya*.

DISCURSIVE NOTES ON MALABAR AND ITS PLACE-NAMES.

BY K. P. PADMANABHA MENON, B.A., B.L.

THE long narrow strip of land lying between Gôkarṇam in the North and Cape Comorin in the South, the Ghâṭs in the East and the Sea in the West, is **known by various names, such as Paraśurâmakshêtram, Bhârgavakshêtram, Karmabhûmi, Kêraḷam, Malabar, and Malayâḷam.**

The first two names have their origin in the well-known legend of the warrior sage Paraśu-Râma's alleged reclamation of the country from the sea. The legend has a firm foothold in the land, and it will, indeed, be long before it can be dislodged from the minds of the people. According to one version, Paraśu-Râma or "Râma-with-the-axe," an asserted incarnation of Vishṇu, commanded the ocean to retire from the foot of the Ghâṭs, and, the Indian Neptune demurring to this somewhat arrogant behest, the infuriated Brâhmaṇ fulminated the threat that —

"Soon with my arrow will I dry this sea
Till not a drop of ocean shall remain."

The threat had the desired effect, for the god of the oceans at once receded to a specified distance and gave up the land to the irate sage. Thus was created **Paraśurâmakshêtram, or Bhârgavakshêtram,** *i. e.*, Paraśu-Râma's or the Bhârgava's land, because Paraśu-Râma belonged to the Bhṛigu clan.

The process by which Râma accomplished this mighty deed takes different forms in different versions of the legend. Some say that the warrior sage, after destroying the Kshatriyas, *i. e.*, the royal race, thrice seven times was seized with remorse, and to expiate the sin he made a gift of all his conquered land to the Brâhmaṇs, who ordered him to quit the country. In this difficulty he assumed his divine powers, ascended the heights of **Gôkarṇam,** and commanded Varuṇa (the ocean) to retire from the foot of the Ghaṭs from Gôkarṇam to a point where the axe he wielded would fall when thrown southwards. The sea-god did so.

The legend is not to be rejected altogether as puerile. It has a core of truth in it; no doubt, encrusted all over with adventitious matter, so as to obscure the gem within. It, in fact, as it appears to me, chronicles, in part, in the imaginative style of the poets, **the effects of volcanic action on the coast** centuries ago. The low lands of the Malabar Coast have evidently been raised from beneath the sea-level by subterranean forces. Instances are not wanting of the formation by natural forces of large tracts of land on the coast, even in modern times. The **Island of Vypeen,** 13 miles long by one broad, on the north side of Cochin, was thrown up by the sea not long ago. **It is known**

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51 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 88, line 42. 52 *Loc. cit.* p. 85. 53 See Vol. XXX. above, p. 213, and note 44.

in the locality as Pudu Vaippu, i. e., new foundation, and the people there commence an era from the date of its formation in A. D. 1341. It would appear that previously a small river flowed by the town of Cochin, having a narrow opening into the sea, the main outlet for the discharge of the freshes that came in torrents down the Ghâṭs being at the well-known opening at Cranganore. In the year 1341, an extraordinary flood occurred which brought down from the Ghâṭs such a mass of water that it forced itself into the sea at Cochin and opened a capacious estuary, converting the land-locked harbour of Cochin into one of the finest and safest ports in India. The soil of the low lying lands on the sea-coast, consisting of sea-sand and calcareous matter combined with various kinds of earth and clay, attests the nature of the formation. The nature of the subsoil brought up at the sinking of an artesian well recently in British Cochin makes it clear that the strip of land on which the town is now situated lay not long ago submerged in the sea.

Fra Bartholomeo says[1] that in his day the natives believed that the sea formerly extended even to the foot of the Ghâṭs, evidently referring to the tradition we are now discussing. He, however, was of opinion that the tradition had no foundation, though he is willing to concede "that some of the plains found in this country have been produced by conflicts between the waves of the sea and torrents of rain. 'The devastation occasioned by such inundations,' says he, 'can hardly be described. Grand-children sometimes can scarcely point out with any certainty the spot where their grand-father resided, because it has assumed a form totally different.' There is, indeed, strong reason to suppose that in the early years of the Christian era the sea-coast ran along the eastern shore of the backwater, which extends at present to over 40 miles from Chaṅganâśêri to Paḷḷipuram, and it is extremely doubtful if the long strip of land which forms its western bank, and on which stand the now flourishing seaports of Cochin and Allepy, had any existence then. The towns mentioned by Ptolemy as lying on the sea-coast between **Muziris (Cranganore)** and **Barkare (near Quilon)** can nowhere be identified with their modern sites as the coast now stands, whereas some of them, **Podoperoura, Semnê** and **Korthora,** may be identified with **Udayampêrûr** (the **Diamper** of the Portuguese), **Chembu** and **Kothûr,** all of which are situated on the eastern coast of the backwater."[2]

In a *Report* on **the mud bank at Alleppy** in Travancore, Mr. Rhode, a former Commercial Agent of the State, observed: "I cannot give dates as I have no records, but it is certain that the coast from about north of Calicut to south of Quilon was once well above the level of the sea, and was after a long period totally submerged and then again was thrown up by volcanic action and has again been partially covered by sea. I state this because in cutting the Warkalai Tunnel trees were found, and also shells have been found on the coast which are known to belong to a class of shell-fish that only live in deep water. Remnants of a fort at Poracaud were visible 30 years ago, and at Calicut and Vypeen massive buildings are now in the sea."[3] "It is curious," says Dr. Day, "that this law of encroachments of the sea is now the rule on the western coast, because tradition and an examination of the geology of the country both lead to the conclusion that the sea formerly washed up to the Western Ghâts; thus, Malabar has been literally raised from the sea." Dr. Day refers to a **Manuscript Account of Malabar by Hernan Lopez de Castanheda, in 1525,** where it is said that little more than 2,300 years ago the sea came up to the Western Ghâts.[4]

The theory that the sea-coast originally ran along the line of the eastern shore of the backwater receives support from the names by which certain places situated on that line are still known. About 8 miles to the north of Cochin, on the eastern side of the backwater, lies the village of **Kaḍakara,** or more correctly **Kaḍal** = 'sea' + **Kara** = 'shore' (in Malayâḷam) = **Kaḍalkara,** signifying 'sea-shore.' To the south of it, almost in close proximity, is another village called Êḷikara which,

[1] *A Voyage to the East Indies,* p. 128. [2] *The Madras Review,* Vol. I. p. 324.

[3] Para. 231 of the *Report on the Administration of Travancore* for the Year 1881-82 (W. Loggan).

[4] See Vol. 22, *Mad. Jour. of Lit. and Sci.* N. S. 6, pp. 230 and 264, 1861; *Narakal or Cochin Mud Bank,* by Francis Day, Civil Surgeon, Cochin; and *The Mud Bank at Narakal, near Cochin—its composition as exhibited by the Microscope,* by Lieut. J. Mitchell.

there can be no doubt, should originally have been **Âḷi** = 'sea' + **Kara** = 'shore' (Malayâḷam) = **Âḷikara**, also meaning 'sea-shore.' Next to Êḷikara, towards the south lies Katamakuti which is evidently Katal + Mukko + Kuti = Katamakuti, meaning the abode of the sea fishermen. The coast line, as known at the time of Megasthenes, 4th Century B. C., certainly ran along the eastern shore of the backwater. For he mentions **Tropina**, identified by Mr. Dutt with **Tripôntari**, or Trippoonithuray, a few miles inland from Cochin and on the backwater side as lying on the sea-coast.[5]

The earlier notices of Malabar do not mention **Cochin** at all. Among the mediæval travellers, Nicolo Conti (A. D. 1440) mentions it for the first time as Cocym.[6] It may be noted that this is almost exactly a century after the formation of the harbour. Cochin attained importance only about the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India. Since then it has been the chief port of Malabar. Barbosa, the anonymous *Sommario dei Regni* in Ramusio, and D'Barros mention it as Cochin, while the Lisbon Editions of Barbosa and Conti have Cochim, Cocym or Cochym. So also Gutschin of Spinger. G. Balbi has Cochi.[7] It is remarkable that Nicolo Conti in the 15th century and Fra Paolino in the 17th both say that the town was called **Kochi**, after the small river that flowed by the place. The non-mention of Cochin by the early travellers, and its first mention, so far as at present known, in 1440 by Conti lend colour to the theory that it was formed since the days of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, and it is indeed significant that a hundred years had to elapse from the date of the formation of the estuary, before it came to be mentioned for the first time — a sufficiently long period for the port to come into importance.

According to *Tamiḻ Historical Texts*, the people in the south, 1800 years ago, remembered that in former days, the land extended further south (of Cape Comorin) and that **a mountain called Kumârikkôḍu and a large tract of country watered by the Pahruli existed south of Kumâri.** It is said that, during a violent irruption of the sea, the mountain Kumârikkôḍu and the whole of the country through which the Pahruli flowed disappeared.

There are other local instances of the irruption of the sea and the subsidence of the land. The Buddhist annals of **Ceylon** record one such on the south-western coast of that island in the 2nd century B. C.[8] The island of Ramêśvaram, which is 11 miles long, is only two miles away from the Indian coast, and, till but 3 or 4 centuries ago, there was a rocky causeway connecting Râmêśvaram with the mainland. It is said that about the 15th century this connection was severed by the sea bursting through the chain of rocks that formed the causeway.[9] The abrupt manner in which **Point Râman** on the coast terminates, and its geological formation, which can be traced across the ridge of the rocks to the island, almost confirm the supposition, and the opinion is strengthened by the records of the Temple at Râmêśvaram, which state that, until the early part of the 15th century, the island was connected with the continent of India by a narrow neck of land and that the Svâmi of Râmêśvaram was on particular festivals carried to a temple on the mainland. The sandy ridge known as **Adam's Bridge** connects Râmêśvaram with Ceylon, thus accounting for the so-called bridge built by the monkey soldiers of the *Râmâyaṇa*.[10] Off the coast of Ceylon is the **island of Mannâr,** about 18 miles long.

Extricating ourselves from the halo of legend that surrounds and obscures the Brâhmaṇ sage, **Paraśu-Râma,** we see in him **the leader perhaps of the earliest Âryan colony into South India.** The miraculous powers by which he is said to have reclaimed the land are part and parcel of his mythical character. The very existence of such a personage as Paraśu-Râma has been questioned by some authorities. He is asserted to be an incarnation of Vishṇu and it is difficult to

[5] Dutt's *Ancient India*, Vol. II. p. 30.

[6] See Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*.

[7] Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 455.

[8] *The Madras Review*, p. 225, *et seq.*

[9] After five centuries of separation the South Indian Railway Company is about to make an attempt to restore the connection between the mainland and the island by means of the Pamban Channel Railway Bridge.

[10] *The Gazetteer of Southern India*, p. 385.

fix his date with any approach to accuracy. His encounter with his namesake of the *Râmâyaṇa* and his slaughter of the Kshatriya race have been pronounced by Mr. Talboys Wheeler to be pure myths.[11]

But Mr. Romesh Chandar Dutt thinks that the story of Paraśu-Râma probably conceals a great historical truth. "He is said to have fought against the Kshatriyas and exterminated the caste 21 times and then he was conquered by the Kshatriya Râma, the hero of the Epic. It would seem that this story indicates the real rivalry and hostilities between the priestly and the warrior castes — indications of which we have found in a literary form in the *Upanishads*."[12] Paraśu-Râma is, however, a post-Vêdic character and cannot therefore be accorded too high an antiquity. "In the *Anuśâsana-Parva* of the *Mahâbhârata*, section 52, Yudhishṭhira enquires how Paraśu-Râma, the son of the Brâhmaṇ Jamadagni, was possessed of the qualities of a Kshatriya. It is, indeed, remarkable that Jamadagni's name occurs in the *Ṛig-Vêda*, but not that of his renowned son Paraśu-Râma. That character, therefore, is a later invention, and the story of his wars with the Kshatriyas is probably based on actual hostilities, which may have taken place early in the epic age (B. C. 1400 to 1000) between stalwart priests and proud kings just when the caste system was taking shape."[13]

According to the Rev. William Taylor the nearest conjecture we can form regarding the date of Paraśu-Râma is that he lived sometime within the thousandth year after the flood according to the orthodox Christian chronology. He thinks that assuming the astronomical principles detailed by him elsewhere[14] to be correct, there must have been a great retiring of the mass of the waters from the Northern Hemisphere during the period within 500 years to a 1,000 years after the flood; and, unless the level of the Malabar Coast be greatly beneath that of the Coast of Coromandel, from this also a similar retiring of waters must have taken place at the same time.[15]

According to the *Kêraḷôtpatti*, a Malayâḷam treatise on the early history of Kêraḷa, the country is also known by the name of **Karmabhûmi**, or the country where salvation depended entirely and exclusively on good actions. The ground in Malabar is in itself not consecrated ground. There salvation has to be worked out by the performance of good actions. It is even said that the souls of those dying in Malabar would be transmigrated into the bodies of asses and only good actions can save them from this dire calamity. So the Brâhmaṇs to whom the land was given as gift by Paraśu-Râma were ordered strictly to observe the various ceremonies prescribed by him for the salvation of the souls of those who inhabit the country. These take vicariously the benefit of the good work enjoined on the Brâhmaṇs. Thus the salvation of the souls of the other classes depends wholly on the strict performance of their spiritual functions by the Brâhmaṇs of Malabar. The *Kêraḷôtpatti* expressly says that the whole of Kêraḷam was given to the Brâhmaṇs by Paraśu-Râma to be kept mainly for the support of temples and religious ceremonies. The trust was a sacred one; and, unless they conform strictly to the terms of the original endowment, the beneficiaries have a legal right to enforce the trust. The pretensions of the Malabar Brâhmaṇ *janmis* (landlords) to absolute ownership in land cannot therefore be maintained for a moment.

The name by which the Malayâḷis love to designate their country is **Kêraḷa**, a Sanskṛit word, though they themselves are Drâviḍians and their language, Malayâḷam, but a dialect of Tamiḷ. The land was certainly known to the Âryans at a very early period. Kêraḷa was known to Kâtyâyana (1st half of the 4th century B. C.) and Patañjali (150 B. C.), though Pâṇini (beginning of the 7th century B. C., if not earlier still) does not mention it. The **Mahâbhârata**,[16] the **Râmâyaṇa**,[17]

[11] *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 67.

[12] *Ancient India*, Vol. I. p. 212. (See also Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p. 104.)

[13] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 153.

[14] *Translation of Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. I p. 153.

[15] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 65.

[16] IV. 41, 16685. III—1991. *Sabhâ Parva*, Chap. 31.

[17] I. 41. As to the dates of these Epics the *Râmâyaṇa* is later than the *Mahâbhârata*. While Pâṇini refers to the latter, he is altogether silent about the former.

the **Vâyu-Purâṇa**,[18] the **Matsya-Purâṇa**,[19] and the **Mârkaṇḍêya-Purâṇa**[20] make mention of **Kêraḷa** and **Gôkarṇam**. The latter also occurs in the **Bhâgavata, Padma** and **Skânda Purâṇas**. The **Mahâbhârata,** the **Râmâyaṇa** and the **Harivaṁśa** refer to the **Kêraḷas** as a class of despicable people in the south, such as the Hûṇas, Pulindas, Chaṇḍâlas, Śvapachas, etc. They attribute the degeneration of the times to the existence of such nations of the lowest origin.[21] To them were also ascribed the atrocities of warfare.[22]

The 2nd and the 13th Edicts of the great king Aśôka (B. C. 257) refer to the ruler of Kêraḷam as **Kêraḷaputra** and classes his country as one of the Pratyantas or border lands.

In the 1st century A. D. Pliny refers to the ruler of Kêraḷa as **Calobothras,** and mentions **Muziris,** the first emporium in India, as his capital. Muziris has been satisfactorily identified by Dr. Burnell with the modern **Cranganore** or **Kôduṅgallûr.** From Pliny we may gather that the country ruled by Calobothras extended southwards to **Neacyndon, Nilkanda or Kallada, near Quilon,** where the sway of the Pâṇḍyan king began.

The *Periplus* written probably in the first century A. D., also refers to **Keprobothras** and the land he ruled, which it calls **Limurike.** It extended from **Nouro** and **Tyndis** in the north to Nilkanda in the South.

Ptolemy (2nd century A. D.) mentions **Karoura** as the capital of Limurike where Kerobothras lived. The description given by Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy, of **Limurike,** or, as the Peutingerian Tables call it, **Damurike,** enables us to fix approximately the extent of the sway of Calobothras, Keprobothras or Kerobothras. Limurike or Damurike has been shown by the learned Bishop Caldwell to represent **the Drâviḍa or the Tamiḷ-Malayâḷam country.** From Pliny it is somewhat difficult to gather its northern limit; but after making mention of the important port of Muziris, he goes southwards and names Neacyndon, which, according to him, belonged to the Pâṇḍyans. In this the *Periplus* agrees with him. Ptolemy calls the place **Melkynda** and locates it in the country of the Aioi, identified by Caldwell with South Travancore. Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* are at one in making Tyndis the most northern port in Limurike. The *Periplus* gives its distance at 700 *stadia* or nearly 12° of latitude, if we reckon 600 stadia to the degree. Notwithstanding this authoritative statement which makes Limurike begin somewhere near Calicut (11° 15′ N. Lat.), its frontier has generally been placed nearly 3° further north, Tyndis having been located at Barcelore. This error has been rectified by Sir Henry Yule, whose adherence to the data of the *Periplus* has been completely justified by the satisfactory identification of Muziris with Cranganore instead of with Mangalore, as previously accepted. It is, perhaps, necessary to point out here that **Tyndis,** too, has been satisfactorily identified by Dr. Burnell with **Kadalundi near Beypore,** the former south-western terminus of the Madras Railway near Calicut.[23]

The **Kerabothras** of Ptolemy, Keprobothras of the *Periplus* and Calobothras of Pliny has been identified by Bishop Caldwell with the Tamiḷ **Kêraḷaputra.** The insertion of the letter "p" in one of the above names is pointed out to be an error, perhaps of the transcriber. "The name in Sanskṛit and in full," says the learned Bishop, "is Kêraḷaputra, but the Kêra and Kêḷa are Draviḍian abbreviations of Kêraḷa. They are Malayâḷam, however, not Tamiḷ abbreviations and the District over which the Tamiḷ **Kêraḷaputra** ruled is that in which the **Malayâḷam** Language is now spoken."[24]

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18 Chap. 45, v. 124, Ed. *Bib. Indica.*

19 Chap. 112, v. 46, Poona Lithograph Ed.

20 Chap. 57, v. 45, Ed. *Bib. Ind.*:— Prof. Bhandarkar classes the *Vâyu*, the *Matsya*, and the *Bhâgavata* as among the later *Purânas*. Of these the oldest appears to him to be the *Vâyu*, and next to it the *Matsya*, and the *Bhâgavata* he latest. See *Early History of the Dekhan*, 29.

21 See Dr. Oppert "*On the Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindoos,*" p. 32.

22 *Nîtiprakâśika*: *Mad. Jour. of Lit. and Science* for 1881.

23 See McCrindle's *Translation of Ptolemy.*

24 *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introduction, p. 95.

The Rev. Mr. Foulkes contends that Chêra and Kèraḷa denote the same country, the term Kêraḷa being but the Canarese dialectical form of the word **Chêra**. He points to a general concurrence of the authorities that Chêra and Kêraḷa are synonymous names notwithstanding the difficulty caused by the supposed identity of Koṅgu and Chêra.[25] Dr. Rottler's *Tamiḻ Dictionary* has under the word 'Kêraḷan' "The king Chêran who reigned on the Malabar Coast." "I have no doubt," says Dr. Caldwell, "that the name Chêra and Kêraḷa were originally one and the same, and it is certain that they are always regarded as synonymous in Native Tamiḷ and Malayâḷam lists." Dr. Gundert has, in his *Malayaḷam Dictionary*, under the word **Kêram** "Chêra = Malabar, Canarese pronunciation of Chêram," and under the word Kêraḷam "Chêram — the country between Gôkarṇam and Kumâri"; the word Kêraḷa was known under various forms, such as **Sêram, Chêram,** etc.

The Chêra or Kêraḷa kingdom at one time loomed large on the map of Southern India. According to Dr. Burnell, from the 3rd to the 7th century appears to have been the most flourishing period in the modern history of the kingdom. It then extended over the present Mysore, Coimbatore, Toṇḍinâḍ, South Malabar and Cochin. It formed one of the great triarchy of ancient Hindu kingdoms in the extreme south of India and had already acquired a name before the 3rd century B. C. Professor Dowson describes it at a later period as extending to the Mysore frontier in the north, the District of Salem in the east, and the Travancore Coast up to Calicut in the north-west. **Its capital was at Karûr.** Dr. Caldwell is disposed to identify Karûr with the **Karoura** of Ptolemy, which he says occupies the same site as the present important town of the same name in the Coimbatore District, situated on the left bank of the Amarâvatî, a tributary of the Kâvêrî. The authority of the learned Bishop is high indeed. But there are some noteworthy considerations which induce us to shift the locality of Ptolemy's Karoura, the capital of Chêra or Kêraḷa, to an altogether different place. Early Tamiḷ records point to **Vañji,** as the capital of the Chêra Kingdom, and according to the *Tamiḻ Metrical Dictionary, Tivâkaram,* the modern name of Vâñji is Karûr. Ancient Tamiḷ works describe Vañji as being situated west of the Western Ghâts. In the *Periya Purâṇam* Vañji is mentioned as the capital of the Chêra King, and it is indeed significant that it was also known as **Makôtai** (or **Kôḍuṅgallûr**). In the Syrian Copper-plate of Bhâskara Ravi Varma (about the 8th century A. D.) **Kôḍuṅgallûr** is called **Makôtaipaṭṭaṇam,** and this is generally accepted to have been the capital of the Chêramân Perumâḷs. The Rev. William Taylor, in the preface to his *Translation of Tamiḻ Historical Manuscripts,* assures us that the **Sera Metropolis** was no other than Tiru Vañji, the capital of the Chêradêśam. Thus early records, known traditions and old inscriptions all point to **Tiruvañchi** or **Tiruvañchikuḷam** (rendered into **Srî Vañji Kôvilakam** or abode or palace of the prosperous Vañji King) lying adjacent to **Cranganore,** as the capital of the early rulers of Chêra or Kêraḷa.

I have already shown that **Cranganore** has been identified with the **Muziris** of Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy. Pliny, who died in A. D. 79, and who seems to have written his work two years before his death, says that "Calobothras was reigning there (Muziris) when I committed this to writing." But by the middle of the 2nd century A. D., when Ptolemy wrote, Chêra must have either changed its capital, or constituted one more seat of Government. For Ptolemy, as we have observed, names Karoura as the capital of Limurike. It may indeed be that there were two capitals, the Northern and the Southern: the capital for the interior and the capital for the coast; or Calobothras or Kerabothras must have removed his capital from Muziris on the coast to Karoura in the interior, for it will be found that Ptolemy names the latter as one of the interior cities of Limurike. Still it need not be that Kerabothras removed his capital so far into the interior as Karûr in the Coimbatore District. If Tiruvañchikuḷam is not itself Karûr, the capital of Chêra, as being situated on the coast, a more likely site than the Karûr of the Coimbatore District is **Tirukkârûr in North Travancore,** now a deserted village situated at the foot of the Ghâṭs,

[25] *District Manual of Salem,* Vol. I.

3 miles from Kôḍamaṅgalam and 28 miles east by north of Cochin. The remains of an old temple and the walls of some old buildings are still to be found there. The people there still point to a plot of ground, as the place, from which Paraśu-Râma is said to have taken his final farewell of the Nambûris. It is further significant that, in the **Kêraḷôtpatti,** Karûr or Tirukkârûr (the prefix **Tiru** simply means prosperous) is mentioned as the capital of one of the Chêramân Perumâḷs and the tradition is still remembered by the people of the place.

The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, as well as Ptolemy, mentions a district called **Paralia** on the West Coast of India, and Professor Wilson is of opinion that it is possible that it may be a wrong reading for **Kêraḷa** or **Keralia.** This, however, is doubtful; for, after noticing the territory of the Pâṇḍyans, Ptolemy mentions **the country of the Batoi,** which Professor McCrindle identifies with the district extending from the neighbourhood of Point Kalimere to the Southern mouth of the Kâvêri, corresponding roughly with the present District of Tanjore, within which are placed **Nikama, Thelkheir** and **Kouroula**, identified by Yule with **Negapatam, Nagûr** and **Karikal.** After this comes **Paralia**, specially so called, "**The country of the Toringoi.**" Bishop Caldwell has identified the Toringoi with the northern portion of the Tamiḻian nation. "This name," he says, "is **Chôla** in Sanskrit, **Chôḷa** in Telugu, but in Tamiḻ **Sôṟa** or **Chôṟa.** The accuracy with regard to the people is remarkable, for in Tamiḻ they appear not only as **Sôṟas,** but also as Sôṟagas and **Sôṟiyas,** and even as **Sôringas.** Their country also is called **Sôṟagam.** The 'ṟ' of the Tamiḻ word **Sôṟa** is a peculiar sound not contained in Telugu, in which it is generally represented by 'ḍ' or 'ḷ'. The transliteration of this letter 'ṟ' seems to show that then, as now, the use of this peculiar 'ṟ' was a dialectical peculiarity of Tamiḻ. **Paralia,** the learned Bishop points out, is the Greek word for coast. Professor McCrindle thinks that, as a Greek word, Paralia designated generally any maritime district. It could not, therefore, have been the Greek mode of writing a native name; for Ptolemy mentions several Paralias. The coast indicated by this name included Ptolemy's **country of the Aioi,** *i. e.*, South Travancore and that of **Karai,** South Tinnevelly. In the *Periplus*, Paralia commenced at what was called the Pyrrahos or "the Red Cliffs," South of Quilon, and included not only Cape Comorin but also **Kolkhoi.** It belonged to the King Pâṇḍyan. Dr. Vincent conjectures that the king of Madura had extended his power from the eastern to the western side of the Peninsula and was master of Malabar, when the Greco-Egyptian fleets first visited the Coast. He also thinks it likely that the power of Pâṇḍyan had been superseded in Malabar between the age of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, for the latter makes the Aioi next to Limurike on the south and takes no notice of Pâṇḍyan till he has passed Cape Comorin.

With regard to the word **Paralia**, it is interesting to note that both Burnell and Yule agree in identifying it with **Puraḷi, which is an old name for Travancore.** Yule says that "this Paralia is, no doubt, Puraḷi, an old name for Travancore, from which the Raja has a title "Puraḷiśan," lord of Puraḷi. Dr. Gundert also points this out in his *Malayâḷam Dictionary*, under the word Puraḷiśan. That the title was used to denote the Rajas of Travancore is also evident from the well-known metrical translation of the *Vâlmîki Râmâyaṇa* into Malayâḷam by Râja Kêraḷa Varma, as also from the equally well-known philosophical poem *Vairâgyachandrôdaya* by the same author.

For about two centuries after Ptolemy we have no authentic record of the mention of Kêraḷa. But towards the latter end of the 4th century A. D. we see it referred to in the famous Gupta Inscription on the Allahabad Lâṭ of Aśôka. It is there recorded that Samudra Gupta captured and then liberated, among other Râjas, Mantarâja of Kêraḷa in the region of the South. Whether this is the product of the imagination of an Oriental Court panegyrist, or whether Samudra Gupta found it feasible to advance so far south as Malabar or not, it is significant that one of the Chêramân Perumâḷs, who ruled over Malabar subsequently, went by the name of Sthânu Ravi Gupta. Mr. Venkiah, however, questions the correctness of the reading of the term "Gupta" occurring in the second of the Syrian Copper-plates.

A little later on we have Varâha Mihira, the great Hindu Astronomer (about A. D. 550), noticing in his *Brihatsaṁhitâ* both the country and the people by the names Kêraḷa and Kairaḷakas.[26] He locates the country in the Southern Division and names **Bâladêvapaṭṭaṇam** and **Marîchi-paṭṭaṇam** as important towns therein. Kern, Varâha Mihira's Translator, identifies these places with the **Bâliapaṭṭaṇa** and the **Muzeris of Ptolemy** and other Greek Geographers.[27]

Inscriptions and copper-plate documents of the Western **Châlukya Dynasty** show that almost for 500 years after this, the Châlukyan kings made temporary conquests of Kêraḷa. In an inscription of the Western Châlukyan king, Pulakêsi I. (5th century A. D.), Kêraḷa is mentioned as possessing a chief who was conquered by that sovereign.[28] In the Mahâkûṭa inscription of Maṅgalêśa (567 to 610 A. D.) we are told that the victories of his brother and predecessor Kîrtivarma I (489 to 567 A. D.) included the kings of Kêraḷa, **Mûshaka,** Pâṇḍya, Chûliya, and Âḷuka.[29] Professor Monier Williams identifies **Mûshaka** with that part of the Malabar Coast lying between Quilon and Cape Comorin. It may be remembered that Dr. Burnell stops a long way north of Quilon in giving the Southern boundary of the Chêra or Kêraḷa Kingdom. Of Pulakêśi II. (610 to 634 A. D.) it is said that, after the conquest of Kâñchîpura, he crossed the Kâvêrî and invaded the country of the Chôḷas, the Pâṇḍyas, and the Kêraḷas.[30] But these preferred to submit rather than to fight. They, however, soon revolted, and Pulakêśi's son, Vikramâditya I. (652-3 to 680 A. D.),[31] a man of abilities and daring adventure, had to march against them and break their combined power.[32] In the epithets applied to Vikramâditya I., father of Vinayâditya Satyâśraya, a clear allusion is made to a confederacy that was formed against him by the three kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya and Kêraḷa. He is said "to have rent open with the thunderbolt that was his prowess the proud summits of the haughtiness of the three mountains which were the kings of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, and **Kêraḷa.**[33] Vikramâditya's son, Vinayâditya, seems to have assisted his father in conquering the southern kingdoms. Between the 11th and 14th years of his own reign (692 to 695 A. D.) the king completely subjugated, among others, the Kêraḷas in the south.[34] Vinayâditya made tributaries of the kings of Kavêra or Kêraḷa, as it is read in some of the grants and of the Pârasîkas, who, as Professor Bhandarkar says, were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabar.[35] Vinayâditya's grandson Vikramâditya II.[36] also claims to have fought with the Chôḷas, the Pâṇḍyâs, the Kêraḷas, the Kalabhras and reduced them. In a grant dated A. D. 758 by Kîrtivarma II., son of Vikramâditya, we are introduced to him in a seaside residence at a place called Jayamambha, situated on the shore of the southern ocean, of which a graphic description is given, where he dwelt in peace after "withering up Pâṇḍya, Chôḷa, Kêraḷa, Kalabhra, and other kings."[37]

About this time the **Râshṭrakûṭas** overthrew the Châlukyas. The fourth prince of the Râṭhôr family, Dantidurga, son of Indra I., was a great ruler. His own grant attributes to him an easy victory over the army of Karṇâṭa. He is said to have defeated the lords of Kâñchî and Kêraḷa, the Chôḷa, Srîharsha and Vajrayanti.[38] The Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda VI. claims to have conquered the Kêraḷas. He reigned about A. D. 803 to 814-15.[39] For 200 years and more after this the

[26] Chap 14, v. 12. Also Chap. 16, v. 11. The word Kairalaka appears in that form in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta. See *Gupta Inscriptions*, page 8, line 13.

[27] See Kern's *Brihatsaṁhitâ*.

[28] Sewell's *Archæological Survey Report*, Vol. II.

[29] Fleet's *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 185 — *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 7.

[30] Bhandarkar's *History of the Dekhan*, p. 39.

[31] Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd Ed., p. 18.

[32] *Ibid.* p. 43. Fleet's *San. and Old Can. Inscriptions*, No. XLVIII. — *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 303.

[33] Fleet's *Sans. and Old Can. Inscriptions*, No. XXIX. — *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 87.

[34] Fleet, No. XLIV. — *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 209.

[35] *History of the Dekhan*, p. 43.

[36] Began to reign A. D. 733. Burnell, p. 18.

[37] *The Châlukyas and the Pallavas*, by Lewis Rice — *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 23 (see 26 and 27).

[38] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 61. Dantidurga's date has been fixed by means of grants as A. D. 725-55—Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 235.

[39] *Ibid.*

Châlukyas were completely thrown into the shade by the Râshṭrakûṭas till, about 973 A. D., Tailapa the Châlukyan rose and restored the decaying glory of the dynasty. Tailapa's grandson, Vikramâditya or Tribhuvanamalla, was a great conqueror. Bilhaṇa, in his *Vikramakâvya*, speaking of Vikrama's prowess, says, "the wives of the king of Kêraḷa wept when they thought of Vikrama's former deeds." In the 4th *sarga*, Bilhaṇa expressly says that Vikrama first marched against the Kêraḷas and conquered them. Vikrama reigned between 1008 and 1018 A. D.[40] After this it is not often that we see Kêraḷa mentioned in any authentic records.

In considering **the extent of Kêraḷa** we have to note that the **Kêraḷôtpatti** alludes to a division of the country on two occasions. Once by the Brâhmaṇs during their direct sway and at another time by one of the Perumâḷs, whom the Brâhmaṇs had elected as their ruler. Of the first division the **Kêraḷôtpatti** says, that the **Malanâḍ or Malabâr or hill-country** was divided into four parts, *viz.* :—

(1) **The Tuḷu**-kingdom extending from Gôkarṇam to Perumpuḷa (the large river), *i. e.*, the Canaras (north and south), very nearly as at present constituted.

(2) **The Kûpa**-kingdom extending from Perumpuḷa to Putupaṭṭaṇam the seat of the Thêkkenkur (Southern Regent) of the North Kôlatiri dynasty situated on the Kôṭṭa river — *i. e.*, North Malabar as at present defined, less the Southern half of the Kuṟambaṟnâḍ Tâluk.

(3) **The Kêraḷa**-kingdom extending from Putupaṭṭaṇam to Kannetti, *i. e.*, South Malabar, including the South half of the Kurumbarnad Tâluk, the Cochin State and North Travancore.

(4) **The Mûshika**-kingdom extending from Kannetti to Cape Comorin, *i. e.*, South Travancore.

The other division was made by **Ârya Perumâḷ**. He, it is said, inspected the whole country and arranged it into four divisions or provinces : —

(1) **The Tuḷu country** from Gôkarṇam to Perumpuḷa.

(2) **The Kêraḷa country** from Perumpuḷa to Putupaṭṭaṇam.

(3) **The Mûshika country** from Putupaṭṭaṇam to Kannetti.

(4) **The Kuvala country** from Kannetti to Cape Comorin.

Though these divisons were made for administrative purposes, it is significant that, in naming them, the term Kêraḷa came to be applied only to a fourth part of the whole country, notwithstanding that the Malayâḷis still consider Gôkarṇam and Kanyâkumâri (Cape Comorin) as the Dan and Beersheba of Kêraḷam.

Various theories have been started locally as to **why the country was called Kêraḷa.** We may refer here to two of the more popular ones. It is said that the country came to be denominated Kêraḷa in honour of one of its illustrious Perumâḷs. But chronology belies this theory. For, the country was known as Kêraḷa long before the Perumâḷ period. According to the *Kêraḷôtpati*, when the Brâhmaṇs found that the system of appointing *rakshâ-purushas*, or protectors, failed to work properly, they (the 64 villagers) assembled at Tirunâvây, determined to elect a king, and empowered the four selected *grâmams* (villages) to choose one. Their choice fell on Kêya Perumâḷ of Kêyapuram in the country east of the Ghâṭs. He was brought, it is said, to Kêraḷam and installed as the first of the Perumâḷs in the year of the Kaliyuga expressed by the cryptogram "**Bhûman Bhûpôyam Prâpya**," corresponding to A. D. 216[41] But we have already pointed out that the country was known as Kêraḷa as early as the 3rd century B. C., not to speak of its being so called even in pre-historic times.

[40] *History of the Dekhan*, p. 32.

[41] Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 224.

The other theory is that the word is derived from *kêram*, which is an abbreviation of the Sanskṛit word *nâlikêram*, meaning cocoanut, and that the name Kêraḷam was applied to the coast on account of its producing the cocoanut in abundance.[42] Abundant as the cocoanut palms have been in Malabar from early days, it may be noted that the inventory of articles contained in the *Periplus* (1st century A. D.), as forming the staple of commerce between the East and the West, does not make the remotest mention of the tree or of its produce. It has been described as the "great nut of India," and more than one author[43] has remarked that it is sufficient to build, rig, and freight a vessel with bread, wine, water, oil, vinegar, sugar and other commodities. A mediæval couplet referring to the cocoanut palm says that it

"Yields clothing, meat trencher, drink and can,
Boat sail, oar, mast, needle, all in one."

If the tree had existed in Malabar at the time of the *Periplus*, it is difficult to believe that its noteworthy products would have escaped the attention of the shrewd early Greek merchants. In Photio's abridgment of the *Indika of Ktesias* (about B. C. 400), reference is made to "palm trees and their dates," which were said to be thrice the size of those in Babylon, and in another abridgment of the same author by a different editor the palm fruits are referred to as the "largest of nuts." It is conjectured that these refer to the cocoanut tree and its fruit. We have, however, an accurate description of the tree given by Kosmas Indikopleustes (525 to 547 A. D.) under the name **argellia**, in his **Topograhia Christiana.** The word *argellia* is evidently an erroneous transliteration of the Sanskṛit word **narikêḷam or nâḷikêram** denoting the cocoanut.[44] It would not be far wrong to say that the tree must have been introduced into Malabar between the dates of the *Periplus* and of Kosmas. Mr. Logan considers that the cocoanut tree was introduced into Malabar by the **Tiars or Dvîpars,** or Islanders, who came from Ceylon, *i. e.*, Simhaḷam, *i. e.*, Îḷam, and are therefore called **Îḷavars.** In their migration into Malabar they are traditionally stated to have brought with them the *ten-kây-maram*, *i. e.*, "the Southern fruit tree."[45] The Tiers are recognised as an organised civic guild in the Syrian Christian Copper-plate Grant of the 9th century A. D. So that we may take it, that the tree was cultivated to a large extent on the coast at the date of the deed. If the views above set forth are correct, we can hardly believe that the country came to be called Kêraḷa so early as the 3rd century B. C., because of the luxuriant growth of the cocoanut palm, which seem to have been introduced, at the earliest, between the dates of the *Periplus* and of Kosmas, *i. e.*, between 1st and 6th centuries A. D.

We now come to the terms **Malabar and Malayâḷam.** Al Biruni (970 to 1039 A. D.) appears to have been the first to call the country **Malabar.** No doubt, before him Kosmas Indikopleustes, the Egyptian merchant, who, in the course of traffic, made some voyages to India, mentions a port named **Male,** where the pepper grows on the West Coast, which he says was most frequented on account of its extensive trade in that spice. Dr. Robertson, the great historian, is disposed to derive the word Malabar from Male. He says that Malabar means the country of pepper.[46] On the other hand, Padre Paolino da San Bartolo neo, the learned Carmelite, who was for long a resident in Malabar, more specially in Travancore, points out that the country was known as **Malanâḍu** and **Malankara,** and from the latter has been formed by various contortions the word Maḷabar. He further assures us that the opinion of Fr. Ranlin, who contends that Malabar is of Arabic extraction, being compounded of Male and Barr, has no foundation.[47] Both Al Idrisi, the Muhammadan Geographer at the Court of Roger II. of Sicily (1153-54 A. D.), and Abulfeda (1273 to 1331 A. D.) have **al-Manîbâr,**

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[42] Day's *Land of the Perumâls.*

[43] Dr. Day, Fra Bartolomeo, and others.

[44] See *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. I. p. 176. See also Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson.*

[45] Logan's *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I. p. 143.

[46] *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India.*

[47] *A Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 102.

while Al Kazwini (1263 to 1275 A. D.) and Ibn Batuta (1342 to 1347 A. D.) write it **al-Malibâr.** Like variations occur among the old European travellers also.

The following exhibits in one view **the varying forms** in which the word was written by the old Geographers and travellers: —

Muhammadan.

Al Bîrûnî (970 — 1039), Melibar.
Al Idrîsî (1153), Manibar.
Rashîdu'ddîn (1247 — 1381), Manibar,
Al Kazvînî (1263 — 1275), Malibar.
Abulfeda (1273 — 1331), Manibar.
Ibn Batu'a (1342 — 1347), Malibar.
Bakuî (date not ascertained), Malibar.
A Turkish work translated by Von Hammer for the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* calls it Moncber [Mu'abar] (date not ascertained).

European.

Marco Polo (1271 — 1294), Melibar.
Friar Odoric (1286 — 1330), Minibar.
Marignolli (1290 — 1355), Mynibar.
John of Monte Corvino (1291), Minabar.
Friar Jordanus (1320), Molebar.
Nicolo Conti (1419), Melibaria.
Fra Mouro (1440), Melibar.

According to Abulfeda, the country of Al-Manibâr extended from Honâwar to Kumâhri. Rashîdû'ddîn, however, includes Sindabûr also, *i. e.*, Goa. Al Bîrûnî says that it extended from Karôha, whose identity with its modern site it is difficult to make out, to Kaulam or Quilon, 300 *parasangs* in length. Al Idrîsî's Manibâr extended from Honorê to Kwâlam, while Ibn Batuta says that its length is a journey of two months along the shore from Sindabûr (Goa) to Kôlam or Quilon. At a later date a point between Mt. D'Ely and Mangalore on the North and Kaulam (Quilon) on the South were the usual limits assigned to Malabar. It may be noticed that the country between Quilon and Comorin, known once as Mûshaka, is left out, as not forming part of Malabar during the mediæval period.

General Cunningham, in his *Geography of Ancient India*, identifies Malabar with the **Mo-lc-kiu-cha (Malakûṭa)** or **Malayakûṭa** of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629 to 645). "The first half of the name Mo-lo-kiu-cha is," says Dr. Hultzsch, "no doubt the well-known Dravidian word *mala*, a hill (*mala* in Malayâḷam), and the second may be connected with *kûṟṟam*, which means a division, or more probably with *kôṭṭam*, which means a district in Tamiḻ inscriptions. Thus Mo-lo-kiu-cha or Malakôṭṭa would be a synonym of **Malanâḍu** or **Malai-nâḍu,** the hill-country. But as Hiuen Tsiang places Malakôṭṭa to the south of Draviḍa and attributes to it a circuit of 5000 *li*,[48] General Cunningham is, doubtless, right in supposing that it must have included, besides Malabar, the whole Southern part of the Madras Presidency beyond the Kâvêrî."[49] The Chinese traveller has noticed the fact that sandalwood and a camphor-bearing tree (cinnamon) grew on the mountains of Malaya. In Sanskṛit and in Malayâḷam **the term Malaya** is applied to the Western Ghâṭs, and the sandal is called *malayaja*, *i. e.*, the produce of Malaya.

Hiuen Tsiang places **the Capital of Malakôṭṭa** 3000 *li* to the south of Kâñchîpura. Though General Cunningham has pointed out that the distance would take us out to sea beyond

[48] The *li* may be reckoned at the full value of 1079·12 feet.

[49] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 339.

Cape Comorin, yet Mr. Beal identifies **Chimola** (which the Chinese editor of Hiuen Tsiang remarks in a note is another name for Malakôṭṭa) with the Tamiḻ Kumâri, *i. e.*, Cape Comorin.[50] But we have to keep in mind that the coast line had extended at one time to a long distance further south of the present Cape. In the Chino-Japanese *Map of India* the alternative name for Malayakûṭa is **Hai-an-men,** which suggests a connection with Ptolemy's country of the **Aioi.** Professor Wilson thinks that the Aioi may stand for the Sanskṛit *ahi,* a serpent, the reference embodying no doubt the local tradition mentioned in the *Kêraḷôtpatti,* of the serpents driving the Brâhmaṇs out of Kêraḷa.

Mr. C. P. Brown, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,*[51] says that the Arabs and Africans, who first visited the West Coast of India, came to "**Muabbar** from beyond the sea." He conjectures that the name Malabar might be the product of a slight change or variation, perhaps unconsciously made in transcribing the original name in the Syrian character. He proceeds to observe that the eastern shore of India was also visited by men "from beyond the sea," and the name Malabar has been wrongly applied to the Coromandel Coast also. Orme, the historian of India, calls the Tamiḻ people inhabiting the Coromandel Coast the Malabars, and styles the Tamiḻ language Malabarese.[52] This mistake of using the name Malabar to mean part of the Coromandel Coast has led some to believe that the West Coast fell a prey to the irruption of the Muhammadans from the North under Malik Kâfûr (A. D. 1310). The name applied to the East Coast by Marco Polo and by Ibn Batuta about this time was **Ma'abar,** meaning literally "the passage," and it is not unlikely that this gave occasion to the belief of the Muhammadan conquest of Malabar under Malik Kâfûr. According to Rashîdû'ddîn, Al-Bîrûnî and others, **Ma'abar** extended from Quilon on the Western Coast to Nellore on the Eastern Coast, including both the Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya kingdoms.[53] Ritter places Ma'abar on the West Coast, and Lassen says that the name with Ibn Batuta signifies the southernmost part of the Malabar Coast. But Col. Yule has noted the error into which both these learned scholars have fallen. Professor Kuntsman of Munich thinks that the name applies neither specially to the South-west Coast, nor to the South-east, but the whole southern apex of the peninsula. This again is erroneous. There is no evidence whatever to show that the term Ma'abar has ever been used to denote the whole southern apex of the peninsula. "All use of it that I have seen" says Col. Yule, "is clear for its being the South-eastern Coast, as Abulfeda precisely says, commencing from Cape Comorin."[54]

To return to Mr. C. P. Brown and his theory regarding the derivation of the word Malabar. After referring to the supposed error in transcription, Mr. Brown continues that "the Tamiḻs in those lands could not pronounce the *ain* or the letter B, and Muabar was softened into **Mâpiḷḷa,** the name borne by the descendants of Africans, who are now called Mâpiḷḷas." This derivation, to say the least, is curious! How the word underwent the last change it is difficult to understand. No slight change either by way of mispronunciation or verbal transformation can possibly distort Malabar into Mâpiḷḷa.

The term Mâpiḷḷa has an independent derivation of its own, quite unconnected with the word Malabar. It is indifferently used to denote both Christians and Muhammadans, though its signification is more strictly limited to Muhammadans in the Northern parts of Malabar. Some think that the word Mâpiḷḷa is a contracted form of *mahâ* (great) and *piḷḷa* (child), an honorary title as among Nairs in Travancore. That the term *piḷḷa* or *piḷḷay* as an honorary title is not confined to Nairs only is evident from the Canadian Copper-plate wherein a

50 *Ancient Geography of India,* Vol. I. p. 559, *et seq.* See also p. 552.

51 Vol. III.

52 [By "Malabars" early European travellers always meant the *boating population* along both the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts. It was a sailors' error, and almost universal.—ED.]

53 *Cathay,* p. 219.

54 *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 81, note. See Gildmeister, pp. 56 and 185.

Brâhman is styled Pillay — "Nârâyana Pillay, son of Gôpâla Pillay, Brâhman of Srîvatsa-gôtra (line), professing the Yajur-Vêda and residing in the old village or Brâhman hamlet built by Chêramân-Perumâl-Râja."[55] Mr. Logan surmises that it (*mahâ-pilla*) was probably a title of honour conferred on the early Muhammadans, or possibly on the still earlier Christian immigrants, who are also down to the present day called Mâpillas. The Muhammadans generally go by the name of **Jônaka Mâpillas,** whereas the Christians are called **Nasrânî Mâpillas.** Jônaka is believed to stand for Yavanaka, *i. e.*, Greek! It is indeed remarkable that in the *Payyanûrepât*, perhaps the earliest Malayâlam poem extant, some of the sailors mentioned in it are called **Chônavars.** The Mâpillas, Muhammadans of the Coast, are said to be the descendants of the early Arab traders, who formed temporary alliances with low-class women. On the Eastern Coast this class is known by the name of **Lubbays.** Bishop Caldwell says that the Tamil people style them **Tulukkar** (Turks) or **Jônagar** (Yavanas).

Dr. Day derives the word Mâpilla from *mâ* = mother and *pilla* = child, showing to whose care the offspring fell.[56] Muhammadan purists of the coast, however, disown altogether the application of the term to those who belong to the religion of the *Qorân*. Duncan says that a Qâzî derived the name from *mâ* = mother and *pilla* = a "puppy," as a term of reproach! Maclean, in the *Asiatic Researches*,[57] considered that the word came from *Mahâ* or *Mohai*, "Mocha," and *pilla*, "a child," and therefore translated it into children or natives (perhaps out-castes) of Mohai or Mocha. A more likely and perhaps a more correct derivation of the word is given by Mr. Percy Badger in a note to his edition of Varthema.[58] "I am inclined to think," says Mr. Badger, "that the name is either a corruption of the Arabic **Muflih** (from the root *fa'lah*, to till the soil), meaning prosperous or victorious — in which sense it would apply to the successful establishments of those foreign Mussalmans on the Western Coast of India: or, that it is a similar corruption of **Maflih** (the active participial form of the same verb), an agriculturist — a still more appropriate designation of the **Moplas**, who, according to Buchanan, are both traders and farmers. In the latter sense the term, though not usually so applied among the Arabs, would be identical with **Fella'h,** which is also a derivative from the triliteral root *falaha*."

The indigenous word used by the people in Malabar to denote the country is **Malayâlam,** which some divide into **mala** = hill and **ala** = wave, meaning the country of the hills and waves; while others derive it from **malai** = rain.[59] Mr. Logan[60] thinks that "**Malabar** is probably, in part, at least, of foreign origin. The first two syllables are almost certainly the ordinary Dravidian words *mala* (hill, mountain) and *bar* is probably the Arabic *barr* (continent) or Persian *bar* (country)." The native name of the country is suggestive enough. It is *mala* + *âlam* = Malayâlam; *mala* meaning mountain, and *âlam*, depth: land at the foot, declivity or valley, the whole signifying the land at the foot of the mountains, Malabar being precisely the Piedmont of the Italians. **Malavâram** is another term signifying the same thing, and the transition from **Malavâr** (the *am* being but the terminal half letter peculiar to the Malayâlam Language) to **Malabar** is more easy and less open to objection than the transition from Malabar or Monibar or Melibar, or Malangara to Malabar.[61] Under the well-known rule of grammar "*bavayôr=abhêdah*," the letters *ba* and *va* or *b* and *v* are interchangeable. Grimm's Law also points in the same direction. The natives themselves might have used the words Malabar and Malavâr indifferently, and foreigners, coming into the country, may reasonably be expected to call it by the name by which the natives themselves called it, if not exactly in its original form, still with some modification or verbal variation.

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55 *History of Travancore*, p. 36.
56 *Land of the Perumâls*, p. 366.
57 Vol. V. p. 28.
58 Page 123. [But see *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 501 f., for a discussion on "*Mâpilla*." — ED.]
59 Sewell, Vol. II. p. 110.
60 *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 1.
61 [*Cf.* Nicobar from Nakkavâram. — ED.]

THE RÂMÂYAṆ. A CRITICISM.

BY AKSHAY KUMAR MOJUMDAR.

Note by the Editor.

The title of this paper is the author's own. I have already published an article (*ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 8 ff.) exhibiting the South Indian Natives' ideas of criticism, and I publish this article from North India with the same object: — to prove by their *ipsissima verba* how hopelessly the Natives' attitude towards the "criticism" of their literature diverges from that of the West, and how far an "English" education has influenced those most completely subjected to it. The forms of English expression have been caught by the pupils; but the mental attitude behind the forms has been missed altogether.

Text.

I. — The Author.

Vâlmîki is the renowned author of the still more renowned Hindu Lyrical Epic — **the Râmâyaṇ**. But he has totally left us in the dark as to his own personality. From his own writings, we simply know that he was a very good sage — pious, learned, travelled and well read; and that he got his poetical inspiration spontaneously.

The great sage **Vasishṭa**, however, has thrown much light on this point. The following is his account of the poet:—"Early in life, Vâlmîki was a great *dasyu* or dacoit, Ratnâkara by name, and used to plunder wayfarers for the maintenance of his family. In reality he was a jewel under ashes. One day, Siva and Nârada, in disguise of two human beings, came that way in a highly tempting fashion. Vâlmîki also sprang forward from behind a tree to rob them. But the travellers succeeded in inducing him to hear their say, and thereon a short dialogue followed: — (Siva and Nârada) — Well, you know that robbery is a great sin. (Robber) — Yes, I do. (S. and N.) — Then why do you commit it? (R.) — To maintain my family. (S. and N.) — You seem to believe that the inmates of your family share your guilt, do they? (R.) — Why not? (S. and N.) — If you ask them, you will get the opposite answer. (R.) — Oh no, never. (S. and N.) — Go home and ask. Then Ratnâkara, tying them tightly to a neighbouring tree, went home and returned shortly, frustrated and pale; for all answered in the negative. (R.) — Sirs, you are quite right. Now tell me how I may be good. (S. and N.) — Go to the forest and train your mind by constantly repeating the word 'Râma.' Thus, after a long time, he became *siddha* or enlightened. So persistently did he practise this austerity that white-ants are said to have built their hills on his stirless body. From '*valmika*' (white-ant hill) his name became Vâlmîki.

II. — History of its Composition.

One fine morning Vâlmîki went to the river **Tamasâ** (destroyer of sins) to bathe. After having had his dip, he stood in navel-deep water to perform ablutions. For a time he lost himself in communion. Then plaintive wailings of a she-crane suddenly broke his pious impassiveness and made him look round, to behold a crane pierced with an arrow by a fowler! Immediately a couplet came out of his lips *ex tempore*, the purport of which is this:—"Cursed be thy name, O fowler, for ever; for thou hadst killed the crane while enjoying conjugal bliss." This spontaneous poetical outburst surprised him. He came back to his hermitage, musing on the matter. At this time, **Brahmâ**, the first Poet, came to him and gave him the power for making measured language. Nârada helped him a step further by suggesting that the divine virtues of Râma — an ideal king — should be set to the lyre. Vâlmîki followed him and commenced his epic.

III. — Its publication.

Vâlmîki made the twin-sons of Sîtâ, then banished to his hermitage, learn his epic by heart. In those days a grand annual fair used to be held at Ayôdhyâ. Vâlmîki sent the

two young brothers to sing his *Râmâyan* before all in the fair. Their tunes, tender gestures, and sweet recital attracted and softened every heart. Thus rousing public sympathy for Sîtâ, Vâlmîki proposed to the leading sages and persons to make Râma accept Sîtâ publicly. All agreed, Vâlmîki ushered her in the Royal Court before the assembled people. The sudden appearance of poor Sîtâ filled the hearts of all with a mixed sentiment of joy, grief, compassion, and surprise. For the people believed that Sîtâ had either committed suicide or had been dead or devoured by wild beasts. Thousand blended notes rose from the people with "accept her, accept her! She is pure, she is pure!!" and so forth. Everything fared well, when a sad thing changed the tide of the popular joyous sentiment. In a corner of the meeting stood a few men, who had been expressing their approval with reluctance. Râma noticed it and refused to accept Sîtâ. This final rejection came to her heart as a terrible shock and she dropped down dead!

IV. — Its style, etc.

The style of Vâlmîki is more ornate than classical. Of course, here and there the austere naturalism of his diction cannot but strike us; but, on the whole, his style is highly decorated. The *Râmâyan* may be rightly called the "Intellectual Tâj" of ancient times.

The cruel act of the fowler strikes the key-note of the whole story. All throughout the epic the idea of Light and Darkness, Hope and Despair, is prevalent. The opening chapters of the *Râmâyan* give us the happiness of the realm of Ayôdhyâ; but the failure of king Daśaratha's male issue immediately brings to us the idea of Darkness. We are, however, relieved when the princes are born. For sometime everything fares well, and Daśaratha is exceedingly happy. Next we find Viśvamitra asking the king for Râma and Lakshmana to kill his foe—the demon Târakâ. Here Darkness reappears. We are, however, relieved when the young princes killed the demon. Next we come to the marriage proposal at Jânaka's Court (Light), but the king's vow — the breaking of Śiva's adamantine bow—appals Sîtâ and us alike (Darkness). However, Râma succeeds. As the same phenomena will occur at every step, we need not proceed further.

Vâlmîki's work is a curious blending of Poetry, History, Philosophy, Sociology, and Ethics. Its theme is not an imagined wonder, but a faithful illustration of embodied virtue in all its phases.

V. — Its moral effect.

The *Râmâyan* is a world-epic in a peculiar sense. Its aim is to better the world—to solve the question "How to Live?" It speaks of human interests, human duties, to satisfactorily discharge which we are to go to it and patiently see how its principal figures lived, moved, and had their being. It teaches us moral obligations with delight, — not by precept but by examples — vivid representations.

VI. — The followers of Vâlmîki.

Roughly-speaking, Vâlmîki is the Spenser of India. Both set forth Virtues—one practically, the other allegorically. Vâlmîki's Râma is Spenser's Magnanimity, the prince of Aristotle's twelve virtues. Vâlmîki's Sîtâ is Spenser's Chastity, and so on. Both use archaic forms occasionally. Both are allegorists and good descriptive poets. In language, style, cadence, both are ornate and melodious. Like Spenser, Vâlmîki has his followers. Vaśishṭa, Vyâsa, the monkey-god Hanumân, Tulsîdâs, Krittivâs, Kâlidâsa, Bhavabhûti, have taken up the same subject and dealt it in imitation of Vâlmîki. **The following is a brief summary of the different Râmâyaṇas:** —

(1) Vâlmîki's *Râmâyaṇa*: (The original Sanskrit epic.)

(2) The Yôga-Vaśishṭa *Râmâyaṇa*: (In Sanskri.. It explains the *Râmâyan* through the Yôga philosophy.)

(3) The Adhyâtma *Râmâyaṇa*: (In Sanskrit. It explains the *Râmâyaṇ* spiritually. Nârâyaṇa, *i. e.*, Virtue, divides himself into four parts and become the sons of Daśaratha. Lakshmî appears as Sîtâ. The elements take the shapes of the monkeys. Râvaṇa is evil. Virtue finally triumphs over evil.

(4) The *Râmâyaṇa* in the *Mahâbhârata* : (In Sanskrit. Vêda-Vyâsa gives the same story, but disagrees with him in some points.)

(5) The *Mahâ-Nâṭaka* : (In Sanskrit. Its authorship is ascribed to the monkey-general Hanumân. Deification and worship of Sîtâ-Râma and the fidelity of a servant for his master are faithfully described.)

(6) The *Dêvî-Râmâyaṇa* : (In Sanskrit. Here prominence is given to Sîtâ, who is held as divine.)

(7) The *Padma-Purâṇa* : (In Sanskrit. The *Pâtâla Khaṇḍa* of it gives us many curious digressions.)

(8) Kâlîdâsa's *Raghu-Vaṁśa* : (In Sanskrit. A masterpiece of Creativeness, Constructiveness, the Beautiful and the Sublime and Music. Nature-painting, character-sketches, descriptions of courts and camps are delightful to the extreme !)

(9) Bhavabhûti's *Uttara-charitra* and *Vîra-charitra*: (In Sanskrit drama. We cannot call these two plays historical. The writer has, *inter alia*, touched upon the main points of the Epic. Pure taste, learned accents, partiality for Vedic rites, graphic delineations of sentiments, etc., characterise the writer of these two songs of Sîtâ-Râma.)

(10) Tulsîdâs's *Râmâyaṇ* : (In Hindî. It approaches the original in many respects. Its language is pure and simple; rhythmical flow melodious. It is a favourite work of the Hindî-speaking people of India.)

(11) Krittivâs's *Râmâyaṇ*: (In Bengali. A popular work. Language chaste. It departs from the original in many points.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 326.)

Choléra Morbus ; ann. 1832 : *s. v.* Cholera, 159, i.
Choléran ; ann. 20 : *s. v.* Cholera, 159, i.
Chóleres ; ann. 100 : *s. v.* Cholera, 159, i, twice.
Choliar ; ann. 1782 : *s. v.* Choolia, 159, ii.
Cholias ; ann. 1836 : *s. v.* Choolia, 159, ii, *s. v.* Lubbye, 399, ii.
Cholick ; ann. 1716 : *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Cholmender ; *s. v.* Coromandel. 199, ii ; ann. 1516 : *s. v.* Chetty, 145, i.
Cholmendel ; *s. v.* Coromandel, 199, ii ; ann. 1516 : *s. v.* Junk, 361, i, *s. v.* Quilon, 570, ii.
Chomandarla ; 108, ii, footnote, *s. v.* Coromandel, 199, ii.
Chomay ; ann. 1543 : *s. v.* Cochin-China, 174, ii.
Chondāwat ; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i, twice.
Choneh ; ann. 1712 : *s. v.* Otto, 494, i.
Chonk ; ann. 1727 : *s. v.* Chank, 141, i.
Chookerau ; *s. v.* Moors, The, 447, ii.
Chookeree ; *s. v.* Moors, The 447, ii.
Choola ; *s. v.* 159, i ; ann. 1814 : *s. v.* 159, i.
Choolia ; *s. v.* 159, i, *s. v.* Cheling, 144, i ; ann. 1343 : *s. v.* Quilon, 570, i ; ann. 1783 : *s. v.* Achár, 3, i.
Chop ; *s. v.* 159, ii, 160, i (4 times) and ii (4 times), 161, i, and ii (twice), 778, ii, *s. v.* Typhoon, 722, i ; ann. 1614, 1618 and 1673 : *s. v.* 160, ii ; ann. 1678 : *s. v.* Coco-de-Mer, 178, i ; ann. 1689, 1711 and 1715 : *s. v.*

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHAUKHANDU.

SIR,—Kindly permit me to make the following correction in the Notes and Queries contained in Vol. XXIX., p. 392, under the title "A Form of Legitimacy in the Kangra Valley." The note should have run thus : —

Chaukhandû is the name of the following notable custom prevalent among the Gaddîs (shepherds) of the northern hills in the Kângrâ *tahsîl*. If a widow gives birth to a child within the four walls of her husband's house, such child is legitimate. Chaukhandû is, *lit.*, four walls, and custom is the usual one, whereby a widow who continues to reside in her husband's house retains his land and her issue succeeds.

I am indebted to Mr. Wakefield, Dharmsala, for this correction.

H. A. ROSE.

"FAN JIN" AND "FRANGI."

SIR, — In my Introduction to the "Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton" I quoted Fr. Gaspar da Cruz as saying that after the disturbances between the Portuguese and Chinese at Canton in 1521-22 the former were refused admission to China, and were called by the latter "**fãcui**, that is to say, 'men of the devil,'" but that at the time when the Father wrote (1569) the Portuguese were described as "**fãgim**, that is to say, 'people of another coast'" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX. p. 438). In a footnote to *fãgim* I identified this word with **frangi** (= **Frank**, **firingi**); but this is incorrect. **Fãgim** (**fan-gim**) represents Chinese **fan jin** = foreigner (*lit.*, "foreign person"); *fan* being "a low word," according to Morrison (*Chin.-Eng. Dict.* p. 151), who also implies (*id.* p. 333) that *fan jin* is not a very respectful term. In Christovão Vieyra's letter (see ff. 104v., 105, 105v., 109v., 110) we have the forms **fanges**, **frangos**, **franges**, from which it would appear as if **fan jin** and **frangi** had become confounded.

DONALD FERGUSON.

5, Bedford Place, Croydon,
31st Jan. 1902.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE LÂL BEGI SECT OF THE PANJAB SCAVENGERS.

IN Vol. I., pp. 529-546, of my *Legends of the Panjab*, 1884, I published the "**Genealogies of Lâl Bêg**," being the text of the hagiological stories of the principal division of the **Scavenger Caste** of the Panjab. I explained that **the religion of the scavengers** was "hagiolatry pure and simple, as it consists merely of a confused veneration for anything and everything its followers, or rather their teachers, may have found to be considered sacred by their neighbours, whatever be its origin." My chief informant in those days was my own "sweeper," who happened to be a priest of the Lâlbêgî Bhangîs of Ambâlâ, where I was then living, and now I have received a curious confirmation of my theory from the same man in a letter written to me under date 8th October, 1901. He had it written to me in English and I here reproduce it full :—

"I most respectfully beg to state that in the year 1882, when you were Magistrate of Umballa, a book of Lal Begi Muzhub was by your order prepared by Chana Mull, Darogha Choongi, and was sent to England for approval. Some time after the Darogha told me that the book was approved and my name was famissed (*sic*). As I am now made "**Peer Padri**" of the Muzhub by all the peoples of the Muzhub, I solicit the favour of your kindly writing, in reply to this,

that the book was sent by your order to England and approved, on which I will be able to circulate the book among my peoples. My father was also 'Peer Padri,' hence the same title has been given to me. Hope that this will meet to your kind approval, for which mercy I shall ever pray for your long life and prosperity for ever.—Shunkurnath Peer Padri, son of Dyanath."

It will be observed that this scavenger bears a Hindu name of religious origin, and is the son of a man similarly named, but nevertheless he bears a title as a priest, which is a mixture of Muhammadan and Christian titles, and he evidently hopes that his teachings have in some way received the imprimatur of a Christian Government to give them force. It is hard to imagine anything more eclectic than this.

It is interesting to note that even amongst the scavengers the inveterate tendency of the natives of India to heredity in all titular distinctions is in full force.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE DERIVATION OF THE BURMESE WORD "PINTHAGUGYI."

AT page 209 of Râjendralâla Mitra's *Buddha Gaya* is published a translation of a Burmese Inscription by Mr. M. Hla-Oung, who appends the following footnote to his translation:—

"*Gyee* (*lit.*, great) is applied to a person who is worthy of veneration.

"'Penthagoo' is a common name for a pious layman who is zealous in the propagation of religion."

On this interpretation, Sir Alexander Cunningham, in his *Mahâbodhi* (p. 21), has based the following theory, and has identified the Burmese word "Penthagoogyee" or "Penthagugyi" with the Pâli word "**Mahâ-Upâsika**":—

"As these three evidences of the antiquity of the Temple all agree in pointing to the reign of the Indo-Scythian King Huvishka as the period when the great Temple was erected, I am inclined to think that he may have furnished the funds, while the actual builder was the Brahman mentioned by Hwen Thsang, who must also be identified with the Penthagu-gyi of the Burmese inscription.

"The Burmese term 'Penthagu' is said by Hla-Oung to be a common term for a pious layman who is zealous in propagating his religion. It is therefore the exact equivalent of the Sanskrit Upâsika, which was the title of 'a pious Buddhist not in orders.' It seems also very probable that, as the Burmese pronounce the letter *s* as a soft *th*, the term 'Penthagu' may be only a corrupt form of Upâsika by dropping the initial letter U.

"In Ratna Pâla's translation of the Burmese inscription, which gives a brief history of the Temple, it is said that it was rebuilt by a priest named Naikmahanta, but both Colonel Burney and Hla-Oung call him 'Penthagu-gyi.'

"As Naik Mahant means simply the Chief Priest or Great Abbot, and as *gyi* means 'great' in Burmese, the term 'Penthagugyi' may, perhaps, be referred to Maha-Upâsika."

The Burmese word "**Pinthagu**" or "**Panthagu**" is derived from the Pâli word "**Paṁsukûlaṁ**." The adjectival form of the word "Paṁsukûliko" is given at page 325 of Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, the English rendering being: "One who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dust-heap."

The terms "Paṁsukûlaṁ" and "Paṁsukûliko" are thus explained in Buddhaghosha's *Visuddhimagga*:—

"Rathika - susâna - sankârakuṭâdînaṁ yattha katthaci paṁsûnaṁ upari ṭhitattâ abbhuggatatthena tesu tesu kûlamivâti '**Paṁsukûlaṁ**.'

"Atha vâ paṁsu viya kucchitabhâvaṁ ulatîti '**Paṁsukûlaṁ**':

"kucchitabhâvaṁ gacchatîti vuttaṁ hoti.

"Evaṁ laddhanibbacanassa paṁsukûlassa dhâraṇam paṁsukûlam: taṁ sîlam' assâti '**Paṁsukûliko**.'"

Translation.

'**Paṁsukûlaṁ**' means anything resting on a dust-heap, such as a heap of sweepings found on a public road or cemetery. In other words, the term indicates any substance that has become detestable or abominable like sweepings or dirt.

A '**Paṁsukûliko**' means a person who is in the habit of wearing a '**Paṁsukûla**' robe.

The above evidence shows that the Burmese word "Pinthagugyi" should be identified with the Pâli word "Paṁsukûliko" and not with "Mahâ-Upâsako." Amongst Buddhist monks, the habit of wearing a robe made of small odd pieces of rags picked up from dust-heaps in cemeteries or on public roads is still accounted to be a marked sign of austerity; but the practice has died out in Burma.

TAW SEIN KO.

Rangoon, 5th May 1902.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the Nausârî plates of A. D. 706.

THIS record has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in Vol. XIII. above, p. 70 ff., with a facsimile lithograph. And, from the information given by him, we know that the original plates were found in excavating some foundations at **Nausârî**, the head-quarters of the Nausârî division of the Baroda State in Gujarât, Bombay Presidency.

The record recites that, on a specified day in the month Mâgha of the (Kalachuri or Chêdi year) 456 (expired), falling in February, A. D. 706, the Gurjara prince Jayabhaṭa III., who was then halted at a place named **Kâyâvatâra,** granted to a Brâhmaṇ, whose father had come from **Girinagara** and was a resident of an *agrâhâra* named **Sraddhikâ** and a member of the community of *Chaturvêdins* at the Sraddhikâ *agrâhâra*,[1] a field on the north-east boundary of a village (*grâma*) named **Samîpadraka** in a territorial division called **the Kôrillâ pathaka.** And, in specifying the boundaries of that field, it places, on the east, the junction of the boundary of a village (*grâma*) named **Gôlikâ**; on the south, a tank (*taḍâka*) named Yamalakhallara, and a field belonging to the *Mahattara* Mahêsvara, and an irrigated field belonging to the barber Dêvaka; on the west, a road going from **Samîpadraka** to a village (*grâma*) the name of which is to be read as **Dhâhaṭṭha,** instead of Dhâhaddha as given in the published text;[2] and, on the north, a tank named Baruṭakhallara, and a field belonging to the Brâhmaṇ Narma, a resident of **Kôrillâ.**

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was inclined to identify **Kâyâvatâra** with Kâvî, in the Jambûsar tâluka of the Broach district. Dr. Bühler, however, pointed out[3] that, according to the phonetic laws of the Prâkṛit dialects, the name Kâyâvatâra cannot become Kâvî, and also that Kâvî is mentioned as Kâpikâ in a local record of A. D. 827. He subsequently gave reasons[4] for saying that Kâyâvatâra is probably the modern **Kârvân or Kârvâṇ,**[5] a large village, in the Ḍabhôi subdivision of the Baroda territory, which is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), in lat. 22° 5′, long. 73° 18′. Later on,[6] he identified Kârvâṇ with a place mentioned as **Kârôhaṇa,** by "an "attempt at finding a Sanskṛit equivalent for the Gujarâtî word," in the Cintra *praśasti*, of the period A. D. 1274 to 1296, which locates Kârôhaṇa **in the Lâṭa country,** and says that it is the place to which there came the great Saiva teacher Lakulîśa or Nakulîśa,[7] who took up his abode there "in order to favour the offspring of Ulûka who were long deprived of sons in consequence of a curse "of their father." And, as he has told us,[8] among other points, that the Kârvâṇ *Mâhâtmya* asserts that Kârvâṇ was formerly called Kâyavîrôhaṇa or "Kâyârahun (*Kâyârôhaṇa* ?)," and that Kârvâṇ "was according to tradition the place where Mahâdêva, who had been born as Nakulêsvara in the "family of a Brâhmaṇ of Ulkâpurî, or Avâkhal,[9] re-assumed his divine shape," we need not hesitate about accepting his identification of Kâyâvatâra with Kârvâṇ.

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1 See page 336 above, No. 10.

2 An inspection of the lithograph will shew, at once, that, as we might expect from the ending of the modern form of the name, 'Dhawat,' the third syllable is unquestionably *ṭṭha*, not *ddha*. We may, however, compare the first component of the *akshara* with the *ṭ* of *âghâṭanâni*, line 23, and the second component with the *th* of *śrêshṭha*, line 40; and we may contrast the whole *akshara* with the *ddh* of *âbhivṛiddhayê* and *Sraddhik-âgrâhâra*, line 19, and of *suddha*, line 30

3 Vol. XVII. above, p. 193, note 36.

4 Vol. XVIII. above, p. 176.

5 In Vol XVIII. above, p 176, he wrote the name with the dental *n*, whereas, in the place referred to in the next note below, he wrote it with the lingual *ṇ*. In the official compilation entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878), the name is presented with the dental *n*. The lingual *ṇ* is more likely to be correct.

6 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 274, and note 8.

7 Regarding this person, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 226 ff.

8 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 274.

9 This is the 'Awakhal' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), six and a half miles on the south-east of 'Karvan.'

Girinagara, whence the grantee's father had come, was an ancient city the site of which seems to be that now occupied by the town of **Junâgaḍh,** in the Sôraṭh division of Kâṭhiâwâr, which is to be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 13, N. E. (1893), in lat. 21° 31', long. 70° 31'. An early epigraphic mention of the city, by the name Girinagara, is contained in the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman, dated in A. D. 150.[10] And it is also mentioned by the same name, in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, written in the sixth century A. D., which places it in the "southern division" according to the arrangement followed by Varâhamihira in that work.[11] The name of the city, in the modern form **Girnâr,** has now passed over either to the great mountain itself, which is immediately on the east of Junâgaḍh, or else to some particular peak of it, which may perhaps be the Ambâmâtâ peak (so called after a goddess of that name who seems to be also known as "the Girnârî goddess"),[12] but is more likely to be the highest of the five principal peaks, the so-called Gôrakhnâth, 3666 feet high, about four miles on the east of Junâgaḍh. That peak seems to be the one which is mentioned as **Ûrjayat** in the record of A. D. 150,[13] and again in the Junâgaḍh Gupta inscription bearing dates in A. D. 455 and the following two years.[14] And the **Raivataka** of the Gupta record seems to be the Dattâtrêya or Dâtâr peak, 2779 feet high, about three miles on the south-east of Junâgaḍh.[15]

Kôrillâ, — the town from which was named the territorial division, **the Kôrillâ pathaka,** in which lay the village Samîpadraka, — is, as was suggested by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, the modern **Kôral.** or perhaps Kôraḷ,[16] in the Chôrandâ subdivision of the Baroda territory. Kôral is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), in lat. 21° 50', long. 73° 16', on the north bank of the Narbadâ, about sixteen miles north-east-by-east from Broach. And, as remarked by Dr. Buhler in endorsing the Pandit's identification, Kôral was still, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the head-quarters of a parganâ.[17]

As regards **Dhâhaṭṭha,** — the Pandit, who read the name as Dhâhaddha, proposed to identify the place with the modern Dôhad, the head-quarters of the Dôhad tâluka of the Pañch-Mahâls. Dr. Bühler, however, pointed out two objections to this:[18] in the first place, that the distance of Dôhad from Kôral, — nearly a hundred miles, — is too great for that town to have been in the Kôrillâ *pathaka*; and secondly, that the ancient name of Dôhad, "or more correctly Dehwad," is given as Dadhipadra in an inscription of A. D. 1146 at Dôhad itself. And, while accepting the name as Dhâhadda or Dhâhaddha, he quite correctly identified the place with the '**Dhawat**' of the Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E., fourteen miles north-half-west from Kôral.[19] He further identified **the Sraddhikâ agrahâra** with the '**Sadhli**' of the map, eleven and a half miles towards the north-north-east from Kôral. And he proposed to identify **Samîpadraka** either with the 'Samra' of the map,[20] five and a half miles on the north of Kôral, or with 'Samri,'[21] a mile and a half further on to the north.

10 *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 129.

11 See Vol. XXII. above, p. 178.

12 See *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. VIII., Kâṭhiâwâr, p. 441. I find it impossible to locate this peak, either from information given in the *Gazetteer*, or from the map. The *Gazetteer*, it may be mentioned, would place the town of Junâgaḍh quite wrongly, in lat. 21° 1', long. 70° 13'; see page 487. It appears (*ibid.* p 487) that the *Mâhâtmya* of Girnâr would give Junâgaḍh the name of Karṇakubja; but that, no doubt, is quite as apocryphal as is the statement that the place was called originally Maṇipura, then Chandrakêtupura, then Raivata, and then, in the Kali age, Paurâtanapura. The last name is, of course, a translation of Junâgaḍh, "the old or ancient fort."

13 *Loc. cit.*, note 10 above.

14 *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 64.

15 From the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. VIII. p. 441, it appears that the Jains apply the name Rêvatâchala to the whole mountain, but that this name really belongs, now, to a hill immediately over a *tîrtha* known as the Rêvatakuṇḍa. But, where, exactly, the Rêvatakuṇḍa and Rêvatâchala are, is not made clear.

16 See the next note.

17 See Vol. XVII. above, p. 193, and *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. VII., Baroda, pp. 194, 195. — The official compilation *Bombay Places* certifies the final letter of the name as the lingual *ḷ*; but that seems rather dubious. The same compilation mentions (Kôral or) Kôraḷ as the head-quarters of the Chôrandâ subdivision; but, in the *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. VII. p. 536, we are told that 'Karjan' is the head-quarters of the subdivision.

18 Vol. XVII. above, p. 193, note 38.

19 Vol. XVII. above, p. 193.

20 *Ibid.*

21 Vol. XVIII. above, p. 176.

In respect of this point, however, Dr. Bühler's proposals were not correct. And it remained for Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar to establish, as will be shewn in my next note, the correct identification of Samîpadraka with a village now known as '**Sondarna.**'

The places mentioned in the Nausârî plates of A. D. 817.

This record was first brought to notice, from notes put together by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 125. It has been edited by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 131 ff. And, from his opening remarks about it, it appears that the original plates are in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. They seem to have been obtained from **Nausârî.**

The record recites that, on a specified day in the month Mâgha, Saka-Saṁvat 738 (expired), falling in January or February, A. D. 817, the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja, of the Gujarât branch of the Mâlkhêḍ family, when he was in residence at **Khêṭaka,** which is the modern **Kaira (Khêḍâ),** the chief town of the Kaira district in Gujarât, granted to a Brâhmaṇ, whose father was a resident of **Bâdâvî,**[22] two villages (*grâmadvaya*) named **Samîpadraka** and **Saṁbandhî.** These two villages are both described as *Mahî-Narmmad-ântarâla-dêśa-vartin,* "situated **in the country between the Mahî and the Narmadâ.**"[23] And **Saṁbandhî** is further placed in a territorial division called **the Maṅkaṇikâ bhukti.**

In specifying the boundaries of **Samîpadraka,** the record places, on the east, a village (*grâma*) named **Gôlikâ**; on the south, a village named **Chôrundaka;** on the west, (*a village named*) **Bharthâṇaka**; and, on the north, a village the name of which is, I feel sure, really presented in the original as **Dhâhaṭṭha,** as in the Nausârî plates of A. D. 706,[24] instead of Dhâhadva as given in the published text. As has been remarked by Mr. Bhandarkar, the Samîpadraka, Gôlikâ, and Dhâhaṭṭha of this record are unquestionably the three villages, bearing the same names, which are mentioned in the record of A. D. 706, treated in my preceding note. And the mention of the two other villages of Chôrundaka and Bharthâṇaka has enabled Mr. Bhandarkar to determine the identification of Samîpadraka, in respect of which Dr. Bühler was only able to make suggestions which were not correct. As pointed out by Mr. Bhandarkar, **Samîpadraka** is undoubtedly represented by a village, in the Chôraṇḍâ subdivision of the Baroda territory, the name of which is given in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), and in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 30 (1878) of Gujarât, as '**Sondarna**;' in the Atlas sheet, it may be found in lat. 22° 0', long. 73° 13', twelve miles north-by-west from Kôral, the town from which there was derived the appellation of the territorial division, the Kôrillâ *pathaka*, in which, as the record of A. D. 706 tells us, the village of Samîpadraka lay. It is true, indeed, that the maps do not shew any name answering to the **Gôlikâ** of the two records, which must have been situated just about where they shew 'Kasampur' or 'Kásampur' and 'Kurali' or 'Kuráli,' on the north-east of 'Sondarna.' But the maps shew '**Choranda,**' answering to **Chôrundaka,** about a mile and a half on the south of 'Sondarna,' and '**Bharthana,**' '**Bharthána,**' answering to **Bharthâṇaka,** two miles and a half on the west of 'Sondarna,' and '**Dhawat,**' '**Dháwat,**' answering to **Dhâhaṭṭha,** — as was first pointed out by Dr. Bühler, though he, also, did not recognise the exactly correct ancient form of the name,[25] — two miles north-north-east from 'Sondarna.' The identification of **Samîpadraka** with '**Sondarna**' is, thus, unquestionable. As regards the transition between the two forms of the name, — Mr. Bhandarkar has expressed the opinion that "**Samîpadraka** must have ordinarily been first corrupted into Sa-iṁ-udra

[22] See page 336 above, No. 11.

[23] After the word ending in *vartti* in line 61, the original presents a mark of punctuation which the editor has treated as superfluous, with the effect of making the word qualify only the village of Samîpadraka. But, though there are marks of punctuation which are certainly superfluous, both in these passages and in other parts of the record, this particular mark of punctuation was plainly intentional and correct, in order to make the word qualify *êtad-grâma-dvayaṁ* in line 64.

[24] See page 361 above, and note 2.

[25] See page 362 above.

"and then into Sa-un-dar." As regards the *n* in the last syllable of 'Sondarna,' which, as remarked by Mr. Bhandarkar, cannot be properly accounted for, — it is quite possible that it may be due to nothing but a mistake by the person who transliterated the vernacular name of the village for insertion in the English maps. But in view of the fact that Vatapadraka can become 'Wardala' and 'Wardla,'[26] we need not be surprised if Samîpadraka has actually become 'Sondarna.' It is to be added that Samîpadraka-'Sondarna' is as required, **in the country between the Mahî and the Narmadâ**; it is about twenty miles from the south bank of the Mahî, and seven miles from the north bank of the Narbadâ.

In specifying the boundaries of **Saṁbandhî in the Maṅkaṇikâ bhukti**, the record places, on the east of Saṁbandhî, a village (*grâma*) named **Sajjôḍaka**; on the south, (*a small village or hamlet named*) **Brâ[hma]ṇapallikâ**; on the west, (*a place named*) **Karañjavasahikâ**; and, on the north, (*a village named*) **Kâshṭhâmaṇḍapa.** Mr. Bhandarkar has said that Sajjôḍaka is a village now called "Sajôd" in the Aṅklêshwar tâluka of the Broach district, and has suggested that "the name Mâṇḍwâ of a modern village may be the present contracted form of Kâshṭhâmaṇḍapa." The village thus proposed for Sajjôḍaka is the 'Sajod' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), and of the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 13 (1873) of Gujarât, about five miles on the west of Aṅklêshwar. And the other village is the 'Mandwa Matierd' and 'Mándwa Máṭierd' of the maps, three and a half miles west-by-north from 'Sajod:' the prefix attached to its name is evidently used to distinguish it from another 'Matierd,' 'Máṭierd,' about two miles on the west of 'Sajod;' and it figures again in the name, given in the Trigonometrical map only, of 'Mándwa Beṭ,' a small island in the Narbadâ, just on the north of 'Mándwa Máṭierd.' Now, the 'Sajod' of the maps very likely does represent an ancient Sajjôḍaka. But there are no traces, in this locality, of any of the other names mentioned in the record. And, more to the point still, 'Sajod' is on the south of the Narbadâ, instead of being between that river and the Mahî. I find that **Maṅkaṇikâ**, the town from which the **Maṅkaṇikâ bhukti** took its appellation, is a large village, in the Saṅkhedâ subdivision of the Baroda territory, which is shewn as **'Makni'** in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, S. W. (1897), in lat. 22° 13′, long. 73° 43′, about a mile and a half on the south of the river 'Orsang,' and as **'Mákni'** in the Bombay Survey sheet No. 184 (1886). And **Saṁbandhî** is the **'Samdhi'** of the Atlas sheet and of the Bombay Survey sheet No. 183 (1894), also in the Saṅkhêḍâ subdivision, two miles on the north of the 'Orsang,' and three and a half miles due north of 'Makni,' 'Mákni.' The maps, indeed, do not shew any names answering to the **Karañjavasahikâ** and the **Sajjôḍaka** of the record.[27] But the Survey sheet No. 183 shews, on the north bank of the 'Orsang,' about one mile and three quarters south-east-by-south from 'Samdhi,' a small village named **'Bamroli'** which very probably is the **Brâ[hma]ṇapallikâ** of the record. And **Kâsṭhâmaṇḍapa** is, unquestionably, the **'Kath Mandva'** of the Atlas sheet, and the **'Kath Mándva'** of the Survey sheet No. 183, about one mile towards the north-by-west from 'Samdhi,' and in, apparently, the Kâlôl tâluka of the Pañch-Mahâls. Saṁbandhî-'Samdhi' is about thirty-six miles towards the north-east-by-east from Samîpadraka-'Sondarna.' And it, also, is **in the country between the Mahî and the Narmadâ**; it is about twenty-two miles from the north bank of the latter river, at its nearest point, and some forty miles to the south-east of the Mahî.

As regards **Bâdâvi**, which is mentioned as the place of residence of the grantee's father, — there are the unquestionable facts, established by me a long time ago,[28] that **Bâdâvi** occurs, as far back as A. D. 699, as an earlier form of the name of **Bâdâmi**, the head-quarters of the Bâdâmi tâluka of the Bijâpur district and in former times the capital of the Western Chalukya kings, and that this town

[26] See page 256 above, and note 14.

[27] The latter name, however, survives in that part of the country, in the case of the 'Sajod' of the maps, on the south bank of the 'Sukhi' river, fourteen and a half miles north-east-by-east from 'Samdhi.'

[28] See Vol. V. above, p. 68, Vol. VI. pp. 72, 74, Vol. VIII. pp. 238, 239, and Vol. X. p. 60. The instances in Vol. V. p. 20 and Vol. X. p. 63, referred to by Mr. Bhandarkar for Bâdâvi as an older form of the name of Bâdâmi, are only of A. D. 1532 and 1340 or thereabouts.

is also mentioned as **Vâtâpi** and **Vâtâpî** in Sanskrit records dating back to A. D. 612. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji took the **Bâdâvi** of the present record to be **Bâdâmi**.[29] And Mr. Bhandarkar has said that "in all likelihood" it is Bâdâmi. But there is no reason to entertain any doubt on this point; any more than there is for thinking, as Mr. Bhandarkar has presented himself as thinking, that the identification of Vâtâpi with Bâdâmi has not been a matter of absolute certainty for the last quarter of a century. The grant of a couple of villages in Gujarât would, indeed, be of no practical use whatsoever to a person actually himself resident at Bâdâmi, some four hundred and seventy miles away to the south. The place, however, is simply mentioned as the place of abode of the grantee's father. And it is plain that the grantee himself had left his father's home, and was settled either in one or other of the two villages granted to him by this record, or in some neighbouring town convenient for the management of them, or else that he emigrated when the grant was made to him and in consequence of its being made.

Another mention of **Bâdâmi**, contained in a record belonging like this one to a very distant locality, and indicating a similar emigration from Bâdâmi and settlement elsewhere, is to be found in the Ujjain plates of A. D. 1021,[30] which register a grant made by the Paramâra king Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ, — vrâhmaṇa-Dhanapatibhaṭṭâya . . . . . . Agasti-gôtrâya . . . . . . Vell[u]valla-prativaddha-śrî-Vâdâvi-nirggata-Vasurasaṁga(gha)-Karṇṇâṭâya, — "to the Brâhmaṇ Dhanapatibhaṭṭa, ... who is of the Agasti *gôtra*, ... and who is a man of the Karṇâṭa (*country*), belonging to the Basura *saṁgha*, who has come from the famous **Bâdâvi** which is attached to **Belluvalla**." This passage was not understood by the editor, who, with a different reading in certain details,[31] translated the last part of it as meaning "who, being an "inhabitant of Râdhâ Surasanga Karṇâṭa, has come from Śrîvâḍa, situate in Vellu Valla." But the real meaning of it is quite certain. The name **Belluvalla** refers to the **Beḷvola three-hundred district**, which is mentioned as the **Beluvala** three-hundred in line 53 of another record in Nâgarî characters, the Bêhaṭṭi plates of A. D. 1183,[32] and as the **Velvalla** (Belvalla) *vishaya*, in the version in Nâgarî characters of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of A. D. 754,[33] and which lay close on the west and south-west of Bâdâmi. And the Basura *saṁgha* is mentioned, with a slight difference in the final syllable, in the spurious Kurtakôṭi plates, purporting to be dated in A. D. 608 or 610,[34] which claim the village of Kuṛutakûṇṭe (Kurtakôṭi itself), in the Beḷvola *vishaya*, for a Brâhmaṇ belonging to the Basuri *saṁgha* and the Agasthi (Agasti) *gôtra*.

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE PROF. C. P. TIELE.

(Translated into English by G. K. Nariman.)

(Continued from p. 304.)

2. The Avesta and its Components.

Of the one and twenty *Nasks* on which we dwelt in the preceding section of this chapter, we possess, as is reckoned,[16] still two complete: **Staota Yesnya[17] and the Vendidad**; one well-nigh entire, the **Bakan Yast**, comprising the *Yasts*; the greater part of three more, among them the **Hadokhta Nask**; and more or less extensive fragments of nine others. They are composed in an

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[29] *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part I. p. 125.

[30] Vol. VI. above, p. 54, plate ii. line 1 ff

[31] He read *Śrîvâḍâ-vinirggata-râdhasurasaṁga*. The marks which he took as meaning *râ*, are only marks which were put in by the writer, in accordance with a frequent practice, to fill up a vacant space at the end of line 2; or, perhaps, the first of them is such a mark, and the other is attributable to the raised edge of the plate. The next *akshara* is certainly *va*, not *dha*; it stands for *ba*, which is represented throughout the record by the same sign with *va*.

[32] Vol. IV. above, p. 276.

[33] *Ep Ind.* Vol. III. p. 5, line 20, note 20.

[34] Vol. VII. above, p. 220, line 26.

[16] Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, III., xvi. suiv., and West, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part IV., *Sacred Books of the East*, XXXVII., *passim*.

[17] In *Yasna*, 14-17, 22-54, and 56.

ancient Iranian language, a sister-tongue to the old [illegible] in their inscriptions, though in two [illegible] dialects. [illegible] known as the *Zend*, which is indubitably a preposterous [illegible] designation, and which no [illegible] ever understood by the term *Zend*. [illegible], as a rule, it is denominated [illegible]. However the name Baktrian already used by [illegible] seems to me [illegible] still [illegible] being one of the most important lands where this speech [illegible]. **The Avesta or the Sacred Law** was brought to Europe by Anquetil du Perron in the year [illegible] uncommon devotion to science and [illegible] perseverance, [illegible] translated [illegible]. Subsequently a few new [illegible] have come to light.[18] Probably [illegible] to us, because they were [illegible] in the [illegible] language, though they were unintelligible without the auxiliary [illegible] of the *Avesta* and the corrupt condition of [illegible]. The [illegible] pioneer to pave the way to scientific [illegible] and no doubt many an aberration, [illegible] often as [illegible] philological methods [illegible] made in the study of Zarathushtrian [illegible]. And [illegible] tions of the religion, the pristine documents of which the *Avesta* [illegible] main features, and to draw to a certain measure an accurate outline of it. It would not be [illegible] the place to sketch the history of the *Avesta* exegesis or to examine the [illegible] for it — [illegible] inquiry which cannot be attempted without entering into a discussion of [illegible]. I expect substantial results from none but [illegible] to account all writings whether dating from early or late periods, and in which [illegible] for traditional interpretation ensures material assistance. [illegible] of all science.

The *Avesta* is made up of five [illegible]. The **Yasna** [illegible] book, in which the texts are arranged in [illegible] recited or sung. The **Vispered**, *Vispe ratavo*, "All Lords," [illegible], so called in that it was used in sacrificial ceremonies [illegible]. **The Vendidad**, the Vidaeva data, or what is [illegible] against the Daevas, the anti-demoniac [illegible] book in twenty-two *Fargards* or Chapters, [illegible] in order to preserve or recover religious purity, [illegible] fiends. **The Yashts** [illegible] composed, for the most part, [illegible] the Yazatas, of whom twenty-seven are sacred to the thirty days of the [illegible], and twenty-fifth days of the month had no angels proper to themselves, [illegible] the great festivals immediately following, namely, those of Atar, Mithra, and Daena. [illegible] days were invoked Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas. The fifth and the last [illegible] of the *Avesta* embraces a few minor writings, prayers, [illegible] only with or even without, the *Yashts* is comprehensively [illegible] *Avesta*, [illegible] not for public or priestly, but the private, [illegible]. The [illegible] of all these answering in its totality to a *Nask* of the Sassanide *Avesta* is the *Vendidad*. The [illegible] the *Stot Yasht Nask* — *Staota Yesnya*. — but, in combination with [illegible] *Nask*,[19] three other *Yashts*,[20] some litanies and reiterations, it has been artificially extended to seventy-two *Has* or Sections. Finally, the body of *Yashts* includes the *[illegible]* or *[illegible] Nask*, which consisted of sixteen such hymns, increased by several more that are posterior borrowed from other *Nasks* of a dissimilar category.

It is not possible to affirm that any one of these books is *per se* more ancient than the rest. Each has assimilated older and younger elements. Perhaps as a book the *Vendidad* is the most

[18] Collected, edited, and, so far as possible, translated by Darmesteter in Part III. of his *Zend Avesta*.

[19] *Ha* 19 to 21

[20] These are: the *Hom-Yasht*, *Ha* 9-11; the *[illegible]-Yasht*, *Ha* 57; the so-called *[illegible]-Yasht*, *Ha* 65, and in a certain sense also *Ha* 62, the main contents of which coincide with the *Atash Nyaish*.

primitive; the *Yashts* are somewhat a later collection, and at least in their existing form are a composition subsequent to the *Vendidad* and the *Yasna*. If it is not feasible off-hand to point to original passages and later-day excrescences, we are enabled to pronounce something at least with definitiveness, and we need not despair of more abundant light commensurate to the progress of research.

Thus, in the first place, it has to be remarked that a number of the texts are drawn up in a dialect different from that of the majority. This diversity of language is of the essence and cannot be derived from a different mode of writing, as some have sought to show on a baseless theory.[21] Both belong to one and the same language, but either as two dialects, which were spoken in two separate regions, or as in an anterior and a posterior stage of development. The first alternative is well nigh generally accepted though on inadequate grounds; the second seems to me to be the most probable one. That the cast of language in which the *Gâthas* are written, and which accordingly is termed the Gathic, is more archaic than the other is admitted on all hands. Moreover, the metre of the *Gâthas* is much more ancient and primitive than that of the *Yashts*. If we are not bound, from these reasons alone, to consider not only that the old hymns, as I have already stated, from remote ages have built the basis of the entire *Avesta*, but also to look upon most of these pieces as the product of an anterior date, — this is demonstrated primarily by their tenor as compared with that of the other writings.

The texts in the Gâtha dialect comprise the *Gâthas*, the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* (four prayers ... and sundry minor bits, such as the profession of faith, &c. We shall ... them in the sequel. It will then be seen that they likewise are not of equal age, but bear witness to a gradual evolution of religious ideas and concepts. But all in all they are the exponents of an older stage of religious development than that of the literature embodied in a younger form of language. **The Gâthas**, properly five collections of songs, which are arranged not in order of their contents or themes, but in accordance with the metre, contain the original Zarathushtrian dogma of redemption often proclaimed with fervid enthusiasm.[22] We might describe this as that species of hymns, which speaks nothing of the all kinds of institutions and rites that play an important part in the other sections of the *Avesta*, such as the divisions of the year and day, and the Baresman twigs, which are employed at offerings and are used in the ritual. It may be an accident that even the *Yasna* of the Seven Chapters is silent as to them. But a deeper difference obtains, which our history will indicate further on. Here, however, we must notice a few salient points. The Zarathushtra of the *Gâthas*, apart from the question of the prophet's being a historic or legendary personage, is a glorified prophet, supreme over all, favoured with the full revelation of Ahura Mazda, and by consequence the head of all earthly beings. The Zarathushtra of the remaining *Avesta* is a mythical creature to whom the homage due to a god is done. The seven Amesha Spentas, that are not once so named in the *Gâthas* are still far removed from the Spirits of the later lore; they figure hardly even as personifications of abstract ideas. As for the Dualism, it is not less decisively taught in the oldest enunciations than in the rest of the literature. It is a question of two intelligences, a good, and an evil one, who combat each other, and between whom the faithful has to make his choice; but, properly speaking, Mazda stands the most exalted. The *Gâthas* are cognisant of neither the conception nor the appellation of a hostile creator, the Angramainush of the later system, Mazda's equal in rank, pitted against him and with whom he has to maintain a contest. It may be, however, incidentally remarked that the germ of this future Dualism lies in *Yasna* 45, 2,[23] which alludes to the two primeval

[21] Compare my article in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1894, I., p. 75 suiv.

[22] The five *Gâthas* are: (1) *Ahunavaiti* seven hymns to which is added the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* or the *Yasna* of the Seven Chapters, a prose work of younger origin; (2) *Ushtavaiti*, four hymns; (3) *Spenta-Mainyu*, four hymns; (4) *Vohukhshathra*, one hymn, with a prose addendum; and (5) *Vahishtoishti*, one hymn, to which the holy prayer *Airyema Ishyo* is appended.

[23] "Thus forth I announce to you life's first two spirits,
Of whom the more bounteous the evil accosted:
Never our thoughts, nor creeds, nor understandings,
Never our beliefs, nor words, nor yet our actions,
Nor can our souls or faiths, ever be one." — Mill's *Metrical Version*. [Tr.]

genii of the world, the holy Spanyao (comparative degree) and the wicked Angro. But the passage viewed in its context, what has gone before and what follows, discloses that by Spanyao is not meant Mazda himself. Lastly, and this is of paramount import, the most amiable of the Yazatas, the most revered, the most puissant antagonist of the realm of the wicked, he who constitutes not less than the sacrosanct fire, the focus of the cult throughout the posterior *Avesta*, Haoma, is nowhere mentioned in the Gathic writings.[24]

This pervading divergence is explicable only on the assumption that the *Gâthas* with their accessories are the oldest records of the creed, and that the texts written in the other dialect mark a degree in their subsequent evolution. It were not impossible in itself that the two tendencies had sprung up synchronously in diverse regions, let us say in East and North-West Iran, and had continued to develop independently, till they were fused one with the other under the Arsacides or the Sassanides. It is likewise possible, at all events *in abstracto*, that the far purer, more philosophic, idealistic doctrine of the *Gâthas* was the outcome of a reformation of the flagrant dualistic mythological scheme represented in the other books, with all their train of Yazatas and many a factor of the old Aryan faith, so that the latter books would be in reality the older of the two sets. But both the above possibilities are precluded, first by what we stated with reference to the languages, and next by the indisputable circumstance that the last-named later doctrine is built upon that of the *Gâthas*, which it has modified, popularized, and deteriorated. The later religious phase is to be understood in the light of the *Gâthas*, just as the Christian dogma is to be interpreted in the light of the New Testament and not *vice versâ*. The more antique elements, myths, fables, and ritual, which are in point of fact found in the other chapters of the *Yasna*, in several parts of the *Vendidad* and in the *Yasht*, do not predicate a higher antiquity of these writings. They are the resuscitated vestiges of an antecedent epoch, which have been reduced so far as possible to an unison with the Zarathushtrian gospel.

The Gathic texts make up the principal components of the *Staota Yesnya*, of the *Stot Yasht Nask*, which, as we saw, is the core of the *Yasna*. But they are not the only ones of their kind. We light on the Gathic texts, likewise in the so-called younger *Yasna*, in the chapters, that is, which stand in the commencement and at the close of this *Nask*:[25] in the Mazdayasnian confession of faith, introduced by a concise eulogium and terminating in a more exhaustive one;[26] in the lesser *Srosh Yasht* erroneously so dubbed, though it is an invocation addressed to the water and the Fravashis;[27] and finally in a benediction over the cattle and the pious household.[28] The last-mentioned piece in all likelihood originally belonged to the *Hadhakhta Nask*. I would hazard a surmise that the whole *Stot Yasht Nask* or *Staota Yesnya* at first embraced exclusively Gathic texts, and that subsequently a few other similar texts of a different extraction were joined on to them, so as in the ceremonial not to dispense with any of the holiest vouchers of the most ancient revelation, which men still possessed, and that the extant *Yasna* is a latter-day growth issuing from this complex, called forth to meet the requirements of the Hoama ceremony and the rituals of the funeral services, of fire adoration, and the reverencing of the element of water.

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[24] *Yasna* 42, an appendix to the *Yasna Haptanghaiti* speaks indeed of three Haomas, but it is universally known that this chapter is of a very late date, an after-addition written in bad Gathic. Even if we assume, as will be clear later on in Chapter II., that the Haoma worship was no East-Iranian heritage, this argument retains its full force, for at the time the old *Gâtha* texts arose it was yet unknown to the Zarathushtrian, and it occupies a conspicuous place in the other books of the *Avesta*.

[25] *Ha* 1-13 and 55-72.

[26] *Frastuye*, Ha 11, 17-18. *Fravarane* or *Fraoretish*, *Ha* 12, 1-8. *Astuye* or *Astaothwanem*, *Ha* 12, 9-13, 7.

[27] *Ha* 56. The piece begins with the constantly recurring formula: *Seraosho idha astu*, Let there be hearing. In the first word men erroneously discovered the genius Sraosha and confused the old text with the much later *Srosh Yasht* which follows in *Ha* 57.

[28] *Ha* 58, 4-7. The verses 1-3 form an introduction, and verse 6 the close of the thus completed *Staota Yesnya* It is all in almost pure Gathic dialect. Verse 9 is a still later addition in the younger idiom.

In the rest of the *Avesta* books, setting aside sporadic quotations, no *Gâtha* texts are forthcoming. They are indited entirely in the later Baktrian. They all, however, do not date back to the same age; and if in the present state of our knowledge it is beyond our reach to differentiate with precision the anterior from the subsequent portion, still critical inquiry has yielded here and there incontestible results, and has facilitated an analysis of their textual composition.

Thus there is no question but that **the Vendidad,** which now numbers twenty-two chapters, originally closed with the sixteenth. The seventeenth was tagged on later, and hence the repetition of the formula which ends the sixteenth as well as the seventeenth. (The passage in question is not devoid of interest. It runs (S. B. E. IV., p. 189 or 192) : All wicked embodiments of the Drug are scorners of the Judge: all scorners of the Judge are rebels against the Sovereign ; all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men : and all ungodly men are worthy of death. [Tr.]) All the ensuing chapters are so many supplements made up of texts, which in a measure bear on the main theme. This principal theme is appropriately treated of in *Fargards* 5 to 16. For the thirteenth, fourteenth, and the fifteenth, which are taken up with the dog, the favourite domestic animal of the Persians, who almost put it on the same level with humanity, are not out of place here; dogs as well as the beaver and hedge-hog, which were classed with them, being the destroyers of evil genii. Still citations and excerpts from metrical and mythological fragments, to which the prose texts furnish a gloss and the mutual contradiction of many an injunction, and the recurrence of the same prescriptions over and over again in a more or less modified guise, argue that even those *Fargards* are a conglomeration of heterogeneous texts.[29] The seventh chapter bears on the face of it evidence of a later construction than the fifth, from which it rehearses passages word for word, and at the same time attempers the commandments therein inculcated. The seventh is in point of time even preceded by the sixth, which mentions as little as the eighth, the Dakhmas, the towers for the disposal of corpses.[30] It is not settled whether the first four chapters must be held as an introduction by the same hand or as the amplifications of a posterior editor. But this much is positive, that a text of considerable antiquity underlies the first *Fargard*, which is supplemented at places to accord with latter-day ideas. It is a catalogue of the countries which Ahura Mazda created, beautiful and comfortable for his worshippers, but which are marred by the counter-creations of Anghro Mainyush. Perchance already the older portion deviates from its original configuration. At all events a discrepancy obtains between what is related of Airyanam Vaejo, the aboriginal Aryan land, in the beginning and what is said of it in Sections 2 and 3. In the former it is a paradise so charming that, but for the production on the Creator's part of more regions habitable and beautiful, all organized beings would have repaired thither. In the latter it is a real country, which has been unfit to live in because of its prolonged inclement winter ; a country where is located the heart, the very centre of winter, and on which impetuous cold bears down from all quarters. This second delineation is assuredly the earlier one. The lands catalogued make up only a part of Iran, and the editor was alive to it, that this defective list must elicit astonishment in his age. He therefore subjoins the note that there were other regions too, in several respects of superior excellence, which he has not enumerated.

Again, the second *Fargard* is a Zarathushtrian version of the Aryan hero Yima (Yama), the king of primeval humanity, who reigned 900 years, and during which period, owing to the multiplying of his subjects, the earth had twice to be enlarged. But since he apprehended the ruin of everything terrestrial in a severe winter, at the behest of Ahura Mazda, he prepared an enclosed space (*vara*) to which he migrated with the seeds of cattle, men, dogs, birds, and with blazing fire.

[29] Comp. the archaic pastoral songs in 3, 24-33, the mythic presentment of Mazda and the waters in 5; 17, 20, 21. Repetitions constantly occur.

[30] *Fargard* 7, 16 has a quotation from the very late *Yasna* 65, 5 ; and 7, 52 accords with Farg. 19, 31, and *Yasht* 22, 16 — both well known as of a very younger age. The strange reference to the Dakhmas in 7, 49 indicates that they were held at once to be impure and necessary · "O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on a Dakhma is the ground whereon the Dakhma stands clean again?" — S. B. E., IV. 88 [Tr.] What is enjoined in *Farg.* 5 in respect of the purification of a woman delivered of a still-born child is modified by 7, 70-72.

We shall revert to this myth further on. But how it is patent to the believing Mazdayasnian how this old tradition, which he was not disposed to surrender, can be brought to harmonize with the orthodox tenet that Zarathushtra had enunciated the law since the [illegible] of creation and that he was himself the chief of the [illegible] economy. In a [illegible] fashion the author makes Zarathushtra propound the question to Mazda, who replies that Yima while willing to extend the good tracts of land, declined to proclaim the law. On Zarathushtra [illegible] consequence, it devolved to be the first prophet of the true dogma. Another interpolation seeks to ascertain if this dogma was unknown in Yima's *vara*. The reply [illegible] a mythical [illegible] carried it thither and that Zarathushtra was the Ratu or spiritual pontiff and [illegible] the temporal lord.[31]

To illustrate further that the nineteenth *Fargard* consists of passages of a very promiscuous character and that they stand in little internal correlation: Sections 1 to 10 and 43 to 47 cohere, while between them are shoved in three other texts dealing with totally different matter. The main text is the narrative of Zarathushtra's temptation, to all appearances later than most *Fargards* of the *Vendidad*,[32] but it is superposed on a myth of bygone ages touched up in the spirit of the Mazdayasnian precepts. The interpolated fragments are referable to a still younger descent.[33]

The Yashts with the *Gathas* represent the poetical factor of the **Avesta,** and are an ample mine for a knowledge of old Iranian [illegible] and mythology. However, they are of very unequal merit and date from varying ages. Thus, we have the one dedicated to an Amesha Spenta, another to Asha Vahishta, the third to Haurvatat [illegible] not [illegible] into the [illegible] and which should not be held to be much more than valueless [illegible]. The [illegible] corrupt text is attributable not to the inadvertence of the transcriber [illegible] cannot call them poets.[34] They are manifestly composed to fill up a gap [illegible] in honor of the supreme intelligences of the Zarathushtrian cosmology, addressed collectively or individually, are here promiscuously thrown together. Even the *Ormazd-Yasht*, the hymn to the High God himself, is out and out prosaic. It is a theological speculation [illegible] litany of Ahura Mazda's names, twice interrupted by insipid strings of appellations, of which the second is younger than the first, and which are perhaps [illegible], not the only ones in this perfunctory piece of uncouth makeshift. But it is just this that bespeaks the relative higher antiquity of others, chiefly those which celebrate the old Aryan divinities metamorphosed into Zarathushtrian Yazatas. They do not appear to have been composed for the individual festivals, but to have later been employed on these occasions. One of the prettiest in point of poetry and religious fervour is the *Hom Yasht*; so also is the *Srosh Yasht*; then the *Ardvisur Banu* or *Aban Yasht* addressed to the celestial waters and their deity, Ardvi Sura Anahita. Next *Tishtar*, *Mihir*, and in part *Farvardin Yasht* are of equal beauty. We shall in the sequel touch on their import; we notice only in passing their [illegible] of style and relative age. In respect of the first, their structure, they evince strong marks of interpolations. Amid ardent and vivid [illegible] meet with bald, prosaic comments of a ritualistic purport, which unmistakably betray the hand of the priest. Besides, at the end they have monotonous litanies appended. In most cases the [illegible] reflect the fact that no pains were taken to reduce them to metrical euphony. Respecting the second point, namely, the age; at the root of most of them lie, without question, popular non-Zarathushtrian ditties. Ever and anon

[31] In the posterior legends Urvatat naro is the son of Zarathushtra and the owner of the class of husbandmen; originally it was perhaps a cognomen of Yima "friend of [illegible]," or, better, one "united to men." From § 39 begins a sort of commentary.

[32] Comp. 19, 5 (the *Pairika-knathaiti*) with *Yasht* 19. For the Sea of Kasu, see *Yasht* 13. The future Saoshyant spoken of there occurs in the later *Yasna*, *Visperad*, and the *Yashts*.

[33] This is proved not only by the [illegible] 19, 13, but also [illegible] the genitive Ahura Mazdao, which occurs only in *Yasna* 71, [illegible], where Justi, Darmesteter and others [illegible] assume a vocative. Comp. further *Yasna* 7, 24 and 13, 5 in the citations from the *Yasna Haptanghaiti*.

[34] One *Yasht* seems to have been dedicated to Vohu [illegible] also; for the *Bahman Yasht*, dating from the 12th Christian century, comprises this [illegible] translation with the [illegible] the original. Comp. West, *Pahlavi Texts* (S. B. E.) I., Intro. pp. 4 seq. He surmises that the rendition, of which the *Bahman Yasht* is an epitome, was prepared in the time of Khusro Nosirvan (531-579 A. D.).

one recognizes, if not the monumental text which the Mazdayasnian editor has manipulated after his own heart, at least scanty relics of the same. We cannot enter here into details and demonstrate this. But I instance the *Ardvisur Banu* and *Tishtar Yashts* as a couple of telling illustrations.

Various *Yashts* dealing with Yazatas, whose veneration it was intended to commend, before all such Yazatas as were borrowed from the anterior religion and originally did not appertain to the Zarathushtrian system, contained an enumeration of legendary heroes and even of divine existences, who whilom sacrificed to them. Two such lists are illicitly inserted into the *Ardvisur Yasht*. According to Darmesteter, in the first list are mentioned the devotees of Anahita before Zarathushtra; in the second the contemporaries and followers of the Prophet.[36] That is incorrect. For in the first list are named Jamaspa, Ashavazda, Vistauru and Yoishta, who one and all belong to the *entourage* of Zarathushtra. The first five strophes are the same as the opening five of the 65th *Yasna*. Several other strophes (7, 11, 13, 15) are a colourless copy of the glowing description at the close of the *Yasht*. A few more (88 to 96) are completely out of keeping with the general tone disclosing theological speculations in an orthodox Mazdayasnian spirit. Setting these aside, and, with the exception of the prelusive and other expatiations, fragments of one or more hymns celebrating *Ardvisur Anahita* remain in which there is nothing pronouncedly Zarathushtrian. A supplication to the goddess to descend from her astral station down on our globe, an enumeration of the blessings which her worshippers warriors and priests, — (they are here put in the second place) — young maidens and women crave of her, a narrative of her descent in the plenitude of her beauteousness and glory — all this is wound up with a prayer on the part of the warrior to succour him in the battle. (Strophe 132 is an addition by the priest, who makes a sacrificial song of it and to this end repeats over again and enlarges upon the commencement of 85, the request to come down on earth, which is altogether irrelevant since the prayer has long since been granted. Occasionally the editor throws in some features to his own taste, but which ill accord with the general delineation.)

The *Tir Yasht* is occasionally beautiful indeed; beautiful and poetical. But obviously it is a Zarathushtrian Mazdayasnian recast of a genuine mythological chant. The bliss-diffusing god is portrayed in his diverse transfigurations of a handsome youth, a steer, a white steed with yellow ears. In the last shape is celebrated his combat with the demon of sterility and barrenness, Apaosha, conceived as incarnated in a black stallion. It were an idle effort here or elsewhere, for example in the far-famed *Mihir Yasht*, to seek to reconstruct the primitive non-Zarathushtrian canticle from the text as it stands. The compilers have too far made free with the texts, in order to accommodate them to their theological views, for us to recognise or to recover them in their completeness. But it is easy to make out what has issued solely from the pen of the editors; whatever they have prefixed of their own accord, have interpolated or appended on their own initiative.[37]

These researches are in their incipient stage, and the results they have so far yielded have to be more closely tested. We need not accordingly pause longer, as we have yet to answer the inquiry **in what sense the Avesta literature is to be considered a source for the history of Zarathushtrian religion**. Scholars have long delayed setting the problem to themselves and rendering themselves an account of the different characters of the original sources of our information. Consequently they have encountered difficulties that could be surmounted, but which they were not in a position to solve. They found that an antithesis subsisted between the dogma of the *Avesta* and the presentment (in the Achæmenide inscriptions or in Herodotus) of the religion of the Persians and Medes and deduced no end of inconsequent conclusions. There is no denying the existence of the contrast; but it is easily explained by the uniform character of the aforesaid authentic writings.

[35] *Yasht* 5, 16-83.

[36] *Yasht* 5, 97-118.

[37] Thus, *e. g.*, in the *Mihir Yasht* (*Yasht* 10), §§ 1-16, is a theological proem which originally did not belong to the *Yasht*, and (as has been already noticed by Darmesteter) 118-139, a purely liturgical portion; 140-144 forming an encomiastic finale. But 115-117 appertain to the next *Yasht*, if it represents no independent fragment. Further, 53-59 and 83 certainly, and 9, 18-21, 23-24, 28-34, 37-43, 46, 83-94, 98-101, 105-111 probably, are Zarathushtrian interpolations. These eliminated, we are left almost exclusively a good coherent mythological panegyric.

Herodotus relates that which he or his authority had ascertained or experienced of the actual state of religion among the Iranians, and of an analogous description are the reports of the ancients, particularly Strabo. The inscriptions of the Achæmenides inform us of the Mazdayasnian creed so far as it prevailed as the State religion of the empire, in other words, as it was officially acknowledged. The *Avesta* presents a picture of the development of Zarathushtrianism, as it was never perhaps instituted prior to Alexander in Media and Persia (at best only in a solitary spot, say the ecclesiastical Ragha), but an outline of it as it lived in the schools of divines and theologians by whom, it is possible, it was introduced into North-West and Eastern Iran.

3. The Age of the Avesta.

We have examined the sacred Scripture of the Zarathushtrians, and are now confronted with the problem to what period does it belong, and how far can we rely on it with success? Do the texts of our *Avesta* and the lost books on which the Sassanian *Zend-Avesta* was based, along with fragments recently put together, emanate mainly from the times of the Achæmenides, possibly from still earlier centuries; or were they composed after the fall of that dynasty? Formerly the first was the generally accepted view. And there were scholars who assigned the compilation of the Avestic writings to an epoch preceding the Median Empire. Till very recently eminent authorities concurred in this opinion. But now distinguished savants oppose this theory, championing with more or less vehemence the last-mentioned hypothesis. We are consequently compelled to make a choice between the two conflicting pronouncements.

The first to strenuously defend the comparatively later origin of the *Avesta* — a view to which Spiegel, Justi, and de Harlez were more and more inclined with a brilliant array of arguments — was the late erudite Frenchman, James Darmesteter, whose death is, with justice, deeply mourned. Darmesteter brought to bear on his researches a profound study of the original sources, rich knowledge, rare critical acumen, and at the same time he could command a consummate diction. We cannot enter upon a refutation of all the ingenious but uncurbed conjectures of the author — conjuctures which show that his penetration not unfrequently got the better of his historical sense and his sane judgment.[38] Most of what he has propounded, to give only a single instance, relative to the Keresâni of the *Avesta* (who is assuredly neither more nor less than the Krishna of the *Veda*, and therefore an unmistakably mythological personage) as being identical with Alexander the Great, will not, indeed, live longer than the scintillation of a splendid firework. But Darmesteter takes his stand on another and apparently more solid ground; hence our obligation to inquire into its validity.

To begin with, then, he appeals to tradition. According to, at least, two divergent, if in Darmesteter's eyes, essentially concordant traditions, the official text of the complete body of the Zarathushtrian Holy Writ, which was for reasons of State preserved in two separate transcripts, was destroyed with Alexander's co-operation, or at least in consequence of the confusion occasioned by his invasion. Valkash, the Arsacide, who was either Volgoses (51-55 A. D.), the contemporary of Nero, or another king of the same name, and of a posterior age, is reported to have commenced the collecting of the ancient documents, the fragments committed to writing as well as the oral sections, which survived among the sacerdotal order. The first prince of the house of Sasan, Ardeshir (Artaxerxes) I., 226-240 A. D., we are told, continued the pious undertaking with the assistance of Tansar or Tosar. His successor, Shahpuhr I., 241-272 A. D., is credited with causing to be rendered again into the vernacular the Iranian texts, which had been translated into the Greek and Indian languages. Finally, the great hierarch Atarpad, son of Maharespand under Shahpuhr II. (309-379), definitively concluded the last redaction of the Sassanide *Zend-Avesta*.

[38] In his latest translation of the *Zend Avesta*, especially in the Introduction to the third Part. In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1894, Vol. XXIX. p. 68 *seq.*, I have discussed and given a statement of the contents of this work: *Une nouvelle hypothèse sur l'antiquité de l'Avesta*; and I have spoken on the age of the *Avesta* in the *K. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Verslagen en Mededelingen*, 3 Reeks. I must refer the reader to hese essays for the details which cannot be gone into in the text.

These traditional accounts may not be incorrect in general, and one is warranted thus to concatenate the two versions; yet they must not be looked upon as more than a reminiscence of the manner and way in which the *Avesta* Scripture was once more brought together, after both the authentic copies of it had perished, either in the conflagration of Persepolis or otherwise. And at the same time, however, still to pursue the tradition, the texts were translated from the obsolete Baktrian into the Pehlevi, the court language of the Sassanides, and were furnished with commentaries more in a theological than in an exegetical vein.

But, according to Darmesteter, we have here to deal not merely with a compilation, nor even a redaction, and the working up of extant texts, but with the actual composition of new writings. Not one of the ancient Zarathushtrian texts had survived, and the entire *Avesta* sprang up posteriorly to Alexander the Great, says Darmesteter. In view, however, of the testimony of the archaic Persian inscriptions and the narratives of the Greeks, he can scarcely dispute that the basis of dogma promulgated in the *Avesta* is primitive—a point to which we shall presently return.

But the books themselves are a latter-day production ; and the old doctrines have been independently worked up into them to harmonize with the spirit of the age, or rather, and this is one of his chief contentions, under the influence of alien creeds and foreign philosophical systems. He detects in the *Avesta* undoubted traces of Indian (*i. e.*, Brahmanic and Buddhistic), Hellenic, chiefly Hellenistic, and Jewish concepts and figures. Let us examine how far the assertion is true.

No one denies the unison between the Indian and the Iranian religions. A number of myths, legends, rituals, concepts, and names of existences to whom prayers are offered up, they have in common.

The supreme deities of the Iranian, the Ahuras, are the formidable antagonists of the Indians' divinities, and, conversely, the Devas have become the abominated evil genii of the Iranian. But Mithra, Aryaman, Vayu, and diverse other gods claim equal adoration from both. Yama or Yima is among both nations the sovereign of the primordial human beings and of the kingdom of the dead. The service of Soma — Haoma — occupies the premier place in the cult at once of the Indian and the Iranian, particularly in later times. Darmesteter must concede that all these phenomena can be most simply accounted for as the relics of an anterior period, when the two peoples still constituted one nation. There is certainly no borrowing either on the part of the Indian or the Iranian. Even the circumstance that the Indian paramount god Indra, Sarva, who probably stands for Siva, and the Nâsatsyas are mentioned as idols in the *Avesta* does not tell against the antiquity of the latter, inasmuch as the Indians were not only the next-door neighbours of the ancient Persians, but Hapta Hindu, or the river-valley of the Indus, is accounted as Iranian territory in the *Vendidad*, and is reckoned among the provinces of the monarchy in the inscriptions of the Persian sovereigns of bygone ages.

As regards what is alleged to have been borrowed from Buddhism, it is confined to this. A certain demon Buiti is sought to be identified with the Buddha, another called Butasp with the Bodhisattva, and Gaotema again with the Buddha under his appellative of Gautama.[39] That is all, and, strictly speaking, that is nought. If Buiti must needs have an Indian parallel, it can only be Bhuta, a goblin or sprite. Butasp does not occur in the *Avesta*, but only in a passage in the *Bundahesh* (XXVIII., 35), which is *forcefully* so read after great straining. And as for Gaotema, it can by no possibility correspond to the Indian patronymic of Gautama. It answers to Gotama, the name of the Vedic bard, who probably already belonged to the Aryan mythology.

The consonance between Israelite and Iranian legends and ideas is of equal import ; that is, in respect of the *Avesta* the similarities are of no moment. We meet with something of more substantial significance in the *Bundahesh* ; in other words, in a volume dating from the later Sassanides. And even if the resemblances belonged to the most ancient component part of the *Bundahesh*, which

[39] With reference to Gautama, Martin Haug fell into the same error.

part has a great deal in common with the *Damdat Nask*, they can be satisfactorily explained on much more convincing grounds.

It remains, then, to consider the principal indictment, to wit, that the whole system of the Gathic precepts, the fundamental tenets of the Zarathushtrian faith, is a feeble echo of Hellenistic philosophy, and mainly that of Philo Judæus. The Amesha Spentas do not belong to the ancient Mazdayasnian religion, but are philosophic, neo-Platonic ideas; in fact, Iranianized æons. And this simply because Voho-mano, the Amesha Spenta most intimately connected with Ahura Mazda, displays a few points of contact with the Logos of Philo. I have on another occasion analyzed the utter impossibility of this hypothesis and have shown that probably out of two of the Amesha Spentas, positively one appears as a god on the coins of the Indo-Scythian Kings Kanishka and Huvishka, though behind names that have been corrupted almost out of recognition;[40] and that going so far back as Plutarch we find him correctly acquainted with the denominations and the import of the Amesha Spentas. Now Philo died about 25 A. D., which well nigh coincides with the date of Plutarch's birth. And the first-mentioned king ascended the throne in the year 78 A. D. Within, therefore, half a *seculum* the works of the Alexandrian philosophers must have been studied by the Persian theologians; the system which they created must have been worked out and written down and made known to the Greeks. Moreover, the philosophic personifications, which they imitated from Philo, must have been so thoroughly transformed into popular deities that their names became totally deteriorated and it became possible for foreign potentates to assume them. This is simply inconceivable, and hence the hypothesis itself is nothing but an ingenious delusion.

Darmesteter is prepared to allow antiquity to a few of the precepts incorporated in the *Avesta*; and of a truth he cannot but make the concession. Even Aristotle knew of Oromazdes and Arimanios and the extravagance of the dualism as referring to the Supreme Being. Theopompus speaks of the Zoroastrian Doctrine of palingenesis. Consequently both must have heard of these Avestan articles of faith prior to Alexander. The worship of Haoma cannot but have been in vogue for a long time previously, despite the omission of its mention in Herodotus or other Greek authors. It attests the Soma service of the tribally allied Indians. Finally, the *tout ensemble* of the practical and utilitarian moral code of the Parsis, perhaps the dogma, too, of universal genesis out of Boundless Time was not thought of so late as after the downfall of the Persian empire. But the doctrine of the Amesha Spentas and the Yazatas was unknown anterior to this epoch, and Ahura Mazda was a nature-god at the head of the entire pantheon of nature divinities.[41] Hence this, and much besides which is peculiar to the *Avesta*, it is contended, dates from the Arsacides and the Sassanides. Now, to say nothing of other objections, it is not competent to us thus off-hand to brand some tenets as primitive because they happen to be mentioned here and there, and to hold as of latter-day growth what is dissociably joined with the creed and what constitutes the proper soil in which this article of belief has taken root, *viz.*, the doctrine of Ahura Mazda being the sole real and beneficent deity, the creator exalted above his creatures and with his saints around and under him, because, forsooth, Plutarch is the first to advert to it. At any rate, we cannot raise the undoubtedly younger doctrine of Boundless Time, the origin of all creation, to the level of the well-founded tenet which regards Mazda as the uncreate God. The remote antiquity of the Amesha Spentas is directly proved by the mode in which Plutarch rehearses the doctrine. He knows and mentions the idea which subsequently grew so prominent, that over against the seven highest good spirits are arrayed seven evil genii, so that each of them has his antagonist in the realm of darkness — a conception which is alien to the *Avesta* proper.

The most important positive proof for the antiquity of the Avesta lies in the language in which it is written. That the language was no longer current in the beginning of

[40] Comp. the essays referred to *ante*.

[41] Darmesteter concludes this from the words *hada bagaibis vith bis* occurring in the ancient Persian inscriptions, which words he altogether wrongly interprets. Comp. *Verslagen in Mededeelingen der K. A. te Amsterdam*.

the Christian era any more than the Old Baktrian, no one denies. And yet we are asked to believe that in and after the first century A. D. the *mobeds* composed the 21 *Nasks* of the *Avesta* in two dialects of this language, one older than the other, albeit they no more understood it and were obliged at the same time to immediately render them into the then vernacular of the empire, which was Pehlevi. To indite in a dead language is not only possible, but is very common centuries after it has ceased to be a spoken idiom. But this is feasible only provided we possess a literature which to look upon as our model, and not when the literature has perished, save for scanty minor fragments. The Pehlevi version of the *Avesta* books is adduced as a proof that the antique tongue was very well understood, at least in the initial period of the Sassanian domination. But it is one thing to hammer out the sense of writings in an archaic idiom, specially when the knowledge reposes more on scholastic tradition than on the language as such, and entirely another to write books in it — books poetic and of a philosophical tenor. Furthermore, had the texts been forthwith translated into the vulgar tongue, they would not have left so much to desire. The most zealous advocates of tradition (although one at times marvels at the sheer rigmarole they are capable of digesting) are now and again forced to deviate from it and strike out a path for themselves. It is not possible that the *Gâthas* should have originated synchronously with Alexander. Their text is frequently past all interpretation and much mutilated, which argues general ignorance on part of those who inherited them from generation to generation. The offences against grammar and idiom on which we repeatedly light are not the regular and recurring faults of unschooled authors. They are so many illustrations of the supineness of illiterate guardians. The metre, exceedingly primitive in many respects, harmonious with the Vedic, and being archaic, is often confused. We need, however, but restore the correct forms, and it is again all in order. What should this prove but that it was posterity and not the poets who were not at home in the prosody. It is perfectly within the range of possibility that under the Parthian monarchy, and even in the second Persian empire, people could draw up in Old Baktrian a few glosses, brief litanies, benedictions, formulæ of adjuration, calendars, &c.; nay, they could turn out verses, half plagiarized from the primitive texts, half imitated, and forming a farrago of unpoetic poems. But no one was able to compose a *Gâtha*, the *Vendidad*, one of the longer *Yashts*, which we discussed in the foregoing section, in an age which heralded the period of the insane and imbecile scholasticism of the Pehlevi commentators.

The ancient Persian is most intimately allied to the Old Baktrian. Now we know that the former had so far grown obsolete already under the later Achæmenides that their inscriptions are veritable examples of cacography. It is not quite possible that the Baktrian at that date was still in its bloom. We can, at all events, conceive of two-sister speeches, one of them with a more protracted lease of existence, and better-preserving obsolete word formations. But this can only be when the natives employing this dialect have little or no intercommunion, and when each of the two clans stand on a different plane of civilization. It is never the case when they profess the self-same faith, cherish one sacred lore, and, what is more, owe allegiance to a common political constitution. That being so, it was inevitable that the East and the West Iranian, the language of the *Avesta* and the language of the Achæmenides, should proceed at an uniform pace in their development and their decay.

We cannot here enter into too much detail. Else we should bring forward evidence to show that between the forms of the proper names as we find them in the *Avesta* and the Pehlevi version and on the coins of the Indo-Scythian rulers centuries must elapse. But we will not pass over in silence one personal name, for therefrom can be deduced one of the most striking proofs for the antiquity of the *Avesta*, *viz.*, the name of the Supreme Godhead. Let us consider the vicissitudes which it has endured. The oldest form is, doubtless, **Madza Ahura or Ahura Mazda,** looked upon and treated as two names, occasionally in the plural, placed in juxtaposition. In the *Gâthas* the first-named sequence is the most usual, but the other, too, often occurs; mostly both names are severed from each other by one or more words or at least by a

cæsura, and they are always separately declined. So also in the remaining Gathic scripts. In the later books the position Mazda Ahura appears only in citations from the Gathic literature and in standing formulæ like the fire of Mazda-Ahura, and Manthra Spenta, the friend of Mazda-Ahura. Moreover, here we but rarely find Ahura or Mazda singly as names of the Divinity, which isolated names are frequently presented by the poets of the *Gâthas*. With the exceptions indicated above, Ahura-Mazda is the most common appellation in the posterior *Avesta*; yet the consciousness that it consists of two distinct words is not yet extinct. Leaving out of account a couple[42] of very young passages, both the members are individually declined. In the inscriptions of the Achæmenides, however, Ahura Mazda has become *one* name, nor are the two substantives divided off by the sign which in the old Persian denotes the terminations of words. Excepting once only,[43] the second component alone is declined. Lastly, the Greeks recognize the name not otherwise than as a unity, Oromazes, and as such it remains among the Iranians of post-Alexandrian times, who abbreviate it into Auharmazd, Hormazd or Ormazd.

We shall not have to go far to arrive at the result of this investigation, if we reflect upon the exalted veneration in which the name of a god, and that the highest, was held in the past. The periods in which the combined names could be put down at pleasure, that is, could be disjoined or associated, or each member could singly be used, in which stages consequently there was still a vivid consciousness of their significance, must precede that stage in which they are arrayed in one fixed order, although they are uniformly considered as individual vocables and dealt with as such. And this transitional stage, again, must be older than the one during which the two-fold name has crystallized into one compound word, the first component of which is never or only exceptionally declined. The whole *Avesta*, therefore, represents a more archaic period of religious evolution than that evidenced by the rock-cut writings of the Achæmenides. Not, however, that every text of the later *Avesta* was drawn up in the pre-Persian times, for in the priestly schools the old tradition must have survived longer; but we contend that in respect of its main position it is assignable to an age when the Ahura Mazda had not developed, nor stratified, into the Aura Mazda of the later Persians. Briefly, the history of the Iranian equivalent of God corroborates what other facts teach us about the age of the *Avesta* and the form of the religion as exhibited in the latter.[44]

I shall cursorily touch on the other arguments, which have been brought forward for or against this antiquity; but I cannot altogether pass them over unnoticed. Darmesteter opines that the political conditions reflected in the *Avesta* harmonize but with those of the Parthian monarchy. The Parthian sway was feudal. The large landholders ruled independently and were bound to follow the king only in war. Now, to Darmesteter the *Avesta* is cognisant of no higher political civic grade than that of the judiciary of a canton. Hence it cannot have been written during the Median or Persian monarchy. But, in the first place, the political institution under the Persian domination, prior to the introduction of a rigidly absolute monarchy by Darius Hystaspes, was the same as the Parthian, and it can scarcely be distinguished from the Median constitution. And, besides, it is not correct that the *Avesta* never speaks of a king or suzerainty. We need only call to mind the struggles for the possession of the regal glory or majesty of the Aryan lands, which so repeatedly turn up.

Of far greater moment are the pleas for the remote antiquity of the *Avesta* which are derived from reference in it to the political and economic relations of the countries. None of the tribes which have played an important part in history subsequent to the 9th century B. C., the Medians, Persians or Parthians, are once mentioned. The *Avesta* is aware of only the Aryans, such as, according to

[42] These are *Yasna* 7, 24 and 13, 5: Ahura-Mazdâ. The last passage may contain a purely clerical oversight, for here we have a quotation from the *Yasna Haptaṅghaiti*. The genitive Ahuro Mazdao, *Vendidad* 19, 15, and *Yasna* 71, 10 (where Justi and Darmesteter wrongly conjecture a vocative), is of another kind: simply a grammatical mistake.

[43] In C (a and b) 10 and 17 (Xerxes) we find the double genitive *auraaya mazdaha*.

[44] Comp. the exhaustive demonstration in my oft-cited treatise "*Over de Oudheid van't Avesta.*"

Herodotus, the Medians named themselves. Nowhere are the distinguished capitals spoken of, the Median Ekbatana or the residences of the Achæmenides, Susa, Persepolis or Pasargadæ, which latter was the city of the Magians, and a city of priesthood.[45] The solitary considerable cities which are alluded to, assuming that we accept the traditional interpretation of the passages, are Nineve, which was devastated in the 7th century, and Babylon.[46] But in case Babylon is actually mentioned here, which is suspicious, and in the capacity of a seat of tyrants who dreamed of a world-sovereignty but failed in their object, then that must be the memory or the legend of aboriginal times—times before the founding of his metropolis by Cyrus and anterior even to the Median kings, the friendly contemporaries of the Babylonians. In their days the time-honoured metropolis cannot figure as the abode of an odious usurper in the imagination of the Iranians. Under no circumstances it is open to us to take refuge in the assertion that the Median and Persian premier cities had already forfeited their importance when the *Avesta* was revealed. For then the question arises, how it was that the seats of later dynasts, the Seleucides, the Arsacides, and the Sassanides, are so totally ignored? That Firdausi in his epics gives them the go-by is natural, in that he loves to adhere to tradition and makes a bare mention of a few Achæmenides.

The economical circumstances of the people among whom the *Avesta* had its home are in the last degree antique. All that has been stated in respect thereof is not conclusive. It is neither proved nor probable that they were unacquainted with the use of iron, gold, and salt. But what is proved beyond question, and will be shown in the sequel, amounts to this. The *Gâthas* are the original documents not merely of a religious but likewise an economic reform—a reform from the nomadic stage of life to settled husbandry. The gospel of such a reformation was not called for in the age of the Arsacides, nor under the foregoing monarchs of Iran. Religion and tillage have long since triumphed and permanently retain their close association. The whole body of the *Avesta* is a veritable sacrosanct writing calculated to establish a class of cultivators, composed of cattle tenders and peasants, with simple unsophisticated notions and usages; while the divisions of time, as in the religious prescriptions of the *Vendidad* and of the later *Yasna*, throughout answer to their primitive requirements. It is not till we come down to the *Yashts* that a different spirit reveals itself. It is the talk about royal majesty, about battles, and conquests; wherefor they must have, to hazard a surmise, originated in the times of kings.[47]

On all these grounds we predicate **a high antiquity of the Avesta.** Should it be in reality composed after the commencement of our era, it would be one of the most mysterious and dexterous literary forgeries which have ever been perpetrated. One of the most dexterous, because the transgressors pitched upon a language, which was no more spoken and was no longer understood of the people collectively, and of which all original documents had perished. They wrote down in a more antique dialect the fragments they wished to be considered oldest. They set forth the religion of their creation with such consummate art that they infused vividness and freshness into the hymns which were to be looked upon as archaic, and austereness into what was to be reputed of a subsequent growth; and finally they adulterated their religion with foreign elements. In a word, not only they fabricated religious texts, but also a whole course of religious unravelment, and were solicitous that the history of the language they employed kept pace with it. With studied assiduity they avoided what could

[45] Plutarch, C. 3. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 6, 26.

[46] Nineve: *Yasht* 10, 104 and *Yasna* 5, 29 (which passage, however, the tradition translates differently). Darmesteter is totally incorrect when he thinks of a river.

Babylon: *Yasht* 5, 29: Azhi Dahaka, the mythical snake that subsequently passed for a personification or symbol of foreign domination, sacrifices for the attainment of the sovereignty of seven quarters of the work, which Anahita had not conceded to him, *bawroish pasti dañhoyâ*, in the land of Babylon. The elucidation, however, is far from definite.

[47] Comp. before all W. Geiger, *Asteranische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882 [English tr. by Dastur Darab Sanjana], and *Vaterland und Zeitalter des Avesta und Seiner Kultur*, in *Sitz. Berder Kgl. Bairesh Akad.* 1884, p. 310 *seq.* Geiger often proves too much, but what Spiegel (*Über Vaterland und Zeitalter des Avesta. Z. D. M. G.* 1887, p. 280 *seq.*) adduces against it is quite as feeble as his previous essay on the subject—*vide* R. Roth, *Z. D. M. G.* 1880, p. 698.

be referred to their own generation, named no names beyond those of mythic antiquity, and in all this did not betray themselves once. One of the most mysterious, because this product of imposition became within a few years universally accepted. The fictitious figures of a counterfeit theosophy were transmuted forthwith into popular deities, and were immediately thereafter acknowledged by native and foreign princes. Nay, more, in those very schools whence these compositions emanated it was possible for men simultaneously to produce a very defective rendering with elucidations which not unfrequently succeeded in completely obscuring the sense of the original. Methinks such a forgery is impossible. Rather am I persuaded that the writings whose contents investigated with critical exactitude so clearly helps a comprehension of the process of evolution of the Zoroastrian religion are genuine and antique documents. The sketch of this development, which we are about to draw, will prove the most conclusive arguments in its support.

To contract the period of the origin of this scripture within narrower limits we lack historical data. Some scholars hold that the older part of it belongs to the 13th pre-Christian century, and incline to a still dimmer past. Others conjecture that the date of the *Avesta* literature is to be set down between 1000 and 600 B. C.[48] I am convinced that we must place **the earliest pieces of the later Avesta** (if not in the form of its present redaction) not much later than **800 B. C.** The Gathic writings are, as a matter of course, a couple of centuries older, albeit later than the rise and the first promulgation of the faith. But on this point we may but make conjectures.

(To be continued.)

GLIMPSES OF SINGHALESE SOCIAL LIFE.

(1) Domestic Ceremonies.[1]

BY ARTHUR A. PERERA.

THE life of a Singhalese man consists from the day of his birth of minute domestic observances and ceremonies; although these slightly differ in the different parts of the island and many details in them are forgotten or discontinued owing to the adoption of Western methods and modes of thought, they are in the general outline quite the same.

When a mother is pregnant she avoids looking at deformed persons, or ugly images and pictures, fearing the impression she gets from them may influence the appearance of her offspring; during this delicate period she generally pounds rice with a pestle, as the exertion is supposed to assist delivery, and for the same purpose a few hours before the birth of the child all the cupboards in the house are unlocked. For her to cling to, when the pains of child-birth are unbearable, a rope tied to the roof hangs by the mat or bedside; and it is popularly believed that at the birth of Buddha the trees of the garden of Lumbini bent themselves that their branches may render to Queen Mâyâ a similar assistance.

The water that the child is washed in after birth is poured on to the foot of a young tree, and the latter is remembered and pointed out to commemorate the event; a little while after the infant is ushered into the world **a rite** takes place, when a drop of human milk with a little gold

[48] Bartholomae, *Handbuch der Altiranischen Dialekte*, p. 1 *seq.*

[1] For further particulars on this subject the reader is referred to :—
(1) Knox's *Historical Relation of Ceylon* (1681), pp. 93 and 113.
(2) Percival's *Account of the Island of Ceylon* (1803), p. 179.
(3) Davy's *Account of the Interior of Ceylon* (1821), p. 277.
(4) Forbes' *Eleven Years in Ceylon* (1840), Vol. I. p. 324.
(5) *The Ceylon Magazine* (1841), Vol. I. p. 278.
(6) *Young Ceylon* (1852), Vol. III. p. 55.
(7) *The Friend* (Second Series, 1870), Vol. I. p. 110.
(8) Asiatic Society's *Journal of Ceylon* (1881), Vol. VII. p. 40.
(9) *The Orientalist* (1884), Vol. I. p. 116; and (1887), Vol. III. p. 120.
(10) *The Taprobanian* (1887), Vol. II. p. 47.
(11) *The Monthly Literary Register* (New Series, 1893), Vol. I. p. 177.

rubbed in it is given to the babe (*rankiri kata gânavâ*), — this is an invocation to **Sarasvati**, the goddess of speech, — and the little child's ability to learn and pronounce well is assured.

When the sex of the child is known, if it be **a boy** a pestle is thrown from one side of the house to the other; if **a girl**, an *ikle* broom; those who are not in the room pretend to find out whether it is a *she* or a *he* by its **first cry**, believing it is louder in the case of the former than of the latter. The cries of the babe are drowned by those of the nurse, lest the spirits of the forest become aware of its presence and inflict injury on it.

The mother is never kept alone in the room, a light is kept burning in it night and day, and the oil of the *margosa* is much used in the room for protection; this tree is sacred to **the Seven Ammâs (or Mothers)** left in charge of the earth by the goddess Pattinî, who is probably Durgâ in her beneficent aspect. Care is taken that **the navel cord** is not buried and a little of it is given to the mother with betel if she falls severely ill. Visitors to the lying-in-room give presents to the midwife when the child is handed to them, especially if it is the first-born one.

A month after birth, the babe, nicely dressed and with tiny garlands of *Acorus calamus* (*wadakaha*) and *Allium sativum* (*sudu lûnu*) tied round its wrists and lamp-black applied under the eye-brows, is for the first time **brought out to see the light** of day (*doṭṭavaḍanavâ*); and it is made to look at a lamp placed in the centre of a mat or table, with cakes (*kevum*) made of rice-flour, jaggery, and cocoanut oil, plantains, rice boiled with cocoanut milk (*kiribat*), and other eatables placed around it. The midwife then hands round the little child to the relatives and gets some presents for herself.

A thank offering to the seven Ammâs is performed **three months after** childbirth, when seven married women are invited to partake of *kevum*, *kiribat*, and plantains. Before eating they wash their mouths, faces and feet, and purify themselves with turmeric water; a lamp with seven wicks representing the seven Mothers is kept where they are served. After the repast they severally blow out a wick, and take away what is left of the provisions with them. This ceremony is also performed when a family recovers from **Small-pox** or a kindred disease.

The rite of eating rice (*indul katagânavâ* or *bat kavanavâ*) is gone through when the child is **seven months** old; the same eatables are spread on a plantain-leaf with different kinds of coins, and the child placed among them; what it first touches is carefully observed, and if it be *kiribat* it is considered very auspicious. The father or grandfather places a few grains of rice in the child's mouth, and the name that is used at home (*bat nama*) is given on that day. The astrologer, who has already cast the infant's **horoscope** and has informed the parents of its future, is consulted for a lucky day and hour for the performance of the above observances.

The children are allowed to run in complete nudity till about five years and are **completely shaved** when young; a little of the hair first cut is carefully preserved. From an early age **a boy** is sent every morning to the *pansala*, where the village priest keeps his little **school**, till a certain course of reading is completed and he is old enough to assist the father in the fields. **The first day he is taught the alphabet a rite** is celebrated (*at pot tiyanava*), when a platform is erected, and on it are placed sandal-wood, a light, resin, *kiribat*, *kevum*, and other forms of rice-cakes as an offering to Ganêśa, the God of Wisdom, and the remover of all obstacles and difficulties. At a lucky hour the pupil washes the feet of his future *guru*, offers him betel, worships him and receives the book, which he has to learn, at his hands. And, as the first letters of the alphabet are repeated by him after his master, a husked cocoanut is cut in two as an invocation to Ganêśa. A girl is less favoured and has to depend for her literary education on her mother or an elder sister; more attention, however, is paid to teach her the domestic requirements of cooking, weaving, knitting, etc., which will make her a good wife.

On the attainment of the years of puberty by a girl she is confined to a room, no male being allowed to see her or be seen by her. After two weeks she is taken out with her face covered and bathed at the back of the house by the female inmates, except little girls and widows, with the assistance of the family laundress, who takes all the jewellery on the maiden's person. Near the bathing-place are kept branches of any milk-bearing tree, usually of the *jak*-tree. On her return from her purification, her head and face, still covered, she goes three times round a mat having on it *kiribat*, plantains, seven kinds of curries, rice, cocoanuts, and, in the centre, a lamp with seven lighted wicks; and as she does she pounds with a pestle some paddy scattered round the provisions. Next, she removes the covering, throws it on to the *dhôbî* (washer-woman), and, after making obeisance to the lamp and putting out its wicks by clapping her hands, presents the laundress with money placed on a betel-leaf. She is then greeted by her relatives, who are usually invited to a feast, and is presented by them with valuable trinkets. Everything that was made use of for the ceremony is given to the washer-woman. In some cases, till the period of purification is over, the maiden is kept in a separate hut which is afterwards burnt down. Girls who have arrived at the age of puberty are not allowed to remain alone, as devils may possess them and drive them mad: and till three months have elapsed no fried food of any sort is given to them.

The 'shaving of the beard' is the rite the young man has to go through; it is performed at a lucky hour and usually takes place a few days before marriage; the barber here plays the important part the laundress did in the other. The shavings are put into a cup, and the person operated on, as well as his relatives who have been invited, put money into it; this is taken by the barber, and the former are thrown on to a roof that they may not be trampled upon.

Marriages are arranged between two families by a relative or a trusted servant of one of them, who, if successful, is handsomely rewarded by both parties. The chances of success depend on the state of the horoscopes of the two intended partners, their respectability which forms a very important factor in the match, the dowry which used to consist of agricultural implements, a few head of cattle, and domestic requisites, together with a small sum of money to set the couple going, and, if connected, the distance of relationship. Two sisters' or brothers' children are rarely allowed to marry, but the solicitation of a mother's brother's or a father's sister's son is always preferred to that of any other.

A few days before the marriage, the two families, in their respective hamlets, send a messenger from house to house to ask, by presenting betel, the fellow-villagers of their own caste for a breakfast; and the guests bring with them presents in money. Only few, however, are invited to the wedding; and the party of the bridegroom, consisting of two groomsmen, an attendant carrying a *talipot* shade over him, musicians, *pingo-bearers*, relatives and friends, arrives in the evening at the bride's village and halts at a distance from her house. A messenger is then sent in advance with a few *pingo*-loads of plantains, and with betel-leaves equal in number to the guests, to inform of their arrival; and when permission is received to proceed, generally by the firing of a jingal, they advance, and are received with all marks of honour; white cloth is spread all the way by the washerman, and at the entrance a younger brother of the bride washes the bridegroom's feet and receives a ring as a present. A sum of money is paid to the *dhôbi* (washerman) as a recompense for his services. They are then entertained with music, food, and betel till the small hours of the morning, when the marriage ceremony commences. The bride and the bridegroom are raised by two of their maternal uncles on to a *dais* covered with white cloth, and having on it a heap of raw rice, cocoanuts, betel-leaves, and coins. A white jacket and a cloth to wear are presented by the bridegroom to the bride; betel and balls of boiled rice are exchanged; their thumbs are tied together by a thread, and, while water is poured on their hands from a spouted vessel by the bride's father, certain benedictory verses are recited. Last of all, a web of white cloth is presented by the bridegroom to the bride's mother; and it is divided among her relatives.

In connection with this presentation it is said that if the mother-in-law be dead, the web should be left in a thicket hard by to appease her spirit.

On the day after the wedding the married couple return to their future home with great rejoicing, and on their entering the house a husked cocoanut is cut in two on the threshold.

The tokens of virginity are observed by the bridegroom's mother, and the visit of the parents and relatives of the bride a few days after completes the round of ceremonies.

There is a peculiar custom not generally known, and almost totally extinct, called **kula kanavâ, that is, making one respectable by eating with him.** If a member of a family makes a *mésalliance* he is cast out of his *gôtra*, and should he want his children and himself to be recognized and taken back by the relatives, the latter are induced to attend and partake of a feast given by him at his house. The 'making up' takes place when very many years have elapsed, and only if the wife who was the cause of the breach is dead. The difference due to marriage with another caste or nationality is never healed up.

Even in the presence of grim **Death ceremonies** are not wanting; if the dying patient is known to have been fond of his earthly belongings, and seems to delay in quitting this life, a few pieces of his furniture are washed and a little drop of the water given to him. A lamp is kept burning near the corpse, the body is washed before burial, and a piece of cotton or a betel-leaf is put into its mouth. All the time the body is in the house nothing is cooked, and the inmates eat the food supplied by their neighbours *(adukku)*.

No one of the same village is told of the death, but all are expected to attend **the funeral**; the outlying villages, however, are informed by a relative who goes from house to house conveying the sad news.

The visitors are given seats covered with white cloth; and the betel for them to chew are offered with the backs of the leaves upwards as an indication of sorrow. In rare cases, only the relatives come, while friends leave betel at a distance from the house and go away fearing **pollution.** It may be observed in passing that, according to the Singhalese belief, this is caused by the attaining of puberty by a maiden which lasts fourteen days; by the monthly course of a woman which lasts till she bathes; by child-birth which lasts one month; and by death which lasts three months.

Friends and relatives **salute the body** with their hands clasped in the attitude of prayer, and only the members of the family kiss it. The route along which the funeral proceeds is previously strewn with white sand, and the coffin is carried by the closest relatives, with the cloth to be given to the priests for celebrating the service thrown on it, over white foot-cloth spread by the *dhôbi*, and preceded by the tom-tom beaters with muffled drums. Lights are carried by the coffin and a shade is held over the head of it.

The service commences with the intoning of the three Refuges of Buddhism and the Five Vows of Abstinence by one of the priests, and they are repeated after by those present, all squatting on the ground. The cloth, referred to, is then given to be touched by the bystanders in order to partake of the merits of the almsgiving; one end of it is placed on the coffin, and the other is held by the priests. They recite three times the Pali verse that all organic and inorganic matter are impermanent, that their nature is to be born and die, and that cessation of existence is happiness; and while water is poured from a spouted vessel into a cup or basin, they chant the lines that the fruits of charity reach the departed even as swollen rivers fill the ocean and the rain-water that falls on hill-tops descends to the plain. A short *ex tempore* speech by a priest on the virtues of the deceased completes the service.

If it be a burial, **the grave** is by the roadside of the garden with a thatched covering over it. Two lights are lit at the head and the foot of the mound, the bier in which the coffin was carried placed over it, and a young tree planted to mark its site.

If a cremation, the coffin is first carried with music three times round the pyre, and the latter is set fire to by the sons or nephews with their faces turned away from it. Those assembled leave when the pyre is half burnt; and on the following day, or a few days after, the ashes are collected and buried in the garden of the deceased, over which a column is erected, or are thrown into the nearest stream.

The funeral party bathe before returning to the house, and are supplied by the *dhôbi* with newly-washed clothes; during their absence the house is well cleansed and purified by the sprinkling of water mixed with cow-dung; and the visitors before leaving partake of a meal either brought from some neighbour's or cooked after the body had been removed.

The day after burial an almsgiving of *conjee* to priests and paupers takes place, when a little of it in a rolled-up leaf is kept on a tree, or at a meeting of roads. If a crow or any other bird eats of it, it is a sign that the deceased has gone to the land of the blessed. Otherwise it indicates that it has reached the stage of an elemental (*perêtayâ*). On this occasion all the belongings of the dead man are given away in charity. Seven days after there is an almsgiving of rice, when a similar leaf is again made use of as a further sign. Three months after is the last almsgiving, which is done on a large scale. Relatives are invited for a feast, and all signs of sorrow are banished from that day.

It is traditionally maintained that if this last feast be not given, the spirit of the dead man comes to the boundary of the garden; if the omission is not made good after six months, it takes its stand near the well; and when nine months have elapsed, it stays at the doorway of the house, watches at the food eaten by the inmates and causes indigestion. After twelve months it enters the house and commences to haunt it and make its presence felt by knavish tricks, when it is execrated as a *gevalayâ* (goblin) till got rid of by "devil" ceremonies.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 321.)

1794. — No. VII.

Fort William 7th April 1794.

Read a Letter and its Enclosure from the Military Auditor General.

Milry Audr General dated 15 March 1794

Honble Sir John Shore Bart Govr Genl &ca. &ca. &ca., in Council.

Honble Sir, 1. I received on the 8th Instt Mr Sub Secretary Shakespears Letter of the 21st Ultimo, and According to your decisions therein conveyed I have Audited the Accounts of the Superintendant of the Andamans.

2. It was not perhaps in the Recollection of Government when they passed these decisions that the Accounts had been referred to this Office for report as long Ago as August last. It was my intention to have sent up the report at that time, but having in the Course of examining the Accounts observed several Articles that required previous explanation I applied to Major Kyd in the terms of the enclosed paper Marked No 1.

3. The Major informed me that it was in Mr Secretary Hay's Power to obviate all Objections by furnishing the Authorities which sanctioned the Charges Alluded to, and that he would accordingly do this, but I now find that Major Kyd without further communication to this Office wrote to the Board on the Subject of them, and this produced a decision on the Charges before the Report on the reference to this Office could be sent up.

4. The 7th Act. in the Account Current are Charges made by **the Commissary of Provisions and Stores** which Major Kyd informed the Board, in his Letter to Mr Secretary Hay he had "no doubt was according to the *Forms* laid by the Regulations."

5. There was not any Question that I know of, put, relative to mere form; the Objection was more Substantial that the Personal Allowance of Sa. Rs. 250 per Month drawn by the Commissary of Stores was not authorized by any Order of Government received in this Office. It has however been now passed for the Sum drawn in consequence of the Boards decision of the 21st Ultimo but it is necessary that I should be informed whether or not it is the Intention of Government to consider this Allowance permanent, in order that if it is I may be able to insert it in **the fixed Establishments of Military Charges.** It is my duty at the same time to Notice that the Staff Allowance to a Commissary at Prince of Wales Island was 50 Rupees per Month, 'till it was recently raised to 62 Rupees per Month with 70 Rupees for Writers Stationary &ca.

6. Full Batta is drawn for the whole Detachment from the 1st February tho' they did not embark so soon. It has however been passed According to the Boards Order.

7. The Artificers drawn by the Superintendant, upon the whole, fall short of the Establishment fixed by Government in their Resolutions of the 18th of Febry 1793, but the description of People charged for do not correspond with those laid down by the Board.

8. The whole of the Charges in Major Kyds Account Current have been passed agreeably to the decisions of the Board, but as no Voucher was ever produced for the St Rs 6270 ,, 4 ,, 4 paid to Captain Blair, nor for the Sum of St Rs. 52. 4 said to have been paid for Commission, I have in consequence of the Boards decision admitted these Sums on the face of the Account Current itself for want of other Vouchers for these Items. Accounts Current however are only regular as Statements between the Pay Office General and the Parties to whom Advances are made — but as the Circumstance of not producing proper Vouchers if countenanced would introduce a relaxation in Money transactions that might be detrimental to the Public. I cannot allow, as Major Kyd seems to think, that it would be proper generally to dispence with Vouchers on the declaration of any Man however satisfied I might be of his Integrity, as indeed I am of the Majors most perfectly.

I have the honor to be, With the greatest Respect, Honble Sir,

Your Most Obedt & faithful Servt

Mily Audr Genls. Office — (Signed) **John Murray**

15th March 1794. — **Colonel & My Aud. Genl.**

Copy of Memorandum sent to Major Kyd 23d August 1793 requesting him to Annex such explanation as he pleased to each Article.

The Charge of a Salary of 250 Sicca Rupees per Month, for Lieutt Wells as Commissary of Stores and Provisions, has not been Authorized by any Information received in this Office.

The Charge for Cash paid to Captain A. Blair Amounting to St Rs 6,270.4.4, cannot be admitted in the Military part of the Disbursements, the Voucher for this Charge, did not Accompany the Accounts.

The Contingent Bills for Sicca Rupees 3455.5.1 Ought to be laid before the Board agreeable to the Order on that Subject, dated the 18th of February last, but as these Orders expressed, that the Bills for Contingent Charges should be Accompanied by Vouchers, and the fullest explanation for the necessity of incurring them, it is recommended to Major Kyd to write such a Letter as he thinks proper, on the Subject to the Auditor Genl, to be sent up to Government with the Bill.

There is a Charge for an Advance of 4 Months Allowances to European and Native Artificers, said to commence the 1st of February 1793, which should have been drawn in the form of an Abstract, detailing the Number and discriptions of People, to whom four Months Pay was Advanced, and a list of their Names.

This last paper cannot, perhaps be now conveniently obtained, if not, the charge will be passed, but in that case, nothing can be allowed for the same number of People, till the Month of June; whereas, if the Accounts are understood, some of these men are again drawn for from the 16th of March, up to 31st of May inclusive.

Certificates should have been produced of the last Pay received by the men drafted from any of the Corps in Bengal.

Mility Audr Genls Office

23d August 1793

A true Copy.

(Signed) **F. Corfield**

Assist to the Mility Audr Genl

Ordered upon the Subjects of the 5th and 8th Paragraphs of the Military Auditor General's Letter, dated the 15th Ultimo, that he be informed that a Resolution was passed for fixing the personal Allowances of the Commissary of Stores at the Andaman Islands at Sicca Rupees 250 per Mensem, and that the Sum of Sicca Rupees 6270.4.4 paid to Captain Blair, was passed as having been admitted upon Credit for the same having been given by Captain Blair in his Accounts that are lodged in the Office of the Acting Marine Paymaster.

1794. — No. VIII.

Fort William **7th April 1794. Read** a Letter and its Enclosure from the first Assistant to the Secretary of the Military Board.

First Assistant to the Secretary of the Military Board dated 2d April 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Enclosed I have the honor to transmit Copy of Indent No. 1126 which has been this Day passed by the Military Board in Circulation for a Supply of Articles required at the Andamans which you are requested to lay before the Governor General in Council intimating the Wish of the Board to be informed whether the Stores shall be sent and by what Conveyance.

I have the honor to be &ca

Mily Bd Office

the 2d April 1794.

(Signed) **A. Green**

1st Apl My Bd

(Copy) No. 1126. Indent No. 7.

To Lieut. William Golding Commissary of Stores Fort William.

	Total recd since the 1st May 1793.	Balance remaining in Store.	Articles Indented for.	For what purposes wanted.	Admtted by the Board.
Baskets Rattan	...	...	1000	For the Labourers.	1000
Barrows Wheel	...	...	50	Do.	50
Do. Hand	...	...	100	Do.	100
Oil Linseed ... Maunds	...	...	2	For Paintg Boats. &ca.	2
Pitch ... ... Barrels	...	...	1	For Repair of Boats	1
Rope Europe ... 2 Inch Coils	...	...	2	Do.	2
Do. Ratline ... Do.	...	...	2	Do.	2
Screwplates ... ... large	...	...	1	For the Artificers.	1
Do. ... ... small	...	...	1	Do.	1
Tar ... ... Barrels	...	...	2	For Boats &ca. ...	2
Tarpaulins ... ... large	...	...	40	For protection of Stores.	40

Port Cornwallis 1st. March 1794. (Sign'd) **Edmund Wells** Commy of Stores.

My Bd. Office the 2d. April 1794.

Passed by the My Bd in Consultation this day.

(Signed) A Green 1st Asst. My Bd.

Ordered that the Military Board be informed that the Stores, mentioned in Lieut. Wells's Indent are **to be sent to the Andamans in the Snow Daphne.**

1794. — No. IX.

Fort William **7th April 1794.** The following Letter and its Enclosures were received, on the 5th Instant, from the Superintendant at the Andamans on the Arrival ot **the Snow Cornwallis.**

Supert. Andamans dated 20th March 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble the Governor General in Council that as we have now two Vessels here unemployed, I have dispatched the Cornwallis Snow to Bengal and have indorsed on the Garrison Store Keeper for a small quantity of Provisions.

By this Vessel **Lieutenant Wells returns to Calcutta** whose health has suffered so much that he finds himself obliged to request permission to **resign his Appointments here.** The loss of this Officer I lament very much as I have received the greatest Assistance from him, and the Public much advantage by the excellent arrangements he has made in all the departments, which were under his charge, and in one instance the considerable saving of one third of all the provisions that was expended, as will appear by a comparison of the expenditures, before and since he took charge of the Provision Department,

The Accompanying **Letter from Lieut^{t} Wells claiming some Staff Allowance**, for the time that he has had Charge of the Settlement, I do not hesitate to forward to the Governor General in Council as also to declare that the Appointments which the Board were pleased to grant to Lieut^{t} Wells appear to have been inadequate to the duties he had to perform, and that I shall be much gratified if the Board will consider the services he has rendered, by some further Allowance, and Altho it is With Reluctance I do it, yet I think this is the best time to declare that after One years experience, I find that the Allowance which the Board have been pleased to attain [? attach] to my Office has not been adequate to the absolute necessary expences of the Situation. I am therefore hopeful that it will not be thought unreasonable in me, **to request that an addition May be made to my Salary** — I am very sorry to acquaint you that the European Artillery Men recover so very slowly that I have been enduced from the representation of the Surgeon a Copy of whose Letter I send, to send the greatest part of them to Calcutta, on this Vessel, having only kept a Serjeant, a Corporal and two of the healthiest of the Men.

Accompanying I transmit you Lieut^{t} Wells's Account Current of Receipts and Disbursements, made up to the 15th Instant, with the Various Vouchers therein mentioned. The People of all classes are paid up to the 1st of this Month, but you will perceive there is now but a small Balance of Cash in the Public Treasure Chest Altho' I have since received into it the Sum of Sicca Rupees 7800 ,, ,, from various individuals for which I have granted Bills as by the Accompanying List, and I may yet expect to collect a small Sum more it will however be necessary that a Sum not less [than] 15,000 Sicca Rupees half in Gold and half in Silver, be sent by the Cornwallis.

I have written to Lieut^{t} Sandys to procure and send down by the Cornwallis a small number of very necessary Artificers to Supply the place of those that have died or who we have been obliged to allow to return to Calcutta and request that on his application a passage may be ordered for them.

To Lieut^{t} Ramsay I have given charge of the Sepoy Detachment and to **Ensign Stokoe** the **management** of the Provision and Store Department, Altho' another **Sepoy Officer** would be very necessary, I do not think it would be prudent at this time to Apply for One, as the **Sickly Season** is fast approaching but will rather allow things to remain as they are till after the rains.

I beg you will acquaint the Board that **the Dispatch Brig left here by Admiral Cornwallis** is now in great want of repair and if left in her present state must soon be unserviceable, I beg to know what is to be done with this Vessel. It appears to me that she is of very little value but might be useful in sending occasionally to **the Nicobars for Stock and Fruit** for the Settlement or to **Diamond Island for Turtle**, but before she can be moved from this place, her Sails which I understand the Admiral delivered to the Marine Store Keeper in Calcutta, should be sent down which I request may be done by the Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most Obed^{t} Servant

20th March 1794. (Signed) **A. Kyd** Super^{t} Andamans.

Enclosure I.

To Major A. Kyd Superintendant & Commandant of the Andamans.

Sir, — I beg leave to Submit to your Consideration and Opinion, the propriety of my applying to Government for Staff Allowance as acting in the capacity of Superintendant and Commandant of this Settlement during the time that Public Affairs have required your residence at Calcutta. You are so perfectly sensible, Sir, of the nature of the Duties dependant on the Station, that it is needless for me either to trouble you with a recital of them, or to revert to their augmented labour and anxiety which various Causes combined to occasion — In receiving this representation, it will probably occur to you, that the principle of guarding

against Expences which have the appearance of a double Charge upon the public, may operate as an exception to it. But I humbly presume to think with all respectfull deference, that when Contingencies arise out of Circumst ances unforeseen or unprovided for, the Assent of Government to their admission, will not be withheld, though there be no existing Regulations exactly applicable to the Case, if it be founded upon grounds of equitable Justice. Should these Sentiments meet the concurrence of your judgement, I hope you will do me the favor to forward the application to the Honble the Governor Genl. in Council, supported with such observations from yourself as you may think it deserves.

I have the Honor to be, with much Respect and Regard, Sir,

Your most Obedt. & faithful humble Servant

Port Cornwallis (Signed) **Edmund Wells**

March 19th. 1794. Lieutenant.

Enclosure II.

Major Alexander Kyd, Superintendant Andamans.

Sir, — I have with great Concern observed the **Sickly State of the Detachment of Artillery,** since their Arrival at Port Cornwallis; at a time when the other Europeans on Shore, as well as those on board the Vessels in the Harbour are enjoying uninterrupted good Health. The Sickness has been general, but particularly severe on Several who had been Ill in Bengal, and were landed rather in a debilitated State.

I beg leave strinuously to recommend a Sea Voyage for those who have suffered most, being firmly persuaded, they will not be able to acquire a sufficient Stock of Health, before the setting in of the Rains, to insure them against **the agues** that must be expected during the South West Monsoon, untill the Woods can be cleared away that are close to the Settlement.

I am with great Respect Sir, Your most Obedt. humble Servt.

(Signed) **David Wood**

Actg. in a Medl. Capacity.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A.

(Continued from p. 359.)

Cobre Capel; ann. 1672: *s. v.* Cobra de Capello, 173, i.

Coca; *s. v.* Coco, 175, ii, *s. v.* Coprah, 196, i; ann. 1519: *s. v.* Coco, 176, i.

Cocatores; ann. 1775: *s. v.* Cockatoo, 175, i.

Cocci; *s. v.* Cochin, 173, ii.

Coccincina; ann. 1606: *s. v.* Cochin-China, 174, ii.

Coccus; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Mace (a), 404, ii.

Coccus ilicis; *s. v.* Lac, 380, ii.

Coccus Lacca; *s. v.* Lac, 380, ii.

Coccyx; ann. 1631: *s. v.* Gecko, 280, i.

Coceas; ann. 1598: *s. v.* Coco, 176, ii.

Cocelbaxas; ann. 1606: *s. v.* Kuzzilbash, 380, i.

Cocen; ann. 1503: *s. v.* Cochin, 173, ii.

Coche; ann. 1519: *s. v.* Coco, 176, i; ann. 1587: *s. v.* Deling, 235, i.

Cochiin; ann. 1598: *s. v.* Angely-wood, 758, i.

Cochim; *s. v.* Cochin, 173, ii; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Sambook, 595, ii; ann. 1570: *s. v.* Sappan-wood, 600, i; ann. 1572: *s. v.* Quilon, 570, ii, twice; ann. 1634: *s. v.* Nambeadarim, 471, ii; ann. 1644: *s. v.* Hoogly, 322, i, twice; *s. v.* Tuticorin, 721, i.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE LIFE OF THE PALLIYARS.

THE Palliyâr occupy a somewhat higher place in the Hindu social scale than other hill-men like Iruiers, Kaninkars and Uralis — who are generally looked upon with suspicion and a feeling of contempt and loathing, by the dwellers in the plains. There are only a few families of Palliyârs in the **Achinkoil Valley** and on the hills above **British Chokkampatti**, all these places being adjacent to **Shenkotta**, the **frontier township of Travancore** on the **Tinnevelly** side of the **Western Ghâṭs**. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the **Palliyars** are not known to exist anywhere else in Travancore or British India.

Their origin does not point to a very remote period. It is most probable that some low-country people from Tinnevelly took refuge in the hills during the Poligar Wars at the end of the eighteenth century or during the stress of some famine. I lean to this theory, because when such separations from the parent stock take place, after a considerable while a new dialect gradually evolves itself, which differs perceptibly from the original language. In the case of the Palliyârs this is not so The members of the little clan speak Tamiḷ, and Tamiḷ only, and with no particular accent. They account for their origin by saying that at some very remote period in the past an **Eluvan** — a caste which is fairly widely distributed all along the Eastern foot of the Western Ghâts, and one which differs naturally from a caste of the same name in Travancore — took refuge during a famine in the hills, and there took to wife a Palliyâr woman (Pallichi) and that the Palliyârs are descendants from these two.

However this may be, there is no doubt that the social position of the Palliyârs is just a shade lower than the Eluvans. The Palliyâr is permitted to enter the houses of Eluvans, Elavanians (betel-growers) and even Maravars, and in the hills, where the rigour of the social code is relaxed to suit circumstances, the higher castes mentioned will even drink water given by Palliyârs, and eat roots cooked by them

Their marriage ceremony is a very simple affair, and resolves itself into a presentation of a cloth to the bride, a small feast and the tying of a *tali* made of white beads threaded together. **The alliance** is terminable at will, and if there are children, the husband takes the boys and the wife the girls. This arrangement is rarely objected to. Girls are married as soon as possible, and boys at seventeen or eighteen years of age.

Corpses are not cremated, but **buried** promptly, and with little or no ceremony. Mourning, if the absence of any particular form of it can be called mourning, is over on the sixteenth day.

The Palliyârs regard **sylvan** deities or **Bhutams** with great veneration. **Kurupuswami** is the tribes' tutelary god, and when a great haul of wild honey is made offerings are given at some shrine. Palliyârs pretend to be followers of Siva, and always attend the **Adi** Amavasai ceremonies at Kuttalam (Courtallam). Intoxicating drink is common to all when it is obtained, but, curiously for hill-people, only the males smoke tobacco

There are wandering hill-men of sorts, but the Palliyâr surpasses them all for his **restlessness**. Though in touch with civilisation, the Palliyârs cannot point to a single village or hamlet which they can call a "home" **No house shelters him** in the most inclement weather, and the monsoon

on the Travancore Hills is no joke. The Palliyâr's highest architectural feat is a lean-to, against a bank or rock, with some perishable plantain-leaves as thatch. If it lasts for a night or two, it does very well, for the wanderer is off again as soon as the leaves dry. He cultivates nothing, not even a sweet potato; he keeps no animal except a stray dog or two. An axe, a knife (*vettukathi*) and a pot are all the impediments he carries. An expert honey-hunter, he will risk his neck climbing lofty trees or precipitous cliffs.

A species of sago palm furnishes him with a glairy, glutinous fluid on which he thrives, and such small animals as the iguana, the hogdeer, and the tortoise, and the larvæ of hives are never-failing luxuries. He levies contributions on every edible kind of berry in the magnificent flora of the country over which he roves, and when times are really hard, in periods of drought, the forest contractor for minor forest produce comes to his rescue with a small pecuniary advance. In return for this the Palliyâr collects dammer, wax, honey, cardamoms, *inja* (a bark used in bathing by the natives), and similar products. He is not so truth-telling as the more primitive (in some ways) Kannikar or Munnan. The Palliyâr, knowing the benefits of a civilised life, boldly prefers the hand-to-mouth method of his existence, and, unless he alters his mode of living, will, in a few years at most, be numbered with "forgotten peoples" who have disappeared from the earth.

G. F. D'PENHA.

A FIRE AND CAR FESTIVAL, TRAVANCORE.

THE **Car Festival** here described was preceded at an interval of some few days by what we may describe as the **'Fire-walking Feast.'** The object of this 'feast' is to enable the devotees of **the goddess Amman** — better known, perhaps, by the name **Kalı** — to walk down a pathway of hot cinders.

The appointed morning was a beautiful one, the sun shedding its bright rays on all the country-side.

The proceedings opened early; Amman being carried on a wonderfully decorated car on the shoulder of a large number of her admirers to meet her friend from a neighbouring village. He or she, I know not which, had come in on horseback earlier in the day. We went on past the meeting-place to the open space in front of this temple, where a large crowd from Anthiyûr in **Travancore** and the neighbouring villages had collected to watch the ceremony. We made our way through the crowd to the place where the people were to walk on the fire.

After some delay, a procession was seen coming from the temple. There were about 500 men, each with a stick in his hand, decorated with coloured paper and paper flowers. From where we stood we could only see these wands above the heads of the people, and thus follow the movements of the men who carried them. The pathway of hot cinders was, perhaps, fifteen yards long. The **fire-walkers** came to the end of it, walked—not very quickly—along it, and went back to the temple. We could not see how hot the cinders were. But judging from the look of them, when we first arrived on the scene, and the length of time that elapsed before this ceremony took place, I should think that the walking over the pathway was not such a very hazardous operation after all. The previous market-day we met a young man, who was to go through the ceremony, and asked him why he did it. He told us he had been ill and had promised the god he would go through this performance if he recovered. He got better, and so was carrying out his part of the contract. This was the third year that he had done it, he said.

The **Car Festival** should have taken place a few days after the one just described, but owing to certain repairs to the vehicle not having been completed in time, it had to be postponed a while. The car (the one at Anthiyûr is a small one) is a ponderous wooden construction, ornamented with carved representations of gods and goddesses. It has six wheels, four at the corners, where wheels usually are, and two smaller ones in the centre of the thing, as an extra support. On to this foundation is fixed a superstructure of scaffolding, covered with coloured cloth and tinsel, the domed roof being surmounted by a scarlet umbrella. Inside this structure sits the goddess with her attendants. The latter have fans to mitigate the heat and keep the flies off the image. The car is drawn by means of great chains and cables attached to it. It takes about 500 men and an immense amount of noise to move the thing at all. They get it started at last, and take it about three yards, when a **wheel drops into a hole** in the road, and the car stops with a jerk. Then men come with great levers and try to get the wheel on to level ground. Others bring **cocoanuts**, which they **break on the wheels**, letting the water run over them. Difficulty in moving the car is put down to insufficient cocoanuts, and men are despatched in all directions for more. The people drew the car in the cool of the evening, and took three or four evenings to get it round the village, a distance of about half-a-mile.

G. F. D'PENHA.

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

A particular instance of the use of the word vâstavya.

IN my note on page 331 ff. above, on the use and bearing of the words *vâstavya* and *vinirgata* in ancient Indian charters, I have sought to make clear the point, among others, that **a grantee's place of abode, and a village or other real estate granted to him, ought, at any rate in all ordinary circumstances, to be localised within a reasonably short and convenient distance of each other.** The matter is one of common sense. And the point, which has not always been recognised, ought to be borne in mind, both in the interpretation of the original records and in the identification of places mentioned in them. Take, for instance, the Nausârî plates of A. D. 817 noticed under No. 11 on page 336 above, and fully dealt with on page 393 ff. above, and the Chokkhakuṭi grant of A. D. 867 dealt with on page 254 f. above. In the ninth century A. D., in the absence of all the means of speedy communication available in the present day, the possession of villages in Gujarat could not be of the slightest practical use to an individual dwelling nearly five hundred miles away at Bâdâmi in the Bijâpur district, and to a religious establishment located some six hundred miles away at Kampil in the Farukhâbâd district, in that part of India which until recently was officially called the North-West Provinces, but has now been named the United Provinces of Agra and Oude. A comparison of texts, however, shews that, in the Nausârî record, Bâdâmi was mentioned as the place of abode of the grantee's father, not of the grantee himself. And the identification of the village conveyed by the Chokkhakuṭi grant, shews that the Kâmpilyatîrtha of that record is, not the far distant Kampil in the Farukhabâd district, but the village 'Kaphleta' or 'Kapletha'[1] next door to the village that was granted.

I know of only **one case presenting anything by way of an exception** to the rule which I have sought to make clear. It is only an apparent exception. And, though it may not be exactly "the exception which proves the rule," still it is not far from being such. It came to my notice, — I should add, — too late to receive attention in the note referred to above.

This instance is to be found in **the Cambay plates of A. D. 930,** which conveyed a village named Kêvañja, — Latadêsa - Khêṭakamaṇḍal - ântarggata - Kâvikâmahâsthâna - vi[ni]rggatâya ih=aiva Mânyakhêṭê vâstavyâya śrîmad-Vallabhanarêndradêva-pâdapadm-ôpajivinê Mâthara-sagôtra-VâjiKâṇva[savra]hma[châ]riṇê Mahâdêvayya-sutâya [Nâga]mâryâya,[2] — "to Nâgamârya, who has come from the great place of Kâvikâ[3] which is situated in the Khêṭaka *maṇḍala* in the Lâṭa *dêśa*, who dwells here, indeed, at Mânyakhêṭa, who is a servant[4] of the glorious Vallabhanarêndradêva-(Gôvinda IV.), who belongs to the Mâṭhara *gôtra* and is a student of the Vâji-Kâṇva (school), and who is a son of Mahâdêvayya."

This passage does not present any of the stereotyped formulæ which we have in the instances Nos. 1, 2. and 5 to 11, on page 332 ff. above. Its phraseology resembles the looser

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[1] I overlooked till recently, the point that the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) presents this name as 'Kapletha.' This seems more likely to be correct than the 'Kaphleta' of the Indian Atlas and Trigonometrical Survey sheets.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* Vol VII. p. 40, line 50 ff.

[3] The editor has translated *mahâsthâna* by "holy place." Professor Kielhorn's literal translation of the word by "great place," — for instance, *śrîman-mahâsthânaṁ Koḷanûra,* "of the sacred great place of Koḷanûr" see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 54, line 71, and p. 38, — is better.

[4] *Lit.* "who subsists (*like a bee*) on the water-lilies which are the feet of," etc. The term *tat-pâdapadm-ôpajîvin* was a customary technical expression for the connection between feudatory princes and nobles, and officials, and their paramount sovereigns and other superiors; see my *Gupta Inscrs.* p. 98, note 4.

construction of Nos. 3 and 4. But it does present **the technical word vâstavya,** as well as *[illegible].* And by the use of that word, and in rather an emphatic manner, it describes **the** grantee as permanently dwelling at Mânyakhêṭa, in the service of the king Gôvinda IV.; **not** as having simply gone there on business, as in the case of the grantee referred to in the Kharḍa plates, No. 3 on page 333 above, and not as simply "staying" there, as said by the editor.[5]

Now, the grantee's place of abode, **Mânyakhêṭa,** is well known to be **Mâlkhêḍ** in the Nizam's Dominions; for the exact position of this place, reference may be made to page 345 below. On the other hand, the record, in line 52 f., distinctly describes the village Kevañja, which was granted to him, as, — Lâṭadêś-ântarvartti-Khêṭakamaṇḍal-ântarggataḥ Kêvañja-nâmâ grâmaḥ Kavikâ-mahâsthâna-nikaṭatara-vartti, — "the village named Kevañja, which is situated in the Khêṭaka *maṇḍala* comprised in the Lâṭa *dêśa*, and which lies quite close to the great place Kâvikâ." Also, the boundaries of Kêvañja are fully specified. And, thus, it has been satisfactorily shewn by the editor of the record, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, that **Kâvika** is the modern **Kâvi**, and that **Kêvanja** is a village which still exists quite close to Kâvi. **Kâvi** is mentioned as **Kapikâ** in the Kâvi plates of A.D. 826;[6] and the identification of Kâpika with Kâvî was then made by **Dr.** Bühler.[7] And the **Kêvañja** of the present record is mentioned as **Kêmajju** in the Kâvi plates of **A. D.** 736, which describe it as situated in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*;[8] and Kêmajju was then identified by Dr. Bühler with a village the name of which he wrote as "**Kimôj** or **Kimaj,**" adding a footnote which shews that it is also known as **Kemaj.**[9] **Kâvi** is in the Jambusar *taluka* of the Broach district in Gujarât, and may be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 22, S. E. (1887), in lat. 22° 12′, long. 72° 41′, on the south bank of the Mahî, about forty miles towards the north-west-by-north from Broach; in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 11 (1873) of Gujarat, its name is entered as '**Káwi.**' And **Kimôj, Kimaj,** or **Kêmaj** is the '**Kimoj**' of the Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), the village-site of which is about three and a half miles south-south-west from the village-site of Kâvi. And, thus, the record conveyed to the grantee Nâgamarya a village situated some four hundred and fifty miles away, towards the north-west-half-north, from the city at which **he was** permanently residing.

The explanation of the matter is to be found in the nature of the grant. The grants registered in the Kharḍa plates (No. 3 on page 333 above), the Sâṅglî plates (No. 5), and the Kalas-Budrûkh plates (No. 9), were personal grants, not accompanied by any allusion to any sacrificial or religious objects. The grants registered in the other records dealt with in the same place, were specifically made for the maintenance of certain sacrifices, the list of which ranges from the *bali, charu, vaiśvadêva, agnihôtra,* and "other" (unspecified) rites in the Chhârôlî or Ântrôlî-Chhârôlî plates (No. 6) to the *bali, charu, vaiśvadêva, agnihôtra, atithi, pañchamahâyajña, kratukriyâ,* and "other" (unspecified) rites in the Baroda plates (No. 2); but they were quite plainly made for personal enjoyment and management, combined with the celebration of those rites, by the grantees. The grant registered in the present record, however, — the Cambay plates, — was made for much more comprehensive purposes. It was made "for the purpose of (*maintaining*) the *bali, charu, vaiśvadêva* and *atithitarpaṇa*; for the "performance of the optional, indispensable and occasional rites; for the performance of the "*śrâddha* and sacrificial ceremonies such as the *darśapûrṇamâsa, châturmâsya, ashṭakâ* and "*âgrayaṇa* (rites) and the fortnightly (*śrâddhas*); for the purpose of preparing the *charu,* "*purôḍâśa, sthâlîpâka* and so forth; for the purpose of (*granting*) priestly fees and gifts in "connection with *hôma, niyama,* the study of one's own Vêda, and religious service; for the "purpose of (*providing*) accessory assistance for the rites concerning *râjasûya* and the seven forms

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[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 28.
[6] Vol. V. above, p. 151.
[7] Vol. V. above, p. 145; and see his map opposite p. 112.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 115.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 112, and note †.

"of the *sôma* sacrifice such as the *vâjapêya*, *agnishṭôma* and so forth; for the purpose of (*offering*) "garments, ornaments, entertainment, gifts, sacrificial fees, etc., to the various priests, such as "*Maitrâvaruna*, *Adhvaryu*, *Hôtri*, *Brâmhaṇâchchhaṁsin*, *Grâvastut* and *Agnîdh*; and for the "purpose of (*supplying*) the requisite materials for preparing alms-houses, places of distribut-"ing water gratis to travellers, shelter houses for travellers, the ceremony of setting free a "bull and four heifers on certain religious occasions, wells with flights of steps, reservoirs or "ordinary wells, tanks, orchards, temples, etc."[10] These terms involve very much more than any private individual or domestic rites. And it is perfectly plain that, though the donation was made to an individual grantee, still it was made to him on behalf and for the benefit of a large religious establishment at "the great place Kâvikâ," and that the management of the village which was given, and the application of its revenues, would be, not in the hands of the actual grantee dwelling far away, but in the hands of the members of that establishment on the spot.

The places mentioned in the two sets of plates from Bagumrâ of A. D. 915.

These two records were first brought to notice by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, who published the texts of them in the *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol. XL. (1886), p. 322 ff. And they were subsequently re-edited by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr. Sh. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253 ff., with lithographs. They have been known and referred to as the Nausârî plates of A. D. 915. But Mr. Dhruva's introductory remarks shew that they were found, in 1881, in ploughing a field at **Bagumrâ**, in the Nausârî division. And it seems more appropriate, therefore, to refer to them henceforth as the Bagumrâ plates of A. D. 915. One of them registers a grant of the village of Bagumrâ itself

These records register grants that were made by the Râshṭrakûṭa king Indra III. on a specified date in the month Phâlguna of the Yuvan *saṁvatsara*, Saka-Samvat 836 (expired), falling in February, A. D. 915, on an occasion when, while settled at the capital (*râjadhânî*) of **Mânyakhêṭa,** he had gone to **Kurundaka** for the ceremony of his coronation. As is well known, **Mânyakhêṭa** is **Mâlkhêḍ** in the Shôrâpur district of the Nizam's Dominions; it is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 57 (1854) as 'Mulkaid,' in lat. 17° 11′, long. 77° 13′, on the south bank about a mile below the confluence of the 'Benathora' and 'Moolamurry' rivers. And, as I have said elsewhere,[11] **Kurundaka** is **Kurundwâḍ**, the chief town of the Senior Kurundwâḍ State in the Southern Marâṭhâ country, about twenty-three miles on the east of Kôlhâpur and one hundred and seventy miles towards the west-by-south from Mâlkhêḍ; it is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852) as 'Koorundwar,' in lat. 16° 41′, long. 74° 38′, at the confluence of the Krishṇâ and the Pañchgaṅgâ which, as I will shew on some other occasion, when a map can be prepared to accompany my remarks, is the famous **Kûḍalsaṁgam** of the Chôḷa records: the confluence appears to have been one of special sanctity in ancient times; and that, no doubt, is why Indra III. selected the locality for his coronation.

One of these records registers the grant of a village (*grâma*) named **Tenna**, in the vicinity (*samîpê*) of **Kammaṇijja** in **the Lâṭa country** (*dêśa*), to a Brâhmaṇ, whose father had come from **Pâṭaliputra,**[12] which is the modern **Paṭṇâ**, the chief town of the Paṭṇâ district in Bengal. And, in specifying the boundaries of Tenna, it places, on the east, (*a small village or hamlet named*) **Vâradapallikâ** or **Bâradapallikâ**;[13] on the south, (*a village*) the name of which is to be read as

[10] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 46, and note 8.
[11] Vol. XXX. above, p. 218, note 73, and p. 371.
[12] See page 333 above, No. 4.
[13] The record appears to represent the *b* and *v* by the same sign all through.

Nânditaṭâka, as was practically recognised by Mr. Dhruva, though not by Dr. Bhandarkar;[14] on the east, the *pallikâ* the name of which seems to be clearly given in the lithograph as **Valîsâ**, in accordance with Dr. Bhandarkar's reading, not as Vaṃśâ, as taken by Mr. Dhruva; and, on the north, a village (*grâma*) the name of which is plainly to be read as **Vavvîyana** or **Bobbiyana**, instead of Vattiyana as given in both the published texts.[15]

Mr. Dhruva localised this record correctly. But he did not go into the details which are necessary in order to enable us to locate the places exactly and determine the matter of the identification with them.[16] He told us, in the first place, that **Kammaṇijja** is the modern **Kâmrej**.[17] This is the head-quarters town of a subdivision of the same name in the Navsârî division; it is on the south bank of the Tâptî; and is to be found in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (18..), in lat. 21° 17', long. 7.. 2.. The identification was endorsed by Dr. Bühler, who pointed out that, in other records the place is mentioned as **Kârmaṇêya** and Kamaṇêya, — (more properly **Kamaṇîya**), — and perhaps as **Karmântapura**.[18] And there are not any reasons for declining to accept it.

Mr. Dhruva further identified **Tenna** with a village which is shewn as **'Ten'** in the Atlas sheet, and in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 34 (1882) of Gujarât, seven miles east-north-east from Palsâṇa, the head-quarters of the Palsâṇâ subdivision of the Navsârî division, and about thirteen miles south-east-by-south from Kâmrêj. This place is mentioned as **Treyanna** or **Treyaṇṇa**, ... appellation of the Treyanna or Treyaṇṇa *âhâra*, in the Bagumra plates of A. D. 6..[19] And the Bagumrâ plates of A. D. 867 give another form of its name, in mentioning the village as **Trennâ**, and the territorial division as the Trennâ *âhâra*.[20] This latter record, it may be noted, speaks of Trennâ as having been granted to a certain Brâhmaṇ by the first Dhruvarâja of Gujarât, for whom we have the date of A. D. 834-35. The explanation of its being given away again by the present record is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III. gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings: this was evidently one of them.

The other places, mentioned in the present record, are all to be found in the maps. As was recognised by Mr. Dhruva, the small village or hamlet of **Vâradapallikâ** or **Bâradapallikâ** has developed into the town of **Bârdôlî**, the head-quarters of the Bârdôlî tâluka of the Surat district, one mile on the east of 'Ten;' and, it may be remarked, there can be little doubt, if any, that this is the place which is mentioned as **Bhadrapalî** in the record of A. D. 867, referred to above; but, as intimated by Dr. Bühler,[21] the presentation of its name in that form must be due simply to "the poet" having "tried to invent a significant Sanskrit name" for the place: he has told us that,

[14] Mr. Dhruva's text gives *Nânditaṭakam*, with only the mistake of *ṭa* for *ṭâ*. Dr. Bhandarkar's text gives *Nâmbhi taṭâkam*, and the translation gives "the lake Nâmbhi." The lithograph is plainly not a facsimile. But we can see at once that the first component of the double consonant, in the second syllable of the name, is *n*, not *m*. The lower component does, in the lithograph, resemble *bh* more than *d*; and the *akshara* might be read as *nbhi* on the analogy of the *nbhi* in *ātin-bhâvinaḥ* in the last line but one. But the subscript *d* is formed in a very similar way in *Kuruṇḍakam*, three lines above. And, whether the writer formed the *d* badly here, or whether it has been spoilt in preparing the lithograph, the modern name of the place makes it quite certain that *ndi* was either written or intended.

[15] We may compare the *vv* in *sarvvân*, in the last line but one, and contrast the *tt* in *pârthivêndrân*, in the same line.

[16] Dr. Bhandarkar merely said: — "The village Tenna is identified with Tena which is situated in the Navsari district" (*loc. cit.* p. 253).

[17] Mr. Dhruva wrote the name with the long *â* in the first syllable; and it is certified in that way in the official compilation *Bombay Places*, and is entered in the same way in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 33 (1882) of Gujarât. Dr. Bühler wrote it with the short *a*; see, for instance, Vol. XVI. above, p. 100. Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji seems to have taken the name as Kâmlej, with *l* instead of *r*; see, for instance, *Gaz. Bo. Pres.* Vol. I. Part I. p. 1..

[18] Vol. XVI. above, p. 100. Dr. Bühler's "Kamaṇêya" must be a mistake for Kamaṇîya, as the reference can only be to the spurious Umêtâ plates, in Vol. VII. above, p. 61 ff.

[19] Vol. XVIII. above, p. 268, line 26.

[20] Vol. XII. above, p. 1.., and see Vol. XVI. p. 106.

[21] Vol. XVI. above, p. 10., note 5.

in the same way, Surat is called sometimes Sûryapura and sometimes Suratapura. **Nânditaṭaka** was properly identified by Mr. Dhruva with a village which is shewn as '**Nadira**' in the Atlas sheet, and as '**Nádira**' in the Trigonometrical sheet, one mile on the south of 'Ten:' the name of the village was written 'Nandiḍa' by Mr. Dhruva; but it is given in the *Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle* (1879) as '**Nádida:**' this latter form partially endorses Mr. Dhruva's spelling, in sufficing to make it certain that the *r* of the maps stands for the lingual *ḍ*; and, from these presentations of the modern name taken in connection with the ancient name, we may safely infer that the real modern form is **Nâdiḍâ** or **Nâdiḍâ**.[22] **Valîsâ**, which was mistakenly read as Vaṇîsâ by Mr. Dhruva, and which he proposed to identify with "Vaṇeji now desolate," a site which I cannot find in the maps, is mentioned as **Balisa** in the Bagumrâ record of A. D. 655, referred to above, which places it in the Treyaṇṇa or Treyaṇṇâ *âhâra*; and, as remarked by Dr. Bühler in editing that record,[23] it is certainly the '**Wanesa**' of the maps, two miles on the south-west of 'Ten.' And **Vavviyaṇa** or **Babbiyaṇa** is plainly the '**Baben**' of the Atlas sheet, shewn as '**Báben**' in the Trigonometrical sheet, one mile on the north of 'Ten.'

The other of these records registers the grant to a Brâhmaṇ, in respect of whom it does not furnish any information as to his place of origin or of abode, of a village (*grâma*) the name of which, unaccountably taken by Mr. Dhruva as Gumbarâ, has been correctly read by Dr. Bhandarkar as **Umbarâ**, but may also be taken as **Umvarâ**, as the record uses the same sign to denote both *b* and *v*. The record places it, also, in the vicinity (*samîpê*) of **Kammaṇijja** in **the Lâṭa country.** And, in specifying its boundaries, it places, on the east, (*a place named*) **Tolejaka**; on the south, (*a place named*) **Mogalikâ**; on the west, a village (*grâma*) named **Saṅki**; and, on the north, (*a village named*) **Javalakûpaka**: this last name was misread by Mr. Dhruva as Navalakûpaka, for which reason, probably, he failed to identify the place; and, while Dr. Bhandarkar read it correctly as Javalakûpaka, the translation accompanying his text has treated it as meaning "the Javala well."

The village of **Umbarâ** or **Umvarâ** was quite rightly identified by Mr. Dhruva,[24] though he misread its name as Gumbarâ,[25] with the modern **Bagumrâ** itself, which is shewn as '**Bagumra**' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888) and in the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 34 (1882) of Gujarât; the village is situated about four miles north-by-east from Palsâṇâ, nine and a half miles south-by-east from Kâmrêj, and six miles west-north-west-half-west from the 'Ten' which has been referred to in the preceding pages as the subject of the other record of A. D. 915. In the modern name Bagumrâ, *umrâ* stands, of course, quite naturally for the **Umbarâ** of the present record; and Dr. Bühler has explained *umbarâ* and *umrâ* as corruptions of the Sanskṛit *udumbaraka*, 'a thicket or grove of the tree Ficus Glomerata:'[26] and it may be added that a place actually named Udumbaragahvara, "the thicket or wood of *udumbara*-trees," is mentioned in a Valabhî record of A. D. 648,[27] and is probably to be identified with the Udubaraghara, *i. e.* Udumbaragṛiha, of some of the votive inscriptions at Sâñchî.[28] The name Umrâ is not at all unique; and **the prefix bag** has

[22] I notice that even this name is not unique. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, N. E. (1894), shews a 'Nadirda,'—entered as 'Nádirda' in the top margin of the Trigonometrical Survey sheet No. 13 (1873) of Gujarât, — in the Wâgrâ tâluka of the Broach district; in each case, the *rd* is evidently an attempt to represent the lingual *ḍ*. There is also a 'Tena,' on the 'Tena' creek, in the Ôlpâḍ tâluka of Surat.

[23] Vol. XVIII. above, p. 266.

[24] Dr. Bhandarkar simply said:—"Umbarâ may be the modern Bagumbra, with the prefix Bag" (*loc. cit.* p. 256).

[25] He seems, in fact, to have been led into this by some impression that the modern name is Gumrâ, with a prefix *ba*; with his remark "Bagumrâ (Gumrâ of No. IX.)" at the bottom of page 322 in his article referred to above, compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23, where, in connection with a place named Pâshâṇihrada, he has said "*Pâshâṇi* "would drop its initial *Pâ*, as Bagumrâ has done with its *Ba* in having Gumṛâ."

[26] Vol. XVII. above, p. 184.

[27] Vol. XV. above, p. 340, line 41; and see page 333 above, note 21.

[28] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 98, No. 13, p. 107, No. 96, p. 400, No. 58, p. 401, No. 66. *Ghara* is the Prâkṛit form of *gṛiha*, 'a house.' But Dr. Pischel, in giving me the reference to his Prâkṛit Grammar, § 332, for *gabbhara* = *gahvara* has drawn my attention to the point that *gṛiha* and *gahvara* are used in the same sense after names of plants, and has given me both *latâgṛiha* and *latâgahvara* as meaning 'a bower of creepers.'

evidently been attached in order to distinguish this Umrâ from other neighbouring places of the same name:[29] the suggestion may be made, that the prefix is a corruption of the Persian *bâg*, 'a garden, an orchard, a plantation,' and marks Bagumrâ as rich in *bâgâit* or what is commonly called 'garden-land.'

The identification of the Umbarâ or Umvarâ of the record with the modern Bagumrâ, is rendered quite certain by the specification of boundaries. The maps, indeed, do not shew any traces of names answering to the **Tolejaka** and **Mogalikâ** of the record.[30] But the **Saṅkî** of the record is the **'Sanki'** and **'Sánki'** of the maps, one mile on the south-west of Bagumrâ. And **Javalakûpaka** is the **'Jolwa'** of the maps, one mile and a half on the north of Bagumrâ, which is shewn by an entry in the *Postal Directory* to be also known as **'Jorwa,'** with *r* instead of *l*: the name 'Jolwa' must have come from Javalakûpaka through an intermediate form Jôla' uvâ, the last component of which, meaning 'a well,' appears very frequently in place-names in Gujarât and some neighbouring parts of the country, figuring in the maps as *kua*, *kuva*, and *kuva*;[31] the other form, 'Jorwa,' was utilised for the purpose of being Sanskritised as **Jaravadra** in the spurious Bagumrâ plates which purport to have been issued in A. D. 493.[32]

NOTES ON ROCK-CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADÂKH.

BY REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

The article on Rock-carvings in the Edakal Cave (*ante*, Vol. XXX, p. 409) reminded me of my collection of similar **rock-carvings from Lower Ladâkh**. This collection does not in the least claim to be a full one, but I hope that, by its publication, some interest will be aroused in these witnesses of a pleasing, though primitive, art.

All the carvings, represented on the accompanying plates, were collected in the **western districts of the ancient Ladâkhî kingdom**, and although I have been on the look-out for similar representations in Central and Eastern Ladâkh, I have not yet met with them there. There is a very unimportant rock carving **between Basgo and Nyemo**, but there are none beyond those villages.

Various observations with regard to language, customs, structure of the skull, features, etc., have lead me to believe that the western parts of Ladâkh, say as far as Saspola, were inhabited originally by **the Aryan tribe of the 'aBrogpa** (improperly called **Dards** by Dr. Leitner).[1] Remnants of this tribe can still be found in several western villages, and the Rev. A. W. Heyde tells me rock-carvings of entirely the same nature as my collection can be seen in the villages **of the Manchadpa, an Aryan tribe of Lâhaul**. So, although most of the Lower Ladâkhîs are Tibetanized at the present day, the **rock-carvings** may be taken to have their roots in **an ancient art of the Aryans**.

As regards **the age of the carvings**, it is difficult to say anything definite at the present time. Some of them may have been executed only recently; for the art of carving on the rock is still practised, as can be seen from various carved Buddhist formulæ and emblems, the artists of which are often well-known people. But what makes for the very ancient character of the art as a whole and of certain carvings in particular, is the frequent occurrence of

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[29] For instance, the Atlas sheet shews, in the vicinity of Bagumrâ itself, one 'Umra' in the Chôrâsî tâluka of Surat, fourteen miles towards the west-by-north, and another 'Umra' in the Ôlpâḍ tâluka of the same district, twelve and a half miles north-west-by-north and a third 'Umra' in the Baroda territory, twenty-three and a half miles towards the south-east.

[30] Mr. Dhruva said that Mogalikâ is "Marâṭhi desolate." But I cannot find any such name in the maps, or any possible substitute for it.

[31] Molesworth and Candy's Marâthî Dictionary derives *kuvâ*, 'a well,' from the Sanskrit *kûpa*, through Hindûstânî.

[32] Vol. XVII. above, p. 200, line 18.

[1] This tribe is called *Shina* by Dr. Grierson

representations of stûpas, entirely different in form from those existing at the present day. The state of the carvings does not in the least enable us to fix their respective ages, as they are all in wonderfully good preservation. Along the banks of the Indus are many boulders of a highly polished granite. These are all overlaid by a thin glazed encrustation of a dark-brown colour, which protects the rock against the influences of the air. It is by removing this that the inscribed carvings are produced, and all that time could do would be to deepen the lines of some of them.

In regard to **the aim of the inscriptions**, a remark by the Rev. A. W. Heyde on the carvings of the Manchadpa in Lâhaul will perhaps be found useful. He writes to me:—"In Manchad such carvings can often be seen on the back-walls of little huts, where they are smeared over with oil at certain intervals. It is possible therefore that the Ladâkhî rock-carvings also served religious objects originally. The very large number of *stûpas*, represented on them. speak in favor of this view. But since, as already noted, all the pictures do not show the *stûpa* (*mchod rten*) as it appears nowadays, they probably furnish us with very valuable and interesting material for the **evolution** of the **Ladâkhî stûpa**."[2]

Besides several purely pyramidal *stûpas* (Plate I., Fig. 5*a*), there is only a single *stûpa* in the collection without a pyramid at its base. Pyramidal *stûpas* are of very rare occurrence at the present day.[3]

Remarkable also are the **flags** fastened to the upper end of the carved *stûpa* (Plate I, Figs. 4, 5*d*; Plates II., Fig. 1, IV., Fig. 1). Flags are never found in the modern *stûpa*. Instead of the sun and moon, which invariably crown the top of the modern *mchod rten*, we here find **the trident** (Plate II., Figs. 1*a* and 1*f*) and other emblems.

To mention only one more point, there are two representations of *stûpas* in this collection, which almost form **a cross** (Plate II., Fig. 1*a*; Plate IV., Fig. 1). This form is quite unique; at least I have not yet seen anything similar to it in this country.

Most of the other representations seem to have been drawn to **illustrate the Pre-Buddhist religion of Ladâkh, the gLing chos** (*ante*, p. 34), and I should like to draw attention to the following scenes:—

Plate I., Fig. 1, seems to represent the fabulous animal, which turns up every year at the Pre-Buddhist Harvest Festival, called **Srub lha**, held among other places at Sheh. Two men, who form the body, are covered with a blanket and hold up the hollow head of the animal with a stick. The feet of the two men can be seen emerging underneath it in the carving. Whether two of the other men shown are supposed to be riding, or merely walking on the other side of the animal, I cannot say.

Plate II., Fig. 1.— The horseman, with cross-bow, hunting an antelope. This is probably **Kesar**, for he alone is expected to hunt riding. The mountainous character of the country makes it impossible for ordinary people to do so. Two of the uppermost figures (*b* and *c*) appear to be representations of the pencil-cedar (*shugpa*), **the holy tree of the gLing chos.**

Plate II., Fig. 2.— A lion with a curled mane.[4] This must be **Sengge dkarmo γyu ralcan**, the white lioness with the turquoise locks, **the personification of the glacier.**

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[2] It is impossible to enter into this subject as fully as it deserves now. It will now suffice to mention that the different forms of modern Ladâkhi *stûpa* owe their origin to at least four sources: (1) the *lha tho*, the ancient altar of the Pre-Buddhist religion; (2) the stove for burning the dead; (3) the Indian Buddhist *stûpa*; (4) the Indo-Tibetan pyramidal *stûpa*.

[3] There is an example at Likir, and another at Changspa near Leh.

[4] [*Cf.* the fabulous ?? of Burmese, which is, however, popularly known as a stag, though it is more probably the remains of the winged lion. — ED.]

Plate III., Fig. 2. — Two men, armed with axes, fight against a man with horns on his head. The latter figure I am inclined to take for **Agu Pasang ldan ru skyes**; compare the list of the Agus (*ante*, Vol. XXX., p. 564).

Plates II., Fig. 1, and IV., Fig. 1, seem to contain two different kinds of **magic squares**. These forms are, however, not very common at the present day. Nowadays a form, called *dosmo*, ⟠, is more in general favor. The bodies of many of **the ibex**, represented on the plates (*e. g.*, Plate I., Figs. 2, 3 and 5), seem to contain the diagonals of magic squares. Perhaps magic powers were believed to dwell in the body of the ibex. Its horns, together with those of other game, are offered at *lha tho* and even at *stûpa*.[5]

Plate IV., Fig. 2, contains two reversed **forms of the svastika** (*γyung drung*). An explanation of the frequent occurrence of this form of the *svastika* in Ladâkh had already been given, *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 132. **It is the emblem of the Bon Religion.**[6]

That one and the same carving shows Kesar, pencil cedars and *stûpas* (Plate II., Fig. 1) is not at all strange, if we consider that Kesar was turned into one of the protectors of Buddhism, and apparently was often mixed up with Srong-btsan-sgampo.

But we should probably be making a mistake in taking all the representations of ibex-shooting to be scenes illustrating Kesar's life-story. The pictures **do not in fact seem to have a religious motive only,** and many of them may have been drawn for more practical reasons. The 'aBrogpa, although they became Buddhists, did not receive a literature and an alphabet in their own tongue, as the Tibetans did. But as they wished, nevertheless, to note down important occurrences, the old pictures developed into a kind of **picture-writing,** consisting of several simplified, conventional figures. These they used for preserving the simple **records of** their more or less successful **sport,** almost in the same manner as the North American Indian does, and among the rock-carvings nothing is more common than hunting scenes. I remember having seen, represented in modern specimens, even men with rifles shooting at ibex. One of such simplified records we have in Plate III., Fig. 3.[7] The representation in Plate I., Fig. 3, seems to tell **a similar tale.** According to my view, it reads as follows: A hunter went out after some game, crossed seven ridges and got two animals. One he killed between the second and third, the other between the third and fourth ridge (if we read from left to right).

Thus we observe that in the representation of the various figures **two entirely different styles** were developed. The first aims at full figures, at true copies after nature. Examples we find on Plates II., Figs. 1, 2; IV., Fig. 2 (the hand). The aims of the second style are simplification, conventionalism. Examples are: Plates I., Figs. 1, 2, 3; III., Fig. 3; IV., Figs. 1, 2. It is not impossible that the first of these styles is the older one.

Although also the first style is very primitive, it is not unpleasing. The reason is perhaps that the figures are never stiff, but always in lively motion, and, however imperfect, show a keen eye for nature. The finest of all the carvings is doubtlessly the lioness (Plate II., Fig. 2). This picture goes back apparently to a model, spread all over the East and Far East, possibly as a degeneration of the lofty and very ancient art of Assyria.

5 [The diagonals can, however, be explained as merely due to ease in scraping the rock. See *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 420, Plate IV., Fig. 2: Plate VI., Fig. 1, Nos. 2, 4, in the case of the Edakal Carvings. — ED.]

6 I would note also the ancient Greeks were particularly fond of this form, as some *dipylon* vases show. It is not impossible that in Europe, as well as in Asia, it had become known in very ancient times that in southern countries the course of the sun appears to be opposite to the course in northern countries. The Phœnicians apparently passed the equator in very ancient times indeed. To show this superior wisdom, the reversed form may have often been favoured.

7 [Note the similarity of the deer to that in Plate V., *ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 418, in the Edakal Carvings. — ED.]

ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.

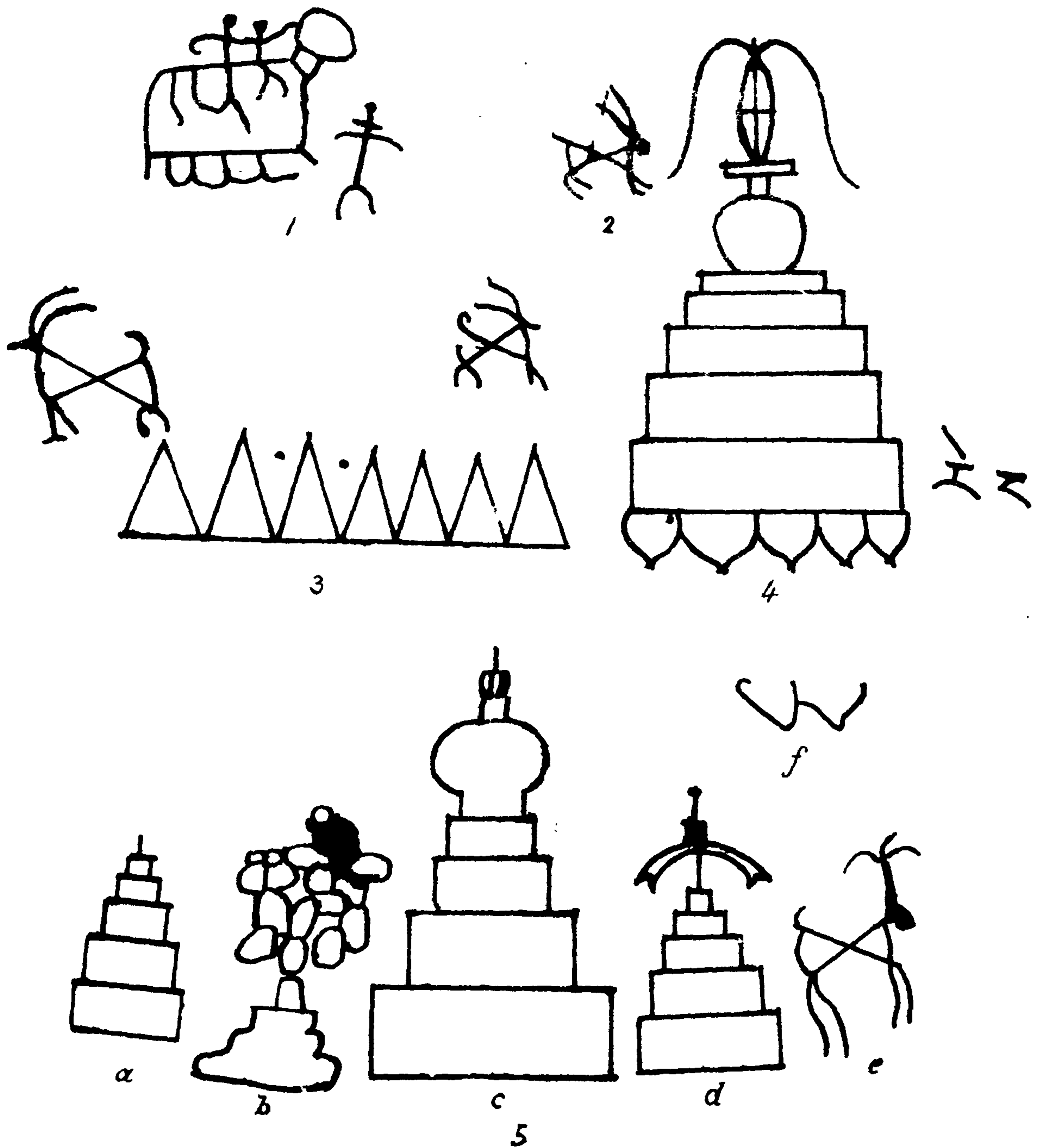


PLATE I.

A. H FRANCKE, DEL. SCALE, ONE-TENTH B. E S PRESS, LITHO

ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH

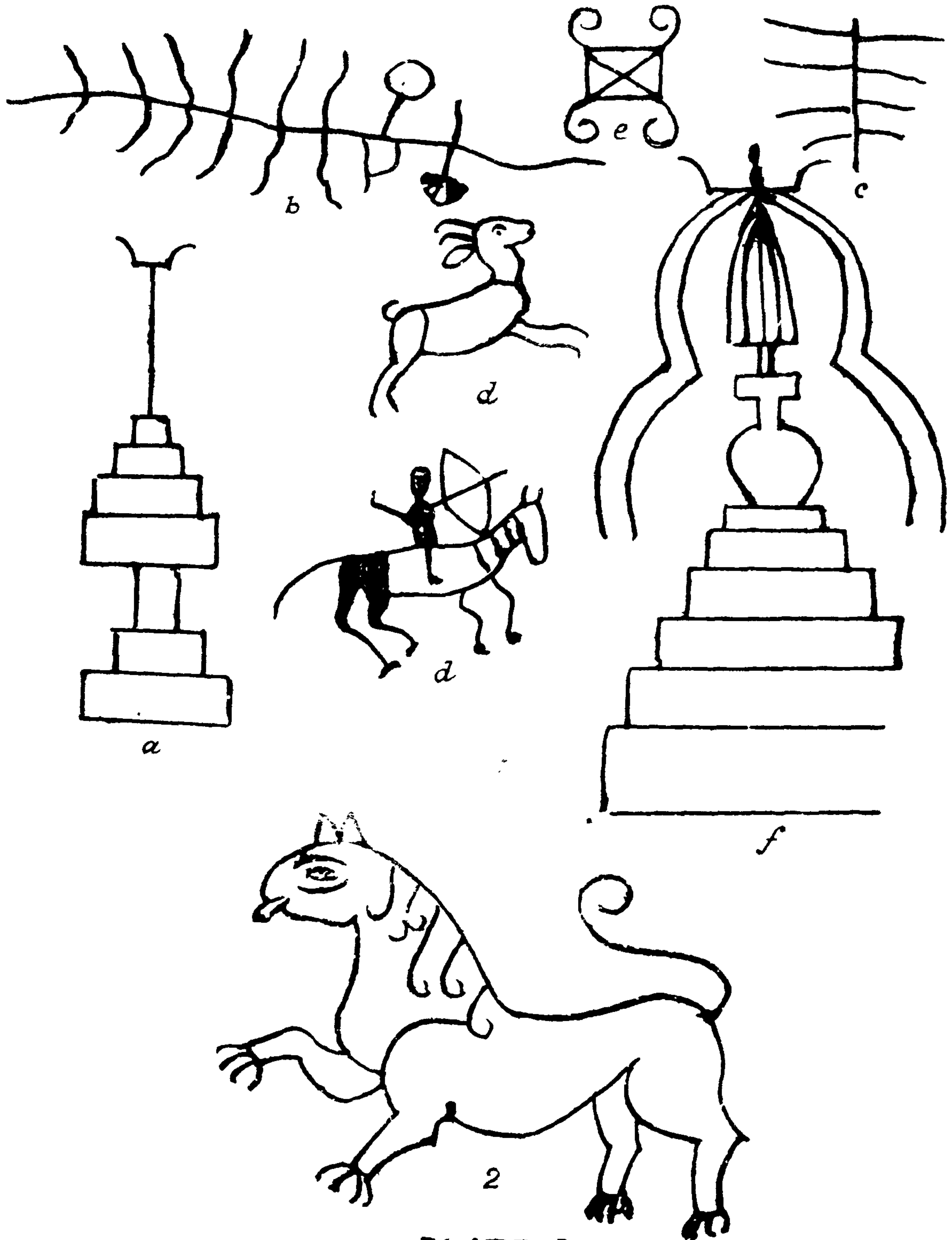


PLATE II.

A. H. FRANCKE, DEL. SCALE, ONE-TENTH. B. E. S. PRESS, LITHO.

ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.

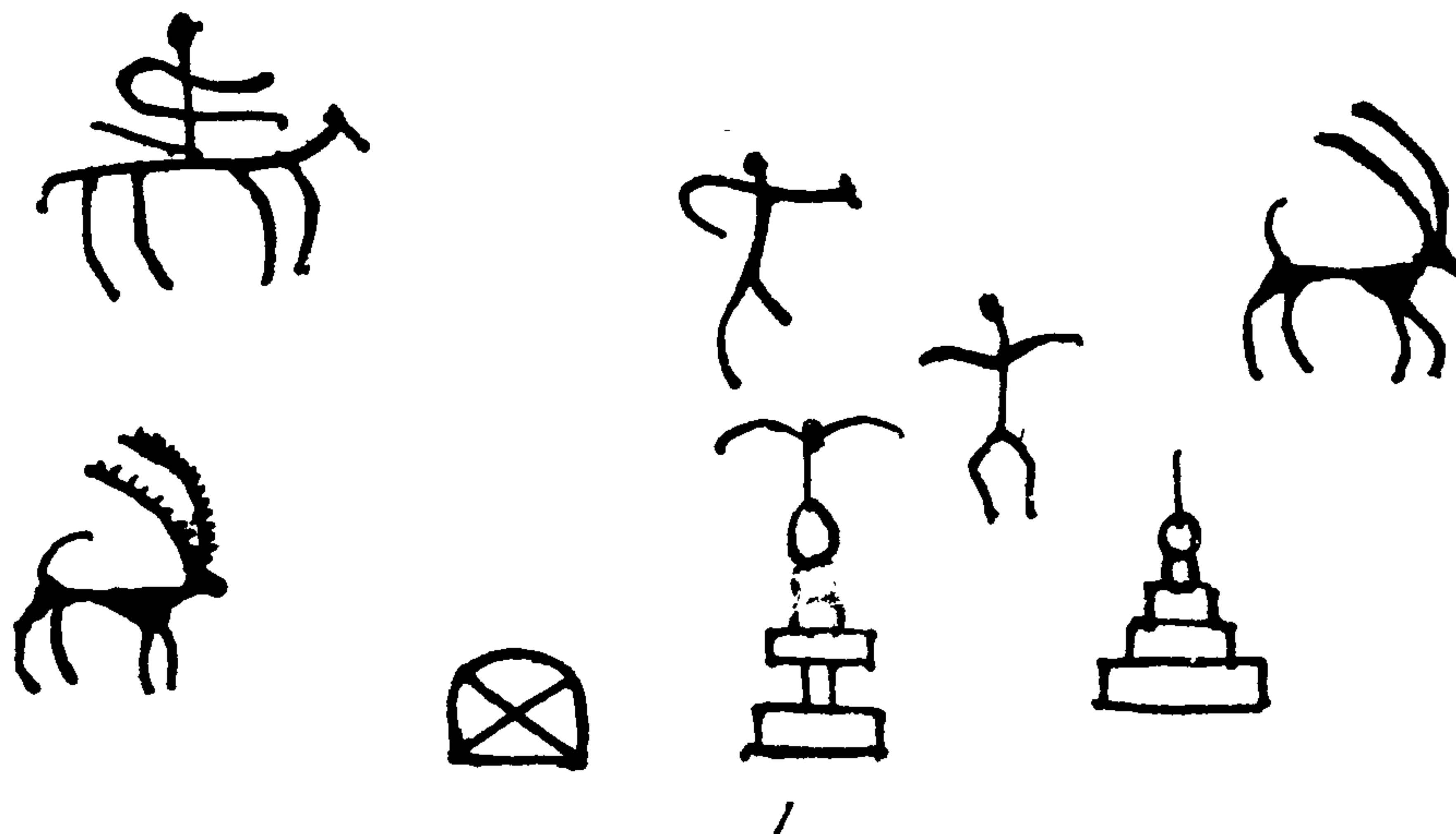


PLATE III.

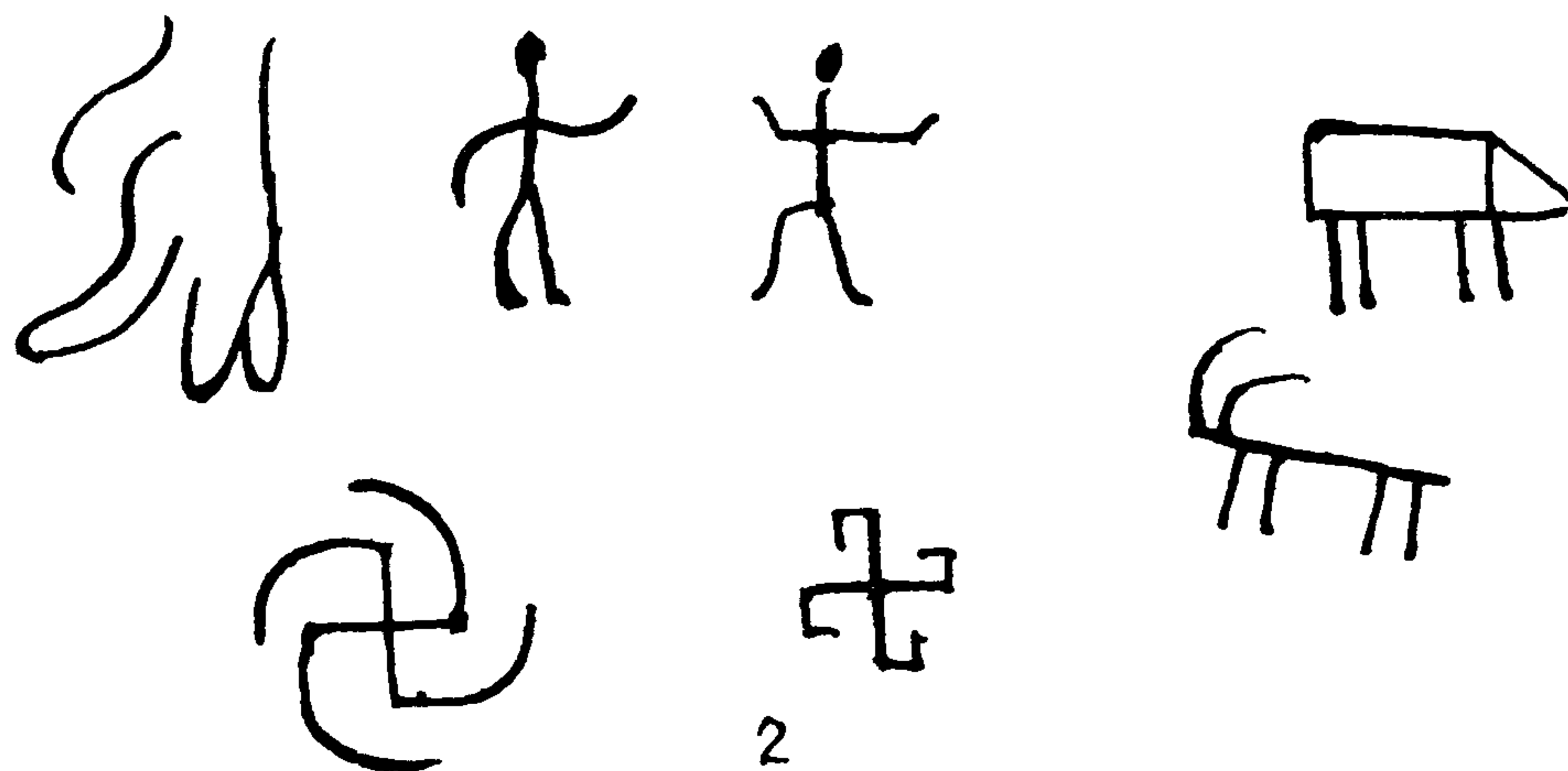
A. H. FRANCKE, DEL. SCALE, ONE-TENTH B. E. S. PRESS, LITHO.

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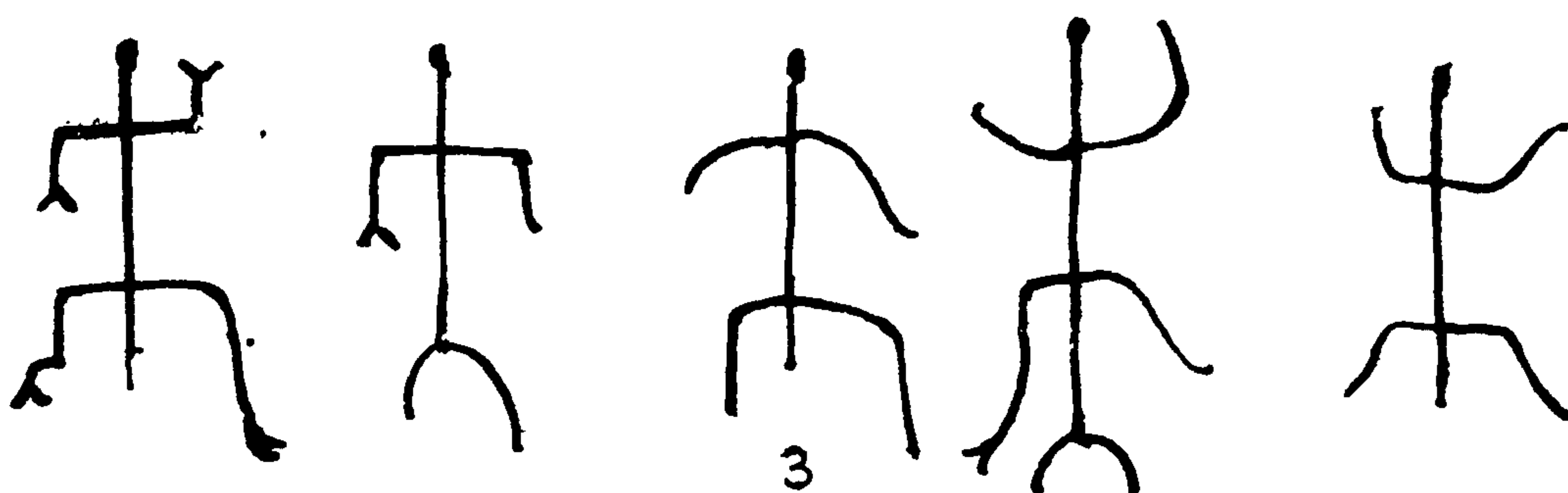
ROCK CARVINGS FROM LOWER LADAKH.



1



2



3

PLATE IV.

A. H. FRANCKE, DEL.　　SCALE, ONE-TENTH.　　B.E.S PRESS, LITHO.

List of the Representations.

N.B.—The scale of the plates is approximately one-tenth of the original; the depth of the carvings is 1 to 2 millimetres.

Plate No. I.

Fig. 1. — Scene at the harvest-festival.

Fig. 2. — An ibex.

Fig. 3. — A hunting record.

Fig. 4. — A *stûpa*, with Tibetan inscription "*ṛed* = it is."

Fig. 5. — (*a*) Pyramidal *stûpa*; (*b*) holy tree; (*c* and *d*) two *stûpas*; (*e*) ibex; (*f*) inscription in unknown character, perhaps *ya*.

Plate No. II.

Fig. 1. — (*a* and *f*) Two *stûpas*; (*b* and *c*) two pencil-cedars; (*d*) Kesar hunting antelope; (*e*) magic square.

Fig. 2. — The lioness with the locks.

Plate No. III.

Fig. 1. — Inscription in characters unknown to me.

Fig. 2. — An Agu, attacked by two men; (*b*) an unknown symbol, perhaps unfinished.[8]

Fig. 3. — Hunting record.

Fig. 4. — A *kiang* (?).

Fig. 5. — (*a*) A snake with three heads (the *uræus*); (*b*) a *shapo* (wild sheep); (*c*) a bird; (*d*) a horse; (*e*) an unintelligible character.

Plate No. IV.

Fig. 1. — A rider, two men, two ibex with characteristic horns, two *stûpas*, a magic square.

Fig. 2. — A hand, two men, two *svastika*, a pig, an ibex.[9]

Fig. 3. — Various human figures from a stone on **Molokai (Hawai Islands)**; added for comparison.

Sites.

The carvings, reproduced on the plates, are from the following places: Plates I.—III., from rocks in and around the fort of **Khalatse**; Plate II., Fig. 2, from the lower end of a valley called **Namchag**; Plate IV., Fig. 1, from a rock **between Chuli skampo and Kharbu**; Plate IV., Fig. 2, combined from various rocks, mostly near **Saspola**; Plate IV., Fig. 3, from **Hawai.**

But the finest carvings, so far as I know, may be seen at **Domkhar.** If any reader of this article visiting Ladâkh were to take photographs of them, he would certainly render a valuable service to the study of the history of the country.

SOME MILE STONES IN TELUGU LITERATURE.
THE AGE OF VEMANA.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

WE are all aware that **India is a country** whose inhabitants live, move, and have their being **in religion. In the Hindu nature** there always were and are still **two antagonistic tendencies,** visible alike in their laws, in their institutions, in their religion, in their families, and in the thoughts and actions of their greatest men. A disposition, on the one hand, to live by rule and precedent, to

8 [*Cf. ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 415, in the Edakal Carvings. — ED.]

9 [*Cf. ante*, Vol. XXX. p. 418, in the Edakal Carvings. — ED.]

distrust novelties, to hold the experience of the past as a surer and safer guide than the clearest conclusions of logic, and to maintain with loving reverence the customs, the convictions, and the traditions that have come down from former generations. On the other hand, a restless, impetuous energy, inventing, expanding, pressing forward to the future, drawing wider circles around the doctrines already inculcated, — a mode of thought, which in the half-educated takes the form of a rash disdain of earlier ages, but in the best and the wisest creates a sense that they would be unworthy sons of their ancestors if they do march with the times. In healthy ages the two tendencies coexist. Shakspeare has wisely said: —

'So may the outward shows be least themselves,
The world is still deceived with ornament.'

Many more superficial observers, or even observers with a mind prepossessed one way or the other, say that whatever **Hinduism** may have been in the past, it is now a mere tissue of formalities, utterly devoid of every noble inspiration, utterly incapable of exercising any real spiritual influence upon the lives of its votaries. If a religion is to be judged as a marketable commodity, as a commodity which has an exchange value, if it is to be judged merely on the status, social or otherwise, which its votaries occupy, I am afraid that the case must be decided adversely to Hinduism. But if a religion is to be judged on far higher and nobler principles, on the number of *real* theists it has actually made, on the number of those who sincerely believe that there can be no gloomier form of infidelity than that which questions the moral attributes of that Great Being in Whose hands are the final destinies of us all, on the number of those whose grosser natures are turned by degrees to the soul's essence till all be made immortal, I may boldly say that Hinduism does satisfy the conditions. If we wish to find a spiritual religion indigenous, native of the soil, we must look, not to the members of the educated communities amongst whom such movements have had their origin, but to the 'rude Corinthian boor' wholly untainted by any outlandish influences, or by the standard attained by the Parisian society of the eighteenth century. In a place like **India, where religion is the bed-rock,** the *sine quâ non* **of the peoples who inhabit it,** every village can proudly point the finger at some of her men and even women, who have risen 'far above the madding crowd's ignoble strife,' who alone in the stillness of the night hold communion with the Lord of the Universe independent of any dull, stupid paraphernalia. Such people do not thrust home their convictions on others, neither do they hide them, but ventilate them by the peculiar contact of mind with mind and knowledge with knowledge. They are generally known as **Brahmavêṭṭas,** 'knowers of the Lord,' and are held in very high reverence by the common folk, and are generally those whose individuality has been lost and confounded in their paramount power as cosmopolites. But there are sham cosmopolites, not conversant with the true Hindu mode of thought, who are led to believe that the Brahmavêṭṭas do not submit to **the authority of Brâhmans,** and these not unfrequently vigorously denounce the priestly pretensions.

As to this authority of the Brâhmans. It has been very often said that if **the sacerdotal order** should encroach upon the functions of the civil magistrate, it would in our time be a great evil. But what in our age is considered as an evil, may have in a remoter period been a blessing. It is good that mankind should be governed by wise laws well administered and by an enlightened public opinion rather than by priestcraft, but it is better that men should be governed by disinterested priests who have ceased to be enamoured of those brittle and transient joys which the world can neither give nor take away, rather than by brute force. A society ruled by mere physical force has great reason to rejoice when a class of which the influence is intellectual and moral rises to ascendency. Such a class may doubtless degenerate, but mental power, even when abused, is a still nobler and better power than that which consists merely in corporeal strength. Whatever reproach may at a later period have been justly thrown on the indolence and the luxury of the religious orders, it was surely good that in an age of ignorance and violence there should be quiet cloisters and gardens in which the arts of peace could be safely cultivated, in which gentle and contemplative natures could find an

asylum, in which one brother might be employed in reading Yaska's *Nirukta* and another in meditating the *Brihadâranyakôpanishad*, in which he who had a turn for natural philosophy might make experiments on the properties of plants and minerals. What the Olympian chariot-course and the Delphic oracle were to all the Greek cities from Trebizond to Marseilles, what Rome and her Bishop were to all the Christians of the Latin communion from the Calabria to the Hebrides, the simple religion of the Vedic Brâhmans was to all the Hindus from Peshawar to Malabar. Thus grew up sentiments of enlarged benevolence. Races separated from each other by seas and mountains acknowledged a fraternal tie and a common code of public law. Even in war the cruelty of the conqueror was not seldom mitigated by the recollection that he and his vanquished foes were all members of one great federation.

The sham cosmopolitans of the type above referred to do not, however, profess to derive their views from the *Vêdas*, and only occasionally do they quote the antideluvian nebulosity of a *ślôka* of the *Gîtâ* or of the *Vêdânta Sûtras*. They are, in fact, **reformers and have a literature of their own.** No portion of this literature can claim to be of any great antiquity. A major portion of it cannot certainly be more than three centuries old. The reason for this is not far to seek, as these popular poems are usually mere mushroom existences, which pass away with the death of their author. There is not that spirit in them which can make them 'double-lived in regions new.' It is only very rarely **that a genuine popular poet** arises, who can claim a place with the classical writers. **In the Deccan** we meet with such a man in the person of **Vêmana,** who was to the Telugus what Burns was to Ayrshire. Both of them are honored and respected in the same manner to the present day.

Mr. Campbell (in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. XV. p. 524) says, 'One would naturally wish to have some definite information about a man who has exerted such an influence upon the religious life of his countrymen, but unfortunately it is by no means easy to gratify this wish.' **History is an unknown art in India,** and it is extremely difficult to discover a basis of reliable fact beneath the mass of legends which are associated with the name of the poet. It is generally believed that **he lived about 250 years ago.** Several places claim the honor of his birth, but it is impossible, I think, to come to any more definite conclusion than that he was **born** somewhere in the wild hilly country situated 200 miles to the north-west of Madras and included **within the limits of the Cuddapah district. Cuddapah and Kurnul, which lies a little to the north, were undoubtedly the scene of his life's work.** Local tradition says that his home was in **Katârapalli,** a small village in the extreme south-west of the Cuddapah district, and it is certain that a family is to be found there, whose members claim to be his lineal descendants and receive offerings from those who wish to do honor to the poet. **Vêmana belonged to the Kâpu or farmer caste.** This is, in the Telugu country, by far the most important of the numerous castes included under the term **Sûdra.** The Kâpus are naturally a free out-spoken race, with very little of that cringing to authority, which is so characteristic of the majority of their fellow-countrymen. Representatives of the old Dravidian civilization, they still retain many of the simpler and freer customs which were followed by their ancestors before the Aryan invasion introduced the caste and sacerdotal systems. Vêmana was a typical Kâpu, and never tried to conceal the fact. He made no pretension either to scholastic attainments or to priestly power, but, like the sturdy herdsman of Tekoa, professed to be a mere plain unlettered farmer.

In India especially, custom is a power fixed by a thousand tough and stringy roots to people's pious nursery faith, and what is grey with age becomes religion. It is easy, therefore, for one acquainted with the environments of a farmer's household to form a fair picture of **Vêmana and his ordinary avocations.** Katârapalli, which was probably his home, is a village in the gneiss country of South-east Cuddapah, where the land begins to slope up towards the great Mysore plateau. It is situated near a range of rocky hills, rough with huge boulders and strange pillar-like peaks, and devoid of vegetation, except where a few great cacti have won a place for

themselves in the crevasses of the rocks. A small stream, its course marked out by masses of green rushes and coarse dark grass, flows from the base of the hills and passes close to the village. At a little distance are two tanks, which contain a supply of water sufficient for the irrigation of the rice-fields of the village. On the borders of the stream, and on and below the bunds of the tanks, there are *kânagas*, or wild crotons, whose dark glossy leaves, and drooping tassels of flowers, white with a delicate tinge of purply-pink, give a sense of coolness even in the fiercest heat of April or May. In and about the village there are tamarind and margosa trees, and not far off are the mango orchards. Below the tanks there is the rice-land, in the spring and early summer a bare red waste, after the rains an unbroken sea of the softest and most delicate green. On the higher ground, and reaching up to and meeting the unbroken scrub jungle, is the 'dryland,' as it is called, where the farmers grow *chôlam* and *râgi*, and pulse of various kinds. The village itself consists of about 120 houses, most of them built of earth and thatched with jungle grass. The walls are smeared on the outside with red ochre, and are in some cases adorned with broad vertical bands of white. Attached to most of the houses there is a byre for cattle, built on the same plan, and not infrequently of much the same dimensions as the dwelling-house. One can easily picture the young farmer-boy perambulating about the fields or in the rocky crevasses with his playmates and friends to partake in all the variegated labours of the world. Naturally, in youth, he would spend most of his time in tending the flocks and herds and preventing them from going astray into the paddy fields or the scrub. When he grew a little older he went to the village school and there received the village education. It is said, indeed, that when a boy he received intimation of his future greatness as a poet and writer; but this story, like other stories told of Indian poets generally, is the production of an after-age, and all that we can safely assert is that it is highly probable that, in early life, he came under the personal influence of a spiritual teacher, from whom he received the first impulse to a life of meditation. But the teacher was not likely to have been of so high an order as by personal influence to mould the future man, and I do think that Vêmana went to the living man to drink deep of the fountain of poetry. He seems, however, to have been very much influenced by **the Lingait movement,** which had attained considerable proportions in his time in his part of the country. These were a set of extreme Saivites, who, animated by a fanatical zeal, revolted against the sacerdotal supremacy and set at naught all the injunctions of the *Vêdas.* They claimed to be superior to the Brâhmans, to be under the special power of the Almighty and therefore invincible. **Their dogmas can be be best studied in the Chennabâsava Purâṇa and Prabhuliṅgalila. Vêmana's identification of Siva with God,** and the belief in the sacredness of animal life, can be traced to this source.

It is not known when Vêmana came to be a recognised teacher. His poem shows us beyond doubt that he was cast out for a time at least by his own kith and kin, and by those who knew him best. It was very revolting to them to find a young boy, probably in the 'mid might and flourish of his May,' posing to be a teacher of mankind in his own little sphere and expostulating against the existing state of things. He was not vicious, nor officious, but he kept himself aloof from 'the babblings of a busy world.' His neighbours thought naturally, therefore, that his Quixotic temperament was due to some dislocation of the brain. He was a man of a very strong will, was 'constant as the northern star who hath no fellow in the firmament.' He was certain that Truth must come to light and that Merit cannot enter the gates of preferment. He knew full well the stuff his own people were made of and how best to win them to his side. As his verses became known, their plain practical good sense and pithy expressiveness necessarily attracted the attention and won the suffrages of an ever-widening circle of hearers, so that towards the close of his life the poet was compelled to assume the position of **a recognised Gurû,** or teacher, and to spend most of his time travelling from village to village, visiting his numerous disciples. On his death 'mute Nature mourned her worshipper and celebrated his obsequies.' He was accorded all the honors of a saint and a tomb was built for him. A temple stands near **his tomb at Katârapalli,** and in it is a hideous wooden idol named after him.

Vêmana is the greatest popular poet of the Telugu people, and his fame extends throughout the length and breadth of the Telugu country. There is hardly a proverb or any pithy saying which is not attributed to him. He is to Telugu literature what Avva is to the Tamil. In consequence of his vast popularity, and the almost fabulous fecundity of less important poets of a later age, who have tacked their own brain-products on to Vêmana's, it is hardly possible now to say what particular verse is his and what not. There are nearly three thousand verses of such doubtful authenticity, and the manuscripts in which they have been handed down to his disciples so considerably differ from one another, that none of them can be considered a really authenticated collection of the poet's verses. There has been a good many bazaar-editions of these verses procurable for a few annas in almost all the market towns in the Telugu districts. They are very badly printed and badly edited, and contain a glorious medley of incongruous parts. An attempt has been made three score years ago to restore order out of chaos by the late Mr. C. P. Brown of the Madras Civil Service, an erudite Telugu scholar, who has placed the whole Telugu community under very great obligations by his two monumental lexicons — the *Telugu-English* and the *English-Telugu Dictionaries* — not to speak of his other by no means less valuable works. He has carefully edited the work, supplemented by his invaluable notes and an admirable English prose translation which gives a tolerably fair idea of the poet's style.

Vêmana has not trodden the beaten track of poetic routine, and exhibits some originality. His descriptions are to a great extent true to nature, though his metaphors are to a certain extent odious. He was emphatically a poet of the people. An unlettered rustic himself he wrote for the rural population in a colloquial nursery dialect, setting at naught the rules of classic verse. Classical poetry, indeed, can never be popular in any country, unless the people who inhabit it, one and all of them, are fine scholars.[1] Vêmana's diction bears the marks of his early life. It is an unlettered unpretentious farmer who speaks, and his words have a breezy freshness suggestive of his own wild windswept hills, with their scanty vegetation and huge boulder masses. There is no attempt at ornament, no straining after effect. His illustrations savour very much of his rural life. He owed much of his popularity to satire, to his pictures of the vices and follies of men in all their meanness and absurdity. When in his more cynical moods, he sees in human life nothing which is not mean and ridiculous, and wastes his satire upon the mere physical infirmities incidental to our material circumstances. But it is drunkenness and licentiousness, covetousness and pride, and empty vanity boasting of its good looks and fine clothes and great possessions, the despicable meanness that despises the poor and flatters and fawns upon the rich, it is these and similar vices that in better woods he holds up to our contempt. He directs his satire chiefly against caste distinctions and against women. Had he had the power, he would have put down all caste distinctions and converted the whole human population into a universal caste and introduced the old Spartan legislation, where there would be nothing like private property. He maintained that the absence of any statute to regulate the accumulation of capital, the awful monopoly which capital so accumulated constitutes, and the tremendous tyranny which it engenders, are the springs of that pauperism, which sits like an incubus on the bosom of virtuous India. He says, 'When a man has wealth, people look on him as the fairest of the gods; when brought low by want and unable to raise himself, though he be a very Cupid, they look on him as an outcast." He speaks so bitterly of women that it seems as if he doubted the possibility of any woman being capable of truth and fidelity. 'As the track of a ship on the sea, as the path of a bird in the air, so is the way of a woman.' 'In time of wealth a wife looks to her husband. In time of want she will not even rise at his approach; she looks on him as dead, though he is still alive.' It is in his references to women that Vêmana fails most conspicuously to rise above the conventionalism of Hindu society. There are passages in his writings it is true, in which he describes the true and faithful

[1] The tenth canto of Bammera Pothana's *Bhâgavata* may be taken as an exception. This poem, though classical, is studied among the homes of the Telugu people and assimilated by them.

wife in language which shows that he had some conception of a higher and nobler type of womanhood, but these cannot alter the fact that, like the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen, he regarded women as essentially weak and unreliable, and believed that their influence is uniformly on the side of evil. It is not strange that he adopted this standpoint. **In India women are the most determined enemies of reform,** and Vêmana must often have found his influence weakened and his efforts baffled by their innate conservatism and blind acquiescence in the traditional opinions and customs.

Vêmana aimed at releasing the people from the bondage of blind traditionalism and enable them to realise the supreme importance of truth and purity and of duty to God and man. He shared the opinion of the Buddhist mendicant in the *Mrichchakâtika*, the earliest Sanskrit drama, where he says : —

Cast the five senses all away,
That triumph o'er the virtuous will ;
The pride of self-importance slay
And ignorance remorseless kill :
So shall you safe the body guard,
And Heaven shall be your last reward.

Why shave the head and mow the chin
While bristling follies choke the breast ?
Apply the knife to parts within,
And heed not how deformed the rest :
The heart of pride and passion weed,
And then the man is pure indeed,

He was **a stern iconoclast** and maintained that God dwells not in buildings made by human hands. He pours out his bitterest scorn on idolatry and scrupulously kept himself aloof from sacred services. He denounced asceticism with a vigour and earnestness, the like of which was not heard from the pulpit of Mainwaring to the judgment seat of Bradshaw. "Those who torture the body and call themselves saints can never cleanse the foulness of the heart. Does a snake die when you beat the ant-hill in which it hides ?"

Mr. Campbell seems to think that Vêmana shared the opinion maintained by Herbert Spencer in his *First Principles* when he says, 'An unbiased consideration of its general aspects forces us to conclude that religion, everywhere present as a weft running through the warp of human history, expresses some eternal fact, while it is almost a truism to say of science that it is an organized mass of facts, ever growing and ever being more completely purified from errors.' Mr. Campbell bases his inference on the following verse of Vêmana : "He who takes all forms, who is eternal, who is Himself witness of all that is in every heart, who is in all things the unchangeable, free from all taint, — He is called Brahma," Be this is as it may, Vêmana has not spared even Brahma in his strong satire, as he says, "He (Brahma) gives wealth to one, the utility to another, the heart (to spend) to a third and would spoil the whole thing. Let Brahma's wife be widowed."[2]

There seems to be hardly any Touchstonian intelligence in the poet at all. He seems to be best known for his wholesale condemnation of anything and everything terrestrial and even celestial. I have my own misgivings if he ever sincerely believed in an absolute Reality behind appearances, though he somewhere says that that Reality is unknowable and unknown.

[2] విత్తమొకనికిచ్చి వితరణమొకనికిచ్చి చిత్తమొకనికిచ్చి చెరచుగాక
బ్రహ్మయాలితాడు బండిరేవున తెగను విశ్వదాభిరామ వినురవేమ.

I append some verses, universally attributed to Vêmana, from a translation by C. P. Brown, to give the reader a tolerably fair idea of his writings : —

Specimens of Vêmana's Verse.

1. Observances void of purity of heart ! to what end are they ? to what end is the preparation of food without cleansing the vessel ? Void of purity of mind, to what end is the worship of God ?

2. One real and good sapphire is enough, why collect a basketful of glittering sparkling stones ? Consider, then, is not one verse, if worth reading, sufficient ?

3. A false teacher restrains us in all our acts. The middling, ordinary teacher makes a multitude of senseless spells. But the good one combines the whole power of excellence.

4. Whatever he may read who is devoid of understanding, his virtue continues only so long as he is reading ; even as a frog is dignified only so long as it is seated on a lotus leaf.

5. At the sight of women, the cupidinous man quits his meal, being stricken with the pain of desire ; even as the grasshopper delights in viewing the fire that will destroy it.

6. If a corpse leave a miser's house, when he has given the money for the shroud and bier, "alas for the fees" cries he, sobbing and sobbing as he weeps !

7. He that, relying on the prince, ruins the land, the sorrows of the people shall reach him, and at last be shall fall. How long shall the bounding ball retain its elevation ?

8. Though iron break twice or thrice, the smith knows how to heat and weld it. If the spirit break, who shall restore it ?

9. He who keeps himself afar from another's wife ; who desireth not another's wealth, but is benevolent ; who, though others be enraged, is not wroth ; and who lives in the esteem of others, is the wise man.

10. By the groaning of a buffalo-hide bellows (in the world) the five metals are calcined : when good men grieve, will not a great flame arise to heaven ?

11. If thou wilt work for hire, and slave, and gain, and give it to thy wife, she knows to applaud thee : but a thousand-fold will she revile her husband, if he falls into poverty.

12. Were the earth void of the excellently virtuous, how should the world stand nor be burnt with fire ? They are not so very frequent : but only here and there.

13. When his passions are redoubled, a man is seized with madness and roams the earth. Cupidity makes a man as restless as a dog.

14. The house of a virtuous young woman is orderly, she is like a light shining in a dark room. The house in which a first wedded wife dwells is like the place of divine worship.

15. A medicine may always be found somewhere in the world to heal wounds received in front. But hath any remedy been found to heal the wounds of slanderous words ?

16. Though a vessel be broken, a new one is easily procured. Is it then marvellous that after a man's death he should acquire a new body ?

17. Meditation is of superior merit to the bestowing of gifts, as understanding is superior to meditation ; and to cut off our lusts is superior even to our understanding.

18. Know that sin is the cause of drooping the head ; that all true good originates in the spirit, but to comprehend this requires much firmness.

19. By talking and conversing, affection increases, as you continue to eat even the bitter margosa leaf, it becomes sweet ; so by practice may we succeed in any art whatever.

20. Speech may be corrected so as to be without irregularity ; a stone may be carved into a fine form ; but the mind can never be altered, no, not in the best of men.

21. The mind cannot see God as long as it is in this life ; but convert thy body into a temple, and restrain thyself, give up all worldly thoughts, and see Him with thy internal eye.

22. If we love Him, He will love us ; if we love not Him, never will He love us : all our display, all our hypocrisy, will be of no avail.

23. When the sons of the earth see the holy saint, they revile him, but cannot understand him. Can the hand discern ambrosia from other tastes ?

24. If in the time of her husband a woman labours, she shall enjoy comfort in the time of her sons ; all, however great, participate in wealth and poverty. The strength of strong sons is the greatest of all.

25. With such eyes as these how can we view the deity ? The eyes that see him are different, the vision is diverse. Must not we look to him with an internal eye ?

26. He heaps up wealth, and gives none in charity : he consumes it not himself, but hides it ! Will not the bee that stores up honey yield it by force to the traveller ?

27. Water mingled with milk bears the appearance of milk ; and thus becomes acceptable in sacred rites : thus, by intercourse with the pure and excellent, shall even the foolish attain perfection.

28. A stone ball may be broken ; the very hills may be reduced to dust, but the heart of the cruel man can be melted by nothing.

29. Talking is one thing, and the temper of mind is another : the qualities of the body tend one way, and our intention another ! How shall we attain salvation ! and what path is this we are pursuing ?

30. However many days he lives, however long he is learning, and however he is distinguished, in a few days he dies, and is turned to earth, with all his skill.

31. If there be one dry tree in a forest, it will produce flame by friction and sweep away all the rest : thus if a base wretch be born in a noble race, he will destroy it all.

32. The wicked wretch considers the wealth in his house as his own for ever, and hides it in the earth ! Yet he cannot carry a cowry or a farthing with him when he dies.

33. Theft and whoredom are alike in the world ; the adulteress is full of apprehensions, like the thief who dares not view the beauty of moonlight.

34. Vain desire suffers not to attain our end ; it only plunges us in troubles, and drags us along ; it prevents faith from being born in men.

35. If a mighty prince takes a light man by the hand, his word will be current in the world. If merchants own them, do not even shells act for money ?

36. To whom does your body belong, which you nourish so carefully ? Whose is your wealth that you should hide it ? To whom does the soul appertain that it should not leave the body ?

37. Though he roam to Concan, no dog will turn into a lion ; going to Benares will make no pig an elephant ; and no pilgrimage will make a Brâhman of one whose nature is different.

38. If authority be given to a low-minded man, he will chase away all the honorable : can a dog that gnaws shoes taste the sweetness of sugar-cane ?

39. Has the wife opposed her lord's commands ? She is no longer his mate but his fate. To such a wife a dwelling in the wilderness is preferable.

40. A disobedient wife is as the goddess Death to her husband, a springing, hooded serpent; a very demon; a wife at enmity with you is a fit wife for a demon?

41. When he beholds a woman he is deprived of power to estimate justly; and is consumed with love as resin would be in the hottest fire: into what follies are we led by empty desire!

42. What is dearest of all things? Life: but gold is dearer than a thousand lives: and dearer than gold are the words of a maiden.

43. A woman who is a rover, loves none but rovers: how should she be pleased with a delicate lover? the dung-beetle cares not for the sweetness of sugar.

44. He desires pleasant food, and he longs for fair women: behold the evil heart of man! He cannot for an instant relinquish these temptations and reflect that they are unprofitable.

45. Desert not thy king even for a thousand others: when you have given a man food, tell it not, however poor you are; and however beautiful the wife be, let her not scorn her husband.

46. Sons and wives are a mere delusion; pleasure and pain are a mere deception; a family, and the affections we feel, are unreal: thou hast filled this delusive life with empty forms.

47. A feast given without kindness is a mere waste of flour-cakes: worship devoid of piety is a waste of the sprouts used in sacrifice; and gifts devoid of charity are a mere waste of gold.

48. Imagining that by acquiring sons he will attain the happiness that is the reward of merit, a man remains entangled in the creed of works. If an elephant fall into a pit, how can a gnat extricate it?

49. Covetousness is a sin of the worst nature: through lust have not hermits been deluded? he who hath viewed and relinquished all; this is the pure spirit.

50. If you catch a monkey and dress it in a new robe, the hill-apes will all worship it. Thus are the luckless subject to the senseless.

51. Though you anoint an ass with perfumes, it feels not your fondness, but will turn again and kick you: and equally fruitless is the love shown to a young girl.

52. Though you pour milk and sugar over bramble berries, and boil them, they will acquire no flavour; how then can good qualities be produced in the crooked heart by any kindness?

53. When we behold a bright-eyed girl or gaze on gold, every one's mind is seized with wavering thoughts; how then can the power of truth be felt by men?

54. What has a cripple to do with bracelets? Of what advantage are wooden teeth to the hare-lipped? Will an ass be the better for assuming a beard and whiskers? Mere pretensions are wholly fruitless.

55. Singularly fanciful is the talisman of Cupid to behold. The spot in the forehead of the rosy nymph; at the glance of her waist is the heart agitated.

56. If misfortune befal him, the sinner reviles the deity: if he meets with good, he lauds himself for it: but evil and good are the results of his own acts.

57. To say "Sudraism has left me, I am no Sudra, I am a Brâhman," is all folly; though brass resemble gold, can it be esteemed its equal?

58. All men, be they who they will, desire gold and fine women. Not the mightiest of lords can relinquish a fair-eyed maiden.

59. To associate with a slut is ruin upon ruin; he who has to do with a whore loses all shame; and joining with an adulteress is the source of utter death.

60. A lucky woman perceives the hunger and thirst of others; she helps them to food and satisfies them; but your unlucky senseless wife considers no one's hunger but her own.

61. By Cupid, the green-bowed god, are all men in the world suddenly deluded, who then in this respect is noble? who is abject?

62. There is no living between earth and sky for the pain of the wounds inflicted by Cupid. How can a man live who deserts the wife of his home?

63. Those who give their word, and break it, are lost to all shame: he who disregards distress is vile: and cruel is he who, after contracting friendship, grieves his friend.

64. He is a fool, who, listening to his factious wife, quits his brothers and separates himself from them. Can a man swim in the Godavari by holding on to a dog's tail?

65. If he joins himself to the vile, and associates with him, he will be ruined, whoever he be. It is like drinking milk under a palm-tree.

66. Rice dressed without ghee is, I protest to thee, mere grass; a dinner without herbs is only fit for dogs.

67. When women and men are heated by fulness of meal, they say that they are tormented by Cupid. But when they have no food to eat, what becomes of that god's power?

68. We admire all women without discrimination, whoever they be; we melt as gum would do in the flame of destruction: this strong cupidity plunges us in unspeakable troubles.

69. The base wretch who forms criminal connections, equally unstable and infamous, and plays fast and loose with others, shall, like a young ass, suddenly be destroyed.

70. He who kills many men, and slays the poor, and plunders the villages to fill his belly, go where he will, Yama will find and destroy him.

71. We take a skin and form it into an elegant puppet; we make it play, and then throw it away. But who can see Him who thus plays with us as puppets?

72. A stone in the shoe, a gadfly in the ear, a mote in the eye, a thorn in the foot, and a quarrel in a family, however small in themselves, are unspeakably tormenting.

73. Can an ass comprehend the fragrance of perfumes? does a dog know good from bad? can the light fool understand the holy separation of him who serves God?

74. The recluseness of a dog! the meditations of a crane! the chanting of an ass! the bathing of a frog! Ah, why will ye not try to know your own hearts!

75. Better is the humble washerman than the empty student; better is the house-dog than the inanimate household goddess; and better than all demi-gods is the Lord of the Universe.

76. He that is hungry forgets every religious tie; all purity of heart disappears in the dark; and pregnancy destroys all former plumpness of body.

77. Marriage contracts, given and received with friendship, shall not lead to decrees, but shall flourish, spreading as a lotus plant does over the water, blossoming, budding, and bearing abundant fruit.

78. During life he restrains not his lusts; but when death approaches he turns recluse: unless thou subdue thy heart, how shalt thou attain release?

79. What poet or what god is there free from darts of love? This is mere desire, not love of wisdom. Poets and demi-gods are all mere libertines.

80. When a man has feasted and sits at his ease, should he see a woman he is touched with love, the vigour given by food fills the body with cupidity.

81. In this world riches form the chief object; on wealth does the due performance of every duty depend; virtue is the origin of every blessing; and final beatitude depends on the conduct of our own hearts.

82. Conduct thyself so as to beware of three sins: disobedience to thy mother, rebellion against thy father, and despising thy elder brother.

83. Why should a man grieve because he lacks the wealth which he sees heaped up in the house of others? In his former birth he died without attempting to perform any charitable act, and now reaps the fruit of that life.

84. The alms that are bestowed without being asked shall unsought return to you; whatever we give, being asked, so much shall return on our asking: and he who bestows nothing shall receive nothing.

85. If an unlucky fool should even find the philosopher's stone, it would never remain in his hands but vanish; it would melt away like the hailstones that come with rain.

86. He who values himself on his wealth and bestows none on others, revelling on riches, shall in the end perish and never see good.

87. When a woman has by her virtues acquired lasting celebrity, and men remember her excellence, how can we too highly esteem her devotion to her husband?

88. Wisdom is the teacher: the human heart is absolute ignorance; but when we fall into a giddy state of fluctuation between these two principles — until that giddiness is dissipated neither of these can be distinguished.

89. No man in the world considers truly who he is; alas, he cannot know his whole nature! How shall man learn to know himself?

90. If they see a man of property, women will lay their vests for his feet to walk on; but if they meet one who has lost his possessions, they hold him no better than a walking corpse.

91. If eaten out of due time, even food turns to poison; if we even see it with the eye, we loathe it; whatever you eat with disgust is fatal as venom.

92. Through anger we suffer degradation: wrath leads to grief; repress anger and all thy wishes shall be attained.

93. Poverty makes a man's relations his foes; by poverty we fail of attaining heaven; and through want we lose credit with the lender.

94. When a man has attained power and dominion, if he does not succour the poor and ruined, of what profit is his influence or existence?

95. Young men trample on the conduct they formerly practised, and adopt new manners. They bid their mother begone, they afflict her, and give their wealth to strange women.

96. To sport with fire or with a light man, with your neighbour's wife, or with a fallen wretch—all tend to death.

97. Till his lusts are quelled, no man can be freed from earthly ties: until he is thus freed, he is no hermit; unless thou become an ascetic, thy lusts shall not be destroyed!

98. When even a lion is emaciated even a starved dog can torment him; when we are powerless all our undertakings are vain.

99. Let us forget every sinful connection; let us forget every contention, and the faults of others — but never let us forget the good done to us.

100. If, ignorant of his own powers, and those of his opponent, a man blusters and indulges in wrath, he is like a bear performing the torch dance, in which he will, of course, be burnt.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 387.*)

Enclosure III.

List of Bills of Exchange drawn upon the Governor General in Council since last Advised.

Date.		After Sight.	Nº	In whose favor.	Sª Rª	A.	P.
	1794.						
March	14	15	13	Lieutᵗ Edmund Wells	1000	...	...
	20	Dº	14	Messʳˢ Wilsone Downie & Cº	3400	...	...
		Dº	15	Lieut. John Wales	300	...	...
		Dº	16	Lieut. E. Wells	3110	...	...
				Sª Rupees ...	7800	...	...

Port Cornwallis
March 20ᵗʰ 1794.

(Signed) **A. Kyd**
Superᵗ Andamans.

Ordered that Lieutᵗ Wells's Account of Receipts and Disbursements, and the Vouchers thereof, be sent to the Military Auditor General, and that, on the Return of the Snow Cornwallis to the Andamans a Supply of Treasure be dispatched to the Superintendant, to the Extent of fifteen thousand Sicca Rupees, half in Gold and half in Silver.

Ordered that a Copy of Mʳ Wood's Letter be sent to the Adjutant General, and that he be advised of that part of the one from Major Kyd which relates to the Cornwallis; and the Artillery Men Remaining at the Settlement.

Agreed that an Order be given for a Passage in the Daphne or Cornwallis for the Artificers to be engaged, at Major Kyd's desire, by Lieutᵗ Sandys.

Ordered that the Acting Naval Store Keeper be desired to furnish a List of the Stores, now here, belonging to the Dispatch Brig as sent to him by the Admiral.

Ordered that the List, received from Major Kyd, of Bills of Exchange, drawn upon the Government, be transmitted to the Accountant General.

Ordered, on the Subject of Major Kyd's Letter, relative to his own and Lieutᵗ Wells's Allowances, that, before any decision be passed thereon, the Secretary lay before the Board a statement of the respective Allowances, as they stand at present.

1794. — No. X.

Read a Letter and its Enclosure from the Secretary to the Hospital Board.

Secry. Hospital Bd. Dated 7th Apl. 1794.

To John H. Harrington Esqr. Sub Secretary.

Sir, — I am directed by the Hospital Board to transmit to you the enclosed Copy of List of Necessaries which they have received from Mr. David Wood acting Surgeon to the Andamans, which they request you will lay before the Governor General in Council and to acquaint him that they beg leave to recommend that they may be authorized to direct the Purveyor to furnish the necessaries required.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most Obedt. humble Servant

Fort William Hospl. Board Office, (Signed) **A. Campbell, Secretary.**
the 7th **March 1794.**

Indent for Necessaries for the use of the Sick belonging to the Settlement and Cruisers at Port Cornwallis.

1 Maund Sago
10 Dozen Madeira Wine
3 Dozen Lime juice
2 Dozen Vinegar
4 Bags of Flour
3 Maunds of Sugar
3 Maunds of Bazar Oil
6 Pieces of Bandage Cloth
6 Fomentation Cloths

Hospl. Board Office, A true Copy (Signed) **D. Wood,** Acting in a Medl. Capacity.
the 7th **March 1794.**

Agreed that the Hospital Board be desired to direct the Purveyor to Furnish the Articles required in the above Indent, and to send them to the Andamans in the Snow Daphne.

1794. — No. XI.

Fort William 14th **April 1794.** The following Letter was received from **the Garrison Storekeeper** on the 8th Instant and Orders were issued to him to purchase the Stores mentioned in the Copy of the Indent transmitted from the Superintendant of the Andamans to be forwarded to that Station on **the Cornwallis Snow.**

Garrison Store Keeper 8 April 1794.

Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Having received an Indent, Copy of which is enclosed, for a Supply of Provisions for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, which the Superintendant there has requested may be sent on the Snow Cornwallis I request that you will advise the Governor General in Council thereof. and communicate to me his Orders whether the Indent shall be complied with.

I have the honour to be &ca.

Fort William Garrison Store Keeper's Office (Signed) **G. A. Robinson**
8th April 1794. Garrison Store Keeper.

Indent Nº 7 To Lieut. Geo. A. Robinson Garrison Store Keeper — Fort William.

Names of Stores.		Total recd since 1st May 1793.	Balance remaining in Store.	Articles Indented for	For what purpose wanted.
Rice ...	Maunds	...	...	400	For the Subsistance of the Settlers at the Andamans.
Dholl ...	Dº	...	...	100	
Ghee ...	Dº	...	...	20	
Sugar ...	Dº	...	...	12	For Occasional Passengers returning to Bengal.
Tamerinas ...	Dº	...	...	12	

I do hereby Certify that the Articles specified in this Indent are indispensably Necessary for the purposes Abovementioned, after the most carefull Examination.

Port Cornwallis (Signed) **Joseph Stokoe, Actg Commissary.**
19th March 1794.

A true Copy (Signed) G A. Robinson, Garrison Storekeeper.

1794. — No. XII.

Fort William **14th April 1794. Statement of Major Kyd's Allowances &ca.** The Secretary, According to the Boards Orders given at their last Meeting, lays before them a Statement of the personal Allowances at present drawn by Major Kyd, and **Lieutt Wells**, in their Respective Situations at the Andamans.

Major Kyd as Superintendant receives for his established Allowance Sicca Rupees 1000 or Sonat Rupees ...	1045	9	0
and the full Batta of Lieutt Colonel which is St Rs 20 per Diem or pr Mensem of 30 Days ...	600	0	0
	1645	9	0
Besides which he draws the Ordinary pay of his Rank in Army, which is Rs St 6 per diem or pr mensem ...	180	0	0
	1825	9	0
The Allowances of **Lieutt Wells** are as follows:—			
Pay & Additional Allowances 3 Rs. pr day ...	90	0	0
Batta... ...	120	0	0
Gratuity ...	24	0	0
Add to this the Sum allowed to him as Commissary of Stores and Provisions at the Andamans 250 Sicca Rs. pr Month ...	262	8	0
Sonat Rupees...	496	8	0

Govr Genls Minute.

Fort William 21st April 1794. The Governor General delivers in the following Minute.

Governor General. The Cornwallis Snow being nearly ready for dispatch to the Andamans, I have looked back to the Proceedings of Government in order to ascertain what subjects of Reference or Application, from Major Kyd are now before the Board, that our decisions upon them may be communicated to him by the present Opportunity.

Major Kyd in his Letter of the 10th of March, represents the great want of some public Officer in Calcutta, who would take the care of procuring the various Classes of Artificers and Workmen required from time to time for the supply of the Settlement; to take charge of the Sepoys and others returning, Occasionally, either on leave of Absence, or for the Recovery of their Health, and to procure them Passages, and to Superintend their Embarkation on their Return or Recovery, to pay to the Families of the Settlers which remain in Bengal, the portion of Allowances which the different Settlers allot to them, for their Subsistence, and also to furnish and send down a great Variety of small Articles which are not kept in the Company's Stores, and recommends Lieutenant Sandys the Fort Adjutant in Fort William as a fit Person, from his Situation, to be selected for these, and similar duties connected with the Island.

Being satisfied from the Enquiries I have made, that such a Superintendence here is necessary as well for the purposes mentioned, but more especially for Superintending the **Embarkation of the Convicts** sentenced to be transported to the Andamans Recommend that **Lieutenant Sandys** should be appointed to perform the several duties above specified, except the Provisions of any Articles of Supply for the Settlement which should be furnished, as other Supplies, on Indent, upon the Garrison Storekeeper, — It was my intention to have proposed an Allowance to Lieutenant Sandys proportioned to the trouble of these additional Duties which are not without expence to him; he has for some time performed them gratuitously.

But on a review of the Duties annexed to the Adjutancy of Fort William compared with his Staff Allowances I think it proper to point out to the Board that whilst the former are greater than those of any Adjutant in the Army his Staff Allowances are less than those of an Adjutant of an European Battalion. The detail of the Troops at the Presidency including European Infantry Seapoys and Artillery is kept by the Adjutant of Fort William he attends Parades and the Relief of the Guards He is also under the Orders of the Fort Major and in this Capacity has many constant Services and immediate Duties to execute — I therefore propose that I trust the Board will deem Reasonable and Just that the Staff Allowances to the Fort Adjutant should be increased 150 Rupees per Month, which addition is to be considered as including a Compensation for the trouble and expence of the Duties of the Andamans as above detailed.

Major Kyd in his Letter of the 20th of March, having informed the board of the permission granted to Lieutenant Wells to return to Bengal, on account of his Health, and of **Lieutenant Wells'** desire to resign the Office of Provision and Store Keeper, I conclude that his Resignation thereof will be Accepted, and Major Kyd's Nomination of **Ensign Stokoe** to act therein be confirmed from the 1st of May next, until further Orders.

Major Kyd forwards an Application from Lieutenant Wells, claiming some Staff Allowances for the time he had Charge of the Settlement and I was prepared to have made a proposition to the Board relative to the Situation of Lieut Wells, in respect to his Allowances while the Charge of the Settlement devolved upon him, in the absence of Major Kyd; but I decline doing it, for the present, as I have understood that Lieutenant Wells has a Specific Claim to prefer on that Account.

The next Subject lying over for Consideration relates to an Application from Major Kyd for an encrease of his own Allowances, which he declares after the experience of One Year have not been adequate to the Absolute Necessary Expences of his Situation. The Secretary was desired on the 7th Instant to prepare a Statement of the personal Allowances of Major Kyd and of Lieutenant Wells which he laid before the Board at a last Meeting, and from thence it appears that Major Kyd receives as Superintendant at the Andamans Rupees 1,000 per Month — and altho' this may seem at first Sight, a very Liberal Allowance, yet when it is Considered that every Article of Life (except Fish) must be procured from Bengal, and that in a Society so very confined, the whole expence of keeping a General Table must naturally devolve

upon the Superintendant, being in fact the only Person whose Situation will enable him to procure and keep up a Stock for daily Consumption, I have no hesitation in giving the fullest credit to the Assertion, that it must require the whole of the above Allowances to defray his unavoidable Expences there, and I am persuaded that under the Circumstances of that Sacrifice to the public Service, which Major Kyd is making by an almost entire Seclusion from Society, it will not be deemed unreasonable to grant him a **Table allowance of 20 Rupees per Diem**, that he may be enabled to effect some savings out of his personal Allowances — and that this Table Allowance should commence from the date of his last return and resuming the Superintendence at Port Cornwallis.

Agreed to the Propositions contained in the above Minute.

1794. — No. XIII.

Fort William **21st April 1794.** Agreed that the following Letter be written to Major Kyd.

Major Kyd 21st April 1794.

To Major Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir, — We have received your Letters of the 20th and 30th of March.

We are sorry to observe that the situation of Port Cornwallis has proved so unfavourable to the Health of the Settlers, but as we entertain Hopes that the place will become more salubrious in proportion as it is cleared, and as our experience is at present insufficient to form a decided Opinion on this Subject, we shall wait with Anxiety your future Opinion and Report upon it.

In forming your Opinion on the probable Healthiness of the Situation you will discriminate as well as your experience admits how far the Causes which may be supposed to have had an Influence in this Respect are of a permanent Nature or of such as may be removed by Industry and exertion, and we recommend that in your future Report you attend to every Circumstance that may enable us to form an Opinion on the Eligibility of presenting (*sic*) the object for which the Station of Port Cornwallis was chosen.

Having consented to your proposition for **visiting Prince of Wales Island in** the Month of July or August next as soon as you may judge it convenient We send enclosed a Copy of our Resolutions, pointing out the several Objects of your Investigation there.

Such Articles of Supply for the Settlement as you may want will be furnished as usual by the Garrison Store Keeper on Indent, and the Adjutant of Fort William is instructed to perform the other Duties mentioned in your Letter for which and upon Consideration of the inadequacy of his Staff Allowances in general an addition has been made to them of 150 Rupees per month.

We have accepted **Lieutenant Wells'** Resignation of the Office of Provision and Store Keeper and confirm your Nomination of **Ensign Stokoe** to act therein from the first of next month until further Orders.

The Governor General having understood that Lieutenant Wells intends to prefer a specific Claim for extra Staff Allowance during the time he had Charge of the Settlement in your Absence we have for the present deferred coming to any Resolution on that head.

With respect to an encrease of your own Salary which you declare inadequate to the Absolute necessary Expences of your Situation, we have determined that you shall receive Twenty Rupees per Diem as an Allowance for your Table, and that it shall commence from the date of your last return and resuming the Superintendence at Port Cornwallis.

The Secretary will forward to you a list of Consignments by **the Snow Cornwallis.**

We are, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servants

(Signed) **Govr Genl in Council.**

Fort William
the 21st April, 1794.

1794. -- No. XIV.

Fort William 2d May 1794. Read the following Letter and Enclosure from Lieutenant Wells.

Lieut. Wells 1st May 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to forward the enclosed Bill and to request you will be pleased to submit it to the Honorable the Governor General in Council At the same time I must beg you will please to solicit the Board's Consideration on the following transcripts Vizt.

"**Extract from the Proceedings** of the Governor Genl. in Council **February 1st 1794.**"

"**Agreed** that the Commander in Chief be requested to order a Detachment of Sepoys to be commanded by a carefull and entilligent Officer of Infantry, who shall assist **Captain Kyd** in making his various arrangements, and take Charge of the Settlement in the Event of his temporary Absence from it."

"**Extract from Instructions** of the Governor General in Council, to **Captain A. Kyd** dated **18th February 1793**

Paragraph 21. In the case of your occasional Absence from the Andamans or in the Event of any accident depriving the Settlement of your Services the Powers and Duties of the Superintendant as specified by your Commission and these Instructions, are to devolve to Lieut. Edmund Wells, or the next Senior Officer"

The Appointment thus conferred on me, as ventual (*sic*) Superintendant of the Settlement of the Andamans having no precise Salary annexed to it I presume to conclude it to have been the intention of Government, that whenever the Station and Duties might devolve to me, I should become entitled to the Salary & Allowances appertaining to the Office, and I have accordingly made out my Bill on that principle which I hope will be approved.

I have the Honor to be with due Respect Sir,

Your most Obedient humble Servant

(Signed) Edmund Wells, Lieut.

Fort William,

May 1st 1794.

The Honorable Company	Dr.
1793/4 To my Salary as Superintendant of the Settlement of the Andamans whilst acting in that Capacity from 1st July 1793 to the 28th of February 1794 being Eight Months at Sicca Rupees 1,000.0.0 pr Month	8,000 . 0 . 0
To established Allowance for Writer's Stationery & Other Charges for the same period at Sicca Rupees 250.0.0 pr. Mo	2,000 . 0 . 0
Total Ten Thousand St Rupees...	10,000 . 0 . 0

(Signed) Edmund Wells.

The Board do not consider Lieutenant Wells either from the terms of his Appointment or from the General Rules of the Service entitled to draw the personal and other Allowances annexed to the Station and Establishments of the Superintendant of the Andamans, These Allowances have been already drawn by Major Kyd and as his Title to them in the Opinion of the Board is indisputable it supercedes the Claim of Lieutenant Wells to the same allowances.

Ordered therefore that the Bills be rejected.

1794. — No. XV.

Fort William 2d May 1794. **Read a Letter & Enclosure from Captain Smith Commander of the Snow Daphne.**

Capt. Smith 21st April 1794.

E. Hay Esqr Secy to the Govt

Sir, — I beg leave to inform you that the Pilot is at this Moment leaving the Daphne, the whole Number of People on board for Port Cornwallis is in the enclosed List they are all well at present we have had a long Passage down owing to the blowing Weather and **the Vessel being Struck by Lightning** on the 18th Instant **at Kedgeree** in a serve [? severe] Squall which Shattered the Foremast & hurt several of the People only one badly who is now recovering in consequence of this Accident I was detained 24 Hours to secure the mast which is now completely done it still blows fresh from the Southward but I am in hopes of a speedy Passage.

I have the honor to be with respect &ca

Snow Daphne (Signed) **Mathew Smith.**

21st April 1794.

List of Passengers on board the Snow Daphne for Port Cornwallis April 21st 1794.

1	Havildar
15	Seapoys
4	Women
4	Children
60	Convicts
12	Mechanics
1	Child
97	Total

(Signed) Mathew Smith.

1794. — No. XVI.

Fort William 2d June 1794. Read the following Letters **from Major Kyd** Superintendant at the Andamans.

Supt at Andamans dated 15th and 19th May 1794 No. I.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — A few days ago **a small Sloop** put into this Port, which had been **fitted out by the Bencoolen Government, to Convey Public Dispatches to Bengal,** but meeting with extreme bad Weather and the Vessel being in all respects both from her Construction and equipment unfit for keeping the Sea, in the Bay of Bengal during the South Wt Monsoon, the Commander has represented to me the impossibility of his proceeding, I have therefore thought it a duty incumbent on me to forward this Packet, and have ordered **the Sea horse Brig** to be held in readiness for that purpose and shall dispatch her, as soon as the Weather, which is at present very tempestuous is Sufficiently Settled.

I am happy to inform you of the Arrival of **the Cornwallis Snow,** on board of which was **Mr Redduck a Surgeon for the Settlement;** As this Vessel left Bengal a considerable time after **the Daphne** which has not yet made her appearance, I am much afraid that during the late Violent Weather she has Suffered in her **Masts,** and has been obliged to bear up **for Chittagong or Aracan.**

The Rainy Season has Commenced much earlier than it did last Year, but it has not Set in with so much Violence and as the people of all classes are much better Accommodated, I am in hopes that we shall not suffer so Severely by Sickness, altho' the **intermitting Fevers** are already beginning to make their appearance; we have lost another of the Artillery Men, and the few men that are left are in so **Sickly a State** that I have thought it best to Send them to Bengal **on the sea horse.**

We have met with a very great loss in **the death of Mr Heman Clack, our Beach Master** who was a Sober worthy and useful man and who cannot be easily replaced.

I herewith transmit my Account Current with the Company brought up to this period Accompanied with the Necessary Vouchers, but have not given credit for the Treasure arrived on the Cornwallis as it has not yet been examined with the Cash that I may expect to get from individuals for drafts on Government, at the issuing of Pay, I should hope that we shall have Specie enough for the use of the Settlement, for Six Months from the 1st Instant.

Indents for the necessary Supply of Provisions and Stores are forwarded by the Commissary and as we shall be deprived of a great many Necessary Articles of Supply both Public and private, Should the Daphne unfortunately not Arrive I have to request that the Sea horse may be dispatched with as little delay as possible.

It is unnecessary at this time to Answer Any part of the Public dispatches by the Cornwallis.

I have the honor to be Sir. Your most obedient Servant

Port Cornwallis (Signed) **A. Kyd.**

15th May 1794. Superintendant Andamans.

P. S. Accompanying is a **List of Bills** that I have drawn on Government for Cash received into the Treasury here which I have given Credit for in my Account Current, only the last Bill the Cash for which has been received, since the Account was closed.

I have the honor to be &c.

18th May 1794. (Signed) A. Kyd.

Supt at the Andamans No. II.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Since I did myself the honor of Writing to you on the 15th Instant Mr **Wilson Commanding the Bencoolen Sloop** who I advised to proceed to the Prince of Wales Island for which the Winds and Season is favorable has reported to me, that on laying the Vessel on Shore to Stop her Leaks, he has found her in so rotten a State. that he deems it very hazardous to proceed to Sea; without a very Considerable repair. I therefore desired **Captain Wales, and Lieut Lawrence of the Cornwallis** attended by the Head Carpenter of the Settlement to Survey her; and from their Report of the State of her Hull and Rigging it appears that it would require a Repair and Equipment to render her fit for the Sea, which it is not in our power to give. I have therefore desired Mr. Wilson to give me an Inventory of her Stores, and Provisions which I will take charge of, and have permitted him to proceed to Calcutta on the Sea Horse, on Board of which I have also sent the Seamen belonging to the Indiamen As it is most probable that the Owners of this Vessel will have claims on the Company for her Value, if She is not returned them, and as I am Certain it will be much less expensive to pay it, than to repair and fit her out, to be sent again to Bencoolen; I have directed the above named Gentlemen in Conjunction with the Commander, to Affix a Value upon her; and by the next dispatch I will send a Copy of the Survey Report and the Valuation which the Board may probably think adviseable to transmit to the Bencoolen Government.

I [illegible] the great length of her Passage has been principally owing to her [illegible] with Lighting before She left the River.

I [illegible] Sir, [illegible] Servt.

[illegible]
19th May 1794.

(Signed) **A. Kyd**
[illegible]

Ordered [illegible] the Account Current and [illegible] transmitted by **Colonel Kyd** be sent to the Auditor General for examination and Report.

The Register of Bills is to be sent to the [illegible]

Ordered that a Copy of Major Kyd's [illegible] relating to the Vessel sent from **Fort Marlbro'** be communicated to the Deputy Governor and Council of that Settlement by the first Opportunity and that a Copy of [illegible] in the Fort Marlbro' Proceedings of this date.

1794. – No. XVII

Fort William **2nd June 1794.** [illegible] Lieut. Wells.

Lieut. Wells 13th May 1794.

To **C. Shakespear Esqr.** Sub Secretary [illegible] Government.

Sir, — [illegible] the [illegible] instant, containing the [illegible] lately submitted.

I should not have [illegible] any thing further [illegible] the Subject, had not the Tenor of your Letter led me to believe that [illegible] in the Transaction, it is requisite I should [illegible] the Rights of Major Kyd, as seems to have [illegible], I [illegible] addressed him with a communication of [illegible] not only approved of but I did believe, that he had [illegible]

I must intreat you will do me the [illegible] the Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, as I [illegible] in the Judgement of the Board, of any sinister or [illegible] I imagined that I possessed a Right to All [illegible] equival[illegible] the Duties of the Superintendant, whilst I [illegible] by the Award of Government that I so far [illegible] to have been induced to make a Claim which is [illegible] will be accepted as a Sufficient apology for the Trouble I have given.

Fort William
May 13th 1794.

I have the honor to be &ca
(Signed) Edmund Wells Lieut.

Ordered that Lieutenant Wells be informed that the Governor General in Council entirely approves of his conduct as Acting Superintendant at the Andamans during Major Kyd's absence, but that the Board could not grant him the allowance [illegible] as they had with the Sanction of Government already been drawn by Major Kyd.

1794. — No. XVIII.

Fort William **30th June 1794.** [illegible] Enclosures from the Secretary to the Military Board.

Secry to the Military Board 28 June 1794.

Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to enclose two Letters addressed to the Military and Provision Storekeeper at the Andamans, which with the approbation of Government, I request may be forwarded to that Officer by the [illegible] Conveyance.

I have further the honor to enclose for the Information of the Supreme Board, Copies of the two Indents for Provisions, which have been passed, and forwarded to the Garrison Store-keeper, who has been informed that he should apply to the **Company's Salt Golah keeper,** for the Article Salt.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most Obedient humble Servant.

My Bd Officer (Signed) **Isaac Humphrys** Secy My Bd

the 23rd June 1794.

Enclosed in the Letter from the Secry to the Mily Board 23rd June.

Indent No. 1.

To **G. A. Robinson,** Garrison Store Keeper, Fort William.

Names of Stores.	Articles indented for	For what purposes wanted.	Admitted by the Board.
Doll ... ... Maunds	50	To complete 5 Months Subsistence to **138 Convicts at Port Cornwallis.**	
Ghee ... ... Do	20		
Rice ... ... Do	200		
Salt ... ... Do	20		

Port Cornwallis A true Copy (Signed) **Joseph Stokee** Actg Comy Provisions.
12th May 1794.

Indent No. 2.

To Lieut G. A. Robinson, Garrison Store Keeper Fort William.

Names of Stores.	Articles indented for	For what purposes wanted.	Admitted by the Board.
Dholl... ... Maunds	100	For the Subsistence of the Settlers at the Andamans.	
Ghee ... ... Do	40		
Rice ... ... Do	40		
Salt ... ... Do	80		
Salted meat ... Casks	2		

It is particularly recommended the Ghee may be sent down in Casks or Jars.

Port Cornwallis (Signed) **Joseph Stokoe,**

12th May 1794. Actg. Comy. Provisions, Andamans.

A true Copy (Signed) **Isaac Humphrys,** Secy. My. Bd.

Ordered that the Letters received from Secretary to the Military Board for the Military and Provision Storekeeper at the Andamans be forwarded by the Seahorse, on her return to that Settlement.

1794. — No. XIX.

Fort William 4th July 1794. The following Letters were received yesterday from Ganjam.

Actg Resid: at Ganjam 27th June 1794.

To Edward Hay Esq: Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Accompanying this I have the honor to forward a Packet for the Honble the Governor General delivered me by Captain Mathew Smith Commander of the Snow Daphne, who was unfortunately wrecked about Seventy Miles to the Southward of this Place on the 24th Instant, I am happy to add no lives are lost.

I have the Honor to be Sir Your most Obedient Servant

Ganjam (Signed) Wm Gortton
27th June 1794. Actg Resident.

Captn Smith 3d July 1794.

Edward Hay Esq: Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — It is with the greatest Concern I now address you, to inform you of the loss of the Snow Daphne which unfortunately happened at 1/4 before 11 P. M. of the 25th Inst pr Long. about 20 Miles S. W. of Ganjam, I left Port Cornwallis the 17th Instant having on board 53 Passengers of different descriptions discharged from the Island besides Captain [illegible] of His Majesties 73 Regt. I had a very good passage across the Bay and on the 24th Instant was in Latde 18°. 47 N°ly a very good Dble Altitude, and in Longd by Account 8[illegible] by which I was about 31 Miles from the Land not Seeing the land at Sunset, which may be Seen 15 Leagues off on this part of the Coast induced me to stand on during the night, it was very clear at Sunset, & I remained myself on Deck till a few Minutes before 10 the water was not at that time in the least discoloured, and at 1/4 after 10 (the Chief Officer informed me after I got upon Deck) he have a Cast of the Lead and had no ground 35 from [fathom s] I had 2 Men looking out forward and one in the Waste at 1/4 before 11 they Called out Breakers ahead — the Helm was put down immediately, but before She could be got round, unfortunately She Struck and was soon drove far out of the possibility of being got off by Day light and a little after She was nearly full of Water Every Person on board was got Safe on Shore in the Morning. The Packet of Dispatches was saved which Mr Gordon has forwarded in Company with this & I am in hopes to save great part of the Wreck, I am happy to say that I have received every attention and assistance possible from every Gentleman near the Spot I had flattered myself with the hopes of finishing my Charter Party with Government with Satisfaction to them and Credit to myself but unfortunately it has proved the reverse.

I sincerely hope this unfortunate Accident will be looked upon by Government in a favorable manner, as I assure you all I did was for the best to the best of my Judgement and it has totally destroyed all my future Prospects.

I am sir with great respect Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

Ganjam (Signed) Mathew Smith.
27th June 1784.

I am now at Ganjam, where I arrived this Morning to make out the necessary Papers and shall return to the wreck this Evening or to Morrow Morning.

1794. — No. XX.

The following Dispatches from the Superintendant at the Andamans were received with the foregoing, and Circulated for the Perusal of the Members of the Board.

Superintendant at Andamans 15th June 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — On Examining the Amount of Provisions and Stores Now at this Settlement, and calculating our expenditures, with the Supplies that the two Company's Vessels at present

imployed can convey us. I conceive that the Services, of the Daphne may be dispensed with I have therefore dispatched that Vessel to Calcutta, as Speedily as her Foremast could be replaced which had been Shattered by Lightning on the passage down; in order that She may be discharged if the Board think fit. On her I have sent Passengers, a few Artificers and Laborers, who the Surgion have thought it proper to recommend being Sent to Bengal.

I am very happy in having it in my power to acquaint the Board, that altho intermitting Fevers are yet frequent amongst all the Classes of people, that the Settlement is generally speaking much more healthy than it was last Season, which I imagine is principally owing to the people being better accommodated and the Space they Occupy being some what extended and cleared of felled timber and decayed Vegetables, which gives hopes, that in proportion as we clear away the Situation will become more healthy.

I beg you will be pleased to inform the board that I have been honored with their letter of the 21st April and that the instructions therein contained shall be paid the utmost attention to.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

Port Cornwallis (Signed) A. Kyd
15th June 1794. Superintendant Andamans.

P. S. Accompanying I send a Copy of the letters that have passed respecting the small Vessel that brought the Packet from Bencoolen to this place.[27]

1794. — No. XXI.

Fort William 4th July 1794.

Superintendant at the Andamans 15th June 1794.

Colin Shakespear Esqr. Sub Secretary.

Sir, — I have been honored with your letter of the 14th April last, Conveying the directions of the Governor General in Council, that the Accounts of this Settlement from the beginning of May of this year are to be kept in Sicca Rupees, which Shall be duly attended to.

I have the Honor to be Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant

Port Cornwallis (Signed) A. Kyd
15th June 1794. Supt. Andamans.

1794. — No. XXII.

Fort William 7th July 1794.

Mr. Shaw.

Read a Letter from Mr. Shaw.

To Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council.

Honble Sir, — The Snow Daphne, Mathew Smith Commander, and owner, in the employ of the Honble Company to carry Stores &ca. to the Andamans I am sorry to inform your Honble Board was wrecked near Gunjam, on the night of the 24th Ultimo on her return to this Port.

As the Constituted Attorney of Captain Smith I have received from the Marine paymaster. the freight of the Vessel, up to the first day of June, but on application for payment for the Month of June, the Marine paymaster informs me I must Obtain an order from your Honble Board to enable him to discharge the freight due.

From this Unfortunate Accident Captain Smith has been deprived of the little property, he is possessed [of], the Block of his Vessel, not being fully insured, he is a man of good Character and I believe has given perfect satisfaction in the employ, to Major Kyd.

[27] These letters are very long and have no direct bearing on the Andamans; they are therefore omitted

If your Hon'ble Board should have occasion to continue another Vessel, in the same employ, I humbly beg you will consider his Misfortune, and give him a preference as his Friends will in that case, procure him a Vessel.

I trust your Hon'ble Board will be pleased to order payment of the freight for the Daphne for the Month of June.

I am, Hon'ble Sir, Your Most Obedient humble Servant

Calcutta (Sigd) **J. Shaw**
the **4th July 1794.** Attorney to Mathew Smith.

Agreed that an Order be issued to the Acting Marine Paymaster to pay the Amount Freight due to Captain Smith the Owner of [the] Daphne for the Month of June.

1794. — No. XXIII.

Fort William **14th July 1794.**

[Letter from the Military Auditor General with an enclosure from **Ensign Stokoe,** with regard to that Officer's pay as Superintendant of Public Works at Port Cornwallis. The Board "agree to pass Lieut. Stokoe's Bills for Sa Rs. 1094."]

1794. — No. XXIV.

Fort William **14th July 1794.**

Milty Audr Genl.

The Hon'ble Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General &ca &ca &ca in Council Military Dept.

Hon'ble Sir, — I received a few days ago from the Military Paymaster General Copy of a Statement which at his request had been furnished to him, by the Accountant General of Disbursements made on Account of the New Settlement at the Andamans, wherein is included all advances of Cash to **Major Kyd,** up to the 1st of the present Month, amounting to Current [Rs.] 193,664 ,, 7 ,, 8.

In the Accountant Generals Letter to the Paymaster General respecting the abovementioned Statement he says "you will perceive the impracticability of ascertaining what Sums appertain to "the Military Department and what to the General Department and the consequent impossibility of "my debiting you for the Former." As the advances have been made either upon order on the General Treasury, or by Single Bills of Exchange drawn by the Superintendant or his Assistant, the Vouchers could not be transmitted to you, even under a supposition of the other difficulty being removed, without depriving these officers of them, to whom they are indispensible.

Owing to the difficulty mentioned in the preceeding quotation the amount which ought to be carried to the debit of Major Kyd, on account of the Military Department, cannot now be ascertained, and several of his accounts having recently been passed, a balance is exhibited, to his Credit, on the Military Books, to a considerable amount which I apprehend can only now be adjusted by the Accountant General, on the General Books, by Crediting Major Kyd, for the amount passed to the debit of Military Charges on account of the Andamans in 1793/4, and debiting the Military Department for an equal amount, leaving the Balance on the General Books to be adjusted in the Department, to which it belongs.

But as it is of essential importance, in order to preserve perspicuity and accuracy, that the accounts instead of being blended, in the manner mentioned by the Accountant General should be kept separate and distinct in all Departments, I beg leave to recommend that the Superintendant at the Andamans be directed to take up distinct advances, whether by Bills or Receipts on account of the **Military Department,** the amount of which shall remain at his personal Debit untill written off by Military Charges, duly audited: and that instructions be sent to this effect, by the earliest opportunity.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Hon'ble Sir,
Your most faithful and Obedient humble Servant
(Sigd) **John Morris,**
My Ar General.

Military Audr Genl's Office,
30th April 1749.

Agreed that directions be sent to the Superintendant at the Andamans to take up distinct Advances whether by Bills or Receipts on account of the Military Department the amount of which is to remain at his Personal Debit until written off by Military Charges duly Audited.

This Resolution is to be communicated to the Military Auditor General.

The Secretary informs the Board that he has received some corrected accounts for May from the Superintendant at the Andamans which he has requested may be Substituted in lieu of those Originally [?].

Ordered that they be forwarded to the Military Auditor General.

The following Letter was with the approbation of the Governor General this day forwarded to Major Kyd.

To Major Kyd.

To Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans.

Sir, — I received on the 3d Instant your letters to the Sub Secretary and myself of the 15th Ultimo, accompanied by one from the Commander in **the Snow Daphne, which I am sorry to acquaint you was unfortunately wrecked near Ganjam on the Night of the 25th of last month.** A Copy of Captain Smith's Letter reporting this Accident to the Vessel is enclosed for your Information.

The Governor General in Council has desired me to say that he observes with Satisfaction that the Settlement has been in general much more healthy than it was in the last Season, and he hopes that as the Timbers &ca are cut down and removed you will have further reason to believe that the Sickness in that year was principally owing to the Woody State of the Country near Port Cornwallis.

The Board adverting to their Letter of the 21st of April and noticing that accidentally no mention has been made in it of your Suggestion concerning **the dispatched Brig** I have Orders to acquaint you that if the Vessel can be made Serviceable to the Settlement, and is wanted there, and if upon Considration of the Expence of putting her into repair and fitting her out, for the Station, you should think that it would be better for the public Service to comply [convert ?] her in this manner than to dispose of her at Prince of Wales Island or any other Place, for whatever the Sale of her may produce, without putting the company to any Expence but such as may be absolutely necessary to navigate her to any of these Places you are at Liberty to adopt a Discretion and to act upon it.

I enclose a List of the Consignments made to you by **the Sea horse**, now returning to Port Cornwallis and a Copy of the Sailing Orders to the Commander **Captain Thomas**.

Fort William and am Sir Your most Obedt humble Servant,

July 1794. **[not signed]**

1794.—No. XXV.

Fort William **4th August 1794.** The following Letters were received from the Superintendant at the Andamans on the 2d Instant upon the Arrival of **the Snow Cornwallis.**

Supdt at the Andamans, 1st July 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to Government.

Sir, - Accompanying I have the honor of transmitting you the Account Current of this Settlement for the Months of May and June last with the Various Vouchers therein referred to which according to the directions of the Governor General in Council of the 14th April last is kept in Sicca Rupees.

Enclosed is a List of Bills of Exchange I have this Day Drawn on Government, for Cash received here, which is carried to the Public Credit in the account Current.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

(Signed) **A. Kyd**

Superintendant Andaman.

Port Cornwallis

1st July 1794.

Major Alexander Kyd Superintendant at the Andamans in Account Current with the Honble Company.

Dr

1794		Dollars	Sa Rs.	a.	p.
May 16th	To Balance in hand as per account closed yesterday ...	1860	7042	3	...
17th	To Cash received from the Treasury of Fort William by the Cornwallis Snow	...	15000	...	..
18th	To my Drafts on Government in favour of sundry Individuals as per List and Letter of advice to Mr Secry Hay of this date...	...	16000	.	...
	Dollars & Sa Rs.	1860	40042	3	..

Cr

		Dollrs	Sa Rs.	a.	p.
May 16th	By the Cost of Ten Six pounder Guns for the Sea Horse Brig purchased by the Orders of Sow Cornwallis conveyed to me by Capt George Robinson as per Bill No. 1	...	1090	4	4
17th	Paid Sirian Pistano Master of a Pegu Vessel Yams for the use of the Europeans and Hospital as per Bill ... ... No. 2	...	150	.	...
24th	Paid Captain John Wales for Provisioning Passengers from Calcutta on the Cornwallis as per Bill... ... . No. 3	...	58	2	...
June 1	By advance made to sundry people in Calcutta sent from Port Cornwallis on the Cornwallis and Daphne per Bill .. .. No. 4	...	782	11	10
	By Sundry Articles furnished for the use of the Hospital and in the Provn Department by my Orders as per Enn Stokoes Bill ... No. 5	...	583	..	...
July 1st	By Convicts Charges for May and June as per Bill ... ... No. 6	...	1222	8	...
	By Pay of Public Establishment of Artificers and Labourers as per Returns and abstracts for May and June ... . No. 7	...	4548	2	...
	Pay of Gun Lascars for May and June as per abstracts ... No. 8	...	569	5	6
	Pay of the Commissarys Establishment Do. Do. Do. ... No. 9	...	1088	15	2
	Pay & allowance to Ensn Stokoe for May and June as per Bill...No. 10	...	800	10	1
	Magazim Serjeant Whites Bill for May and June ... ... No. 11	...	57	6	8
	Pay of the Sepoy Detachment for May & June as per Return and Abstracts... ... ... No. 12	...	4075	6	10
	By Superintendants Salary for May and June, Pay and Batta for Ditto and arrears of Table allowance as per Bill ... ... No. 13	...	6457	10	2
	Pay to Mr David Wood Surgeon for May and June and Hospital Servants for the same Months as per Bill ... ...No. 14	...	832	7	...
		...	22316	9	7
July 1st	By Balance in hand Dollars & Sa. Rs.	1860	17725	9	5
		...	40042	3	...

Errors Excepted.

Port Cornwallis
February 1st 1794.

(Sigd) **A. Kyd**
Superintendant
Andamans.

Ordered that a Copy of the above Account Current be sent with its Vouchers to the Military Auditor General for his Report thereon — and that the accountant General be furnished with the List of Bills of Exchange, enclosed in Major Kyd's Letter of the 1st. Ultimo.

1794. — No. XXVI.

Supt Andamans. Dated 20th July 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to Government.

Sir, — As the time we had reason to expect the return of **the Sea Horse Brig** is rather past, and as we will soon be in want of Many articles of Provision and Stores, I have thought it prudent to Dispatch **the Cornwallis Snow** for Calcutta, and have directed the Commissary to transmit the necessary Indents to the Military Board.

I before requested you would obtain the Governor General in Councils directions respecting **the Dispatch Brig** that Admiral Cornwallis left here. I beg now that you will be so good as to acquaint the Board that I have had that Vessel examined and find that she is exceedingly fine and well built of the best materials and well provided with rigging and all kind of Stores except Sails which the Admiral carried away — I have therefore hawled her on shore and am proceeding to put her in perfect repair, and have now indented on the Marine Store Keeper for a Suit of Sails and other little necessary articles of Stores to complete her for Sea which I hope the Board will please direct to be complied with — I beg leave to observe that this Vessel will answer for the present purposes of the Settlement Nearly as well as one of the large Pilot-Vessels — and will not be at more than half the expence of Sailing — I beg therefore that I may have the Boards permission to fit her out which shall be done in the most aeconomical Manner. It will appear evident, that if she is even to be sold or applied to any other purposes of Government, that she must at all events soon be proved [? moved] from this place when left exposed to the weather without repair she would soon become of no Value.

I am very happy to have it in my power to acquaint the Board, that **the Settlement has as yet been infinitely more healthy this Season** than the last, which I imagine has been owing to the Rains being less Severe and the People of every class being better accommodated.

Port Cornwallis — I have the honor to be &ca

20th July 1794. — (Sigd.) **A. Kyd** Supdt Andamans.

The Governor General in Council observes upon the Subject of the above Letter that an authority to Equip and employ the Dispatch Brig was given to Major Kyd in the Letter written to him by the Secretary to the Government on the 14th of July and that with respect to the Sails belonging to the Brig, they were sent by the Sea Horse.

But the Secretary acquainting the Board that he has been advised by the Master Attendant that they were in bad condition, the Acting Naval Store Keeper is to be authorized to provide the **New Sails** indented for by Major Kyd. He is also to furnish the other Articles required by the Superintendant to complete her for Sea.

1794. — No. XXVII.

Secry to the Hospital Board. 2nd August 1794.

Read a Letter and its Enclosure from the Secretary to the Hospital Board.

To **I. H. Harrington Esqr Sub Secretary.**

Sir, — I am directed by the Hospital Board to transmit to you the Enclosed Copy of a List of necessarys which they have received from **Mr. Robert Reddick Assistant Surgeon** to the

Andamans which they request you will lay before the Governor General in Council and to acquaint him that they beg leave to recommend that they may be authorized to direct the Purveyor to furnish the necessarys required.

Fort William Hospital Board Office
the 2d August 1794.

I have the honor to be &c.
(Sigd) A. Campbell Secty

Indent for necessaries for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis.

Madeira Wine ... ... Twelve Dozen.
Brandy ... ... Three Dozen.
Arrack ... ... Three Dozen.
Vinegar ... ... Four Dozen.
Lime guice (*sic*)... ... ... Three Dozen.
Stationary for Indents report, &ca.
Wax Candles ... ... Twelve Seir.
Sago ... ... Half Maund.

(Sigd) **Robt Reddick**
Asst Surgeon.
(Sigd) **A. Kyd**
Supdt Andamans.

Port Cornwallis
20th July 1794.

Hospl. Bd Office
the 2d [Aug.] 1794.

(a true copy)
(Sigd) **A. Campbell, Secty**

Agreed that the Hospital Board be authorized to direct the purveyor to furnish the Articles Mentioned in the above Indent and to have them sent by the Cornwallis Snow, which will return to the Andamans in a very few days.

1794. — No. XXVIII.

Fort William **8th August 1794.** Read a Letter from Lieutenant Wales.

Lt Wales. 5th August 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — Having left **Mr. William Somervill** at Port Cornwallis at the particular request of Major Alexander Kyd, to take Charge **of the Dispatch Brig** and fitt her out for Sea, until the determination of the Government became known with respect to her being employed, and understanding from you that, that determination is left to Major Kyd, I have the pleasure to inform you that he acquainted me, he wished much to put her in Commission as such a Vessel would be absolutely necessary to guard against any accident that might happen to either of the other two; of course he will equip her on the Sea horse's arrival there; by which means **the Cornwallis under my Command** will be in want of a Second Lieutenant; will you be so good as to represent this to the Board, in order that they may appoint an Officer to fill up the vacancy.

Calcutta
August 5th 1794.

I have the honor to be Your most Obedt Humble Servant
(Signed) **Jno. Wales.**

Agreed that the Subject of Lieutt Wales's Application shall lie over for the present.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M. A

(Continued from p. 391.)

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A MODERN INSTANCE OF THE BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

In 1875, No. 2021 (now ex-convict), Pedatâla Lachigâdu arrived in Port Blair from Madras as a life-convict for killing an infant with arsenic while trying to poison a man. The character sent with him was that he was a poisoner and a person "skilled in witchcraft." In 1900 he was absolutely released and allowed to settle in Port Blair as a free man, under the rules relating to well-behaved convicts. As long as he was a convict his proclivities seem to have been dormant, but he returned to his old habits of practising "witchcraft" as soon as he was released. At any rate, his neighbours considered he had done so, for, in March, 1902, I received the following petition from them, through the Officer in charge of the Garacherama Sub-division, in which they resided.

The petition is given verbatim, and so is the evidence collected by this Officer, in order that students may have the facts as presented to me unvarnished.

It may be noted that the person charged with witchcraft is a Madrasi. The petitioner himself is a Bengali, and all the witnesses named are North-country Indians, including one Musalmân, Bâbû 'Alî, the rest being Hindûs. These North-country people knew the South Indian wizard by the name of Lachhmana. I need hardly say that villages in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair are made up of the most mixed population possible, drawn from every class, caste and nationality in the whole Indian Empire, and many persons are only able to converse with neighbours in the peculiar variety of Hindustânî, which has become the *lingua franca* of the Settlement.

From the evidence it would appear that the strict and noisy performance of religious ceremonies and a reputation for witchcraft are all that is necessary to constitute a village wizard in India, combined, of course, with a more or less open assertion of magical powers. So wily a personage as the life-convict ordinarily is would be sure to take advantage for his own benefit of such a situation

Petition.

The most humble petition of ex-convict No. 15037 Mundâ of Protheroepore Village. Most respectfully Sheweth :—That your poor petitioner, in behalf of the following villagers of Protheroepore, respectfully begs to state that petitioner and other villagers are in great trouble by the mischieves and misbehaviors of one Lachhmana, who is well known as a native medicine-supplier to the people and a magician.

That his usual habit is to say publicly that if some presents are not made to him he will make them suffer a great loss (by sickness) by *mantar* [incantations] and *bhûts* [spirits], and people thus being afraid, give him whatever he wants :—for instance he [the petitioner] gives below a few examples showing how he [Lachhmana] compels people and forcibly derive money from them :—

(i) If any man's cow calf he (Lachhmana) will go to him and tell him to give him the milk of the newly-calved cows, otherwise he will deprive the cows of the milk by his *mantars*, etc.

(ii) That he openly tells to the women, seeing their infants somewhat uneasy, "That your children have been troubled by evil ghosts, *shaitâns* [devils] and *bhûts*, and if he [*i. e.*, you] will give me money (for sacrificing hen or goat and presenting pûjâ [ceremoney of worship] for evil ghosts, etc.) I will soon relieve them of all the troubles, else they will die"; and these ignorant women, believing his statement, soon give him what he wants. That most of good milch cow have been died and still fell sick by his (Lachhmana's) wickedness.

That since one Hâji Karim of Garacherama, whose fame had obtained a wide spread in the Settlement and who was noted as a great magician and poison supplier, has been punished, no one came forward to gain the same fame but the above named Lachhmana.

That he being a low caste man and shows himself a big *pandit* or Brâhman by using sankh[1] noise both in morning and evening, and women and rude people being frightened by his threatening deeds, that he will make all *shaitâns* and evil ghosts to attack on them, who are in his (Lachhmana's) possessions by means of *mantars*, magic, etc., use to give him whatever he demands.

[1] Blowing a conch.

As people are in great trouble or distress on account of this wretched man in the village; therefore, petitioner respectfully prays that, after recording the separate statement of the following villagers, your honor will do justice in the case by removing him from the Settlement, for his being a mischievous great magician and dishonest and troublesome man, as they cannot bear to live further with him. And for which act of kindness and charity petitioner shall as in duty bound ever pray.

His × Mark.

Signature of petitioner.

Dated 7th March, 1902.

Statements of Villagers.

Bâbû 'Alî,[2]—on Solemn Affirmation, states that accused since his release defies everyone and states he can do anything he pleases: he performs *pûjâ* and dries up the milk of cows belonging to those villagers against whom he has a grudge.

Râmâ, No. 17922 ex-convict,—on Solemn Affirmation, states that all he knows about the accused with reference to the charge is, that he blows a conch (*sankh bajâtâ hai*) at nightfall.

Dhullâ, No. 13219 ex-convict,—on Solemn Affirmation, states, his wife spoke to accused about doing *pûjâ* and asked him to stop doing so. Accused thereupon got angry with his wife and made her ill for a month When she got a little better, accused told her that it was he that had caused the illness. She is not quite well yet.

Dhannû, No 13235 ex-convict,—on Solemn Affirmation, states, accused since his release has been a regular plague to the village. He has stopped the cows from giving milk, and does nothing, but abuses everyone. All are afraid of him.

Sâbu Singh, No. 18863 ex-convict,—on Solemn Affirmation, states, everyone is afraid of accused; he makes the cows of the village ill and turns their milk into blood and dries them up. He gets intoxicated on *târî* [toddy], and abuses every one; he performs *pûjâ*, and if refused a glass of milk when asked for, he threatens to harm the cows of those who refuse. He is a plague to all villagers

Padnâ, No 18635 ex-convict, — on Solemn Affirmation, states, accused quarrelled with him and threatened to burn him up, and blow him away from the earth. He is therefore very frightened. Accused always performs *pûjâ*.

[2] A local settler, who has never been a convict.

Sanniási, No. 20620 ex-convict,—on Solemn Affirmation, states, accused abuses everyone in the village and threatens to burn everyone in the village one by one; he perform *pújá*, and intimidates everyone in the village. He was all right until released.

Female Rám Dái,[3]—on Solemn Affirmation, states, that accused took a dislike to her and made her ill by making *jádú* [magic] against her. He also stopped her cows from giving milk.

Rám Khiláwan,[4]—on Solemn Affirmation, states, he knows that accused performs *pújá*, but knows nothing else about him.

Notes by the Sub-Divisional Officer.

Accused denies the charge and states it is a false and unjust one. He states he prays to his gods morning and evening and does pûjâ, but he has never done anyone harm or intimidated anyone.

Enquiry from the *chaukídár* [village watchman] and the rest of the villagers concerning this man elicited that they all admit that accused performs *pújá*; but beyond this he has never done them any harm. Accused has resided ten years in Protheroepore Village,[5] and bears a good character.

[3] A free woman, never a convict.

[4] A free man, never a convict.

[5] *I. e.*, first on ticket of-leave and then as a released (ex-) convict.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HINDU CHILD MARRIAGES.

(Part of a Petition sent by a prominent Bombay Citizen to the Gaekwar of Baroda.)

THE practice of selling their daughters or own girl offsprings prevalent amongst the various Hindu communities of Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch for the time, circumstances, and status of the social conventionalism have reached to such a climax that, unless some thorough and substantial arrangements towards reformation be not made, the corruption would be too heart-rending to describe. We daily come in contact with numerous fresh examples of innocent daughters falling prey to the giant custom, and heartless parents offering them as sacrifices before the altar of their discontented avarice. Is there no remedy for eradicating this most disgraceful and cruel custom? Could anything be done towards the amelioration of the degenerated and disgraceful state of the country and the people wherein this giant and inhumane custom of Kanaya-Vikraya is prevalent? Hundreds and hundreds of instances can be quoted and verified in which poor innocent girls have been cruelly thrown into the abyss of destruction and ruin by their money-loving parents amongst several Hindu communities inhabiting the abovementioned parts of the country. Is not this practice an open dealing or trade in human life? The sale of girls practice, in many parts of Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch, is worse than slavetrade, which has been prohibited by our benign British Government. When we practically see a girl of eight or twelve years offered as bride by her cruel avaricious parents or nearest authoritative relatives to the highest bidder, never mind what his age may be, fifty, sixty or seventy, what do we think of this practice or transaction, which is in vogue at present and comes daily under our observation?

It is neither a religious necessity nor a stringent duty to be performed in accordance with the Shastras; but, on the contrary, disposing of girls in such a way for money consideration is strictly prohibited by the *Shastras*. This is simply a prevailing practice made available for the satisfaction of self-interest by low-minded avaricious parents amongst many Hindu communities, but which is abhorred by other respectable and more intelligent persons of the community, though allowed by them to pass off unprotested for want of joint co-operation with a Luther-like start. Hundreds of girls, as soon as they are sold in marriage, have to deplore the loss of their old husbands, fit to be their grand-fathers, in the prime of life, and many a widow is pining in loneliness and sorrow on account of this most barbarous custom. All the refined men of education and intelligence pity these scenes, which are most horrible to depict. Corruption is rising to its extreme, and has overstepped the bounds of morality. Sins reproduce sins, immorality and degeneration reign throughout in such communities: no alternative left; no redress given; Nature must predominate. It is not necessary to be more explicit. The sins of commission and results ensuing from such enforced child-widowhood may be more easily imagined than described. Generally, persons marrying on a third or fourth occasion are well-to-do and they can only afford to pay high prices for girls, and the consequence is that these rich widows, in a very short time after the death of their husbands, are led astray by some self-interested and debaucherous persons.

and the crimes they commit are horrible to describe. **The cases of infanticide are so numerous in such communities, that, if careful and** stringent enquiry were to be made, the result would be most horrible and terrible. The root and cause of all this catastrophe is the prevailing custom of **Kanaya-Vikraya, sale of girls in marriage by their parents.** A girl amongst such communities is considered to be an article of trade, viewed by the parents as a price-fetching jewel, by the brokers or mediators as a commodity for speculation, and by the buyers as a thing handy and at the command of their money. Can we not safely attribute the emaciated condition, unhealthy constitution, and premature deaths to this glaring evil, observed in various communities in which this cruel, immoral, and inhumane practice of selling girls in marriage, without the least consideration being paid to the equality of age, is prevalent?

DESTEMALS, SGARDERBERAL, &c.

IN Mandelslo's *Travels* (1638), speaking of Pâtan in North Gujarât, we read, — 'The city of **Pettan was formerly more than six leagues in circumference, and was defended by a good freestone wall, which is now ruined in many places since the trade began to fall away. The inhabitants are for the most part Benjans, and are engaged in making silk-stuffs for home use, and cotton cloths, but these are coarse, and only such as are called Destemals, sgarderberal, longis, Allegiens, &c.'**

The translation of this passage in Harris's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (fol. Lond. 1744), Vol. I, p. 765, is very slip-shod, and omits altogether the names of the cloths. Col. Yule does not seem to have used Mandelslo; but longis is simply long-cloth (*loongi*), — can any one identify and describe **destemals**, *sgarderberal*, and **Allegiens? Alleja is, perhaps, the same as Allegiens** (Yule, p. 756).

In Van Twist's *Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien* (Amsterdam, 1648), p. 16, the same statement occurs in Dutch: indeed, Wicquefort and Ogilby seem both to have copied from this work, which is valuable for the information it affords respecting Gujarât in the early part of the 17th century. There we read "De Inwonders . . . haer gheneerende met het maeeken van alderley syde Hoffen; . . . mede vallen hier schoone Pett[illegible]n ofte syde Chindes, mitsgaders eenighe groove lijnwaten, als **Oestemaels** ofte neusdoeeken. . . . **Tulbanden, Sgaderberael, Longis,** Allegiens, &c."

Here we have **Oestemaels or 'handkerchiefs'** where Wicquefort has **Destemals—evidently for** the Hindustâni **Dastmal**; and **Tulbanden** is 'turbans,' — but **Sgaderberael** is unexplained.

J. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, 6th March 1902.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SUTHRA SHAHIS.

THE story goes:—A boy was born with its teeth already cut and its parents exposed it, as a child so born is unlucky.[1] The tenth Gurû of the Sikhs, Hargôbind, happened to find the child, and told his disciples to take it up, but they refused, saying it was *kuthrâ*, or dirty. The Guru replied it was *suthrâ*, or clean, and they then obeyed. This boy was the founder of the **Suthrâ Shâhi Sect.**

This story is noteworthy as showing how **unlucky children were exposed, or possibly given to faqirs.** The poet Tulsî Dâs was born in Abhukta-mûla, at the end of the asterism Jyêshthâ and in the beginning of that of Mûla, and he was in consequence abandoned and probably picked up by *Sâdhûs*. The Jôgis, according to one legend, originated in a similar way.[2] For another instance in Kumaon Folk-Lore, *cf. Saturday Review*, May 12th, 1877 (*North Indian Notes and Queries*, III p. 30). **It would be interesting to know how far the various sects of faqirs are recruited from unlucky children, or from children vowed to the gods.**

The above notes suggest a point for enquiry. Are *unlucky children* devoted to the gods? If so, is a child born under particular circumstances devoted to a particular deity? For example, would a child born with its teeth already cut be *ipso facto* dedicated to any special deity or in the Panjâb to the Suthrâ Shâhi Sect? The Panjâbi custom of giving an unlucky child to a Brâhman and then buying it back again may have originated in this way.

Further, is there any custom by which children are vowed to a deity, or to (what perhaps comes to the same thing) the sect of *faqîrs* or devotees who worship that deity? There is one well-known instance of such a custom in the Panjâb according to the received explanation. But is the custom general?

H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab.

22nd April 1902.

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[1] A world-wide superstition. In the Hebrides a child born with a tooth, or which cut its first tooth in the upper jaw, will be a bard. *Folk-Lore* March 1902, page 32.

[2] *Ante*, Vol XXII p. 237.

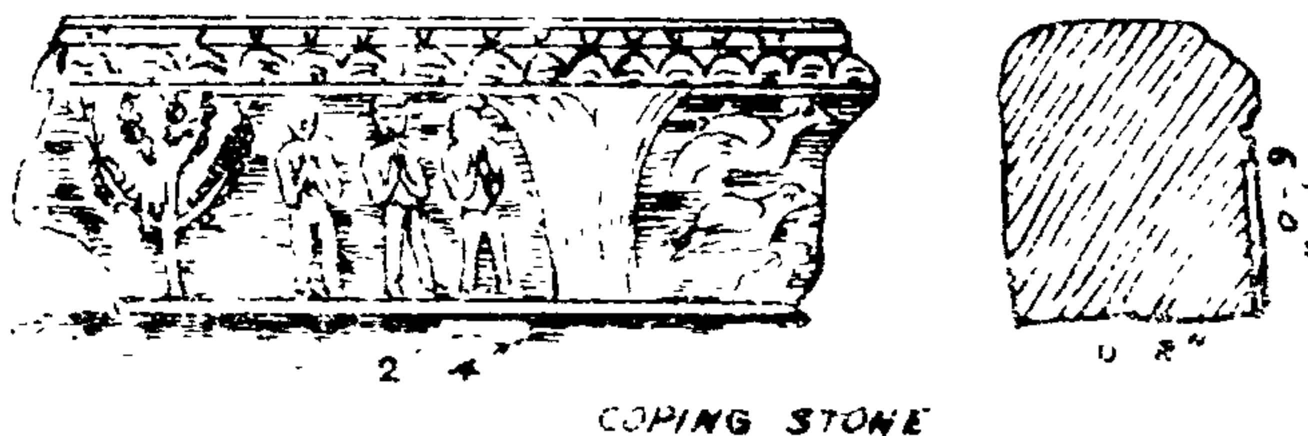
REPORTS MADE DURING THE PROGRESS OF EXCAVATIONS AT PATNA.

BY BABU P. C. MUKHARJI.

REPORT No. I. — DECEMBER, 1896.

I REACHED Patna on the 7th December, 1896, under orders from Government, with general instructions to consult Mr. Mills, P. W. D. Engineer, from time to time. Making a preliminary inspection and studying Dr. Waddell's Report and other papers on the subject, I commenced work on the 11th, on the south bank of the **Kallu Pokhrâ, Kumrâhar,** where I traced vestiges of old brick-walls; and on the 13th, excavation was commenced on the north-west corner of the **Chaman Talâo, Kumrâhar,** where some brick-walling, which appeared to be rotten, being as soft as the surrounding earth, was exhumed before long. On the 15th, I began excavating **the mound known as Laskarî Bibî;** so called, because her grave crowns it; where, on the second day, I came down upon some walls. Being successful so far, I made bold to break ground on **a fourth mound, about a mile south of the Bankipore** Railway Station, where, on a preliminary visit on the 17th, I saw two large stones (sandstone of the Chunâr type), which appeared to be rough-hewn architraves, belonging to some buildings, most probably of the Aśôka period. A letter from Dr. Waddell directed my attention to **Buland Bâgh, Sandalpûr,** where, in 1895, a colossal capital, carved with ornaments of the Aśôka period, was found. Here I commenced excavations, as also at the field and garden on the south of the Chaman Talâo, where, under a big tamarind tree, I saw a carved coping stone (**Fig. 1**) that originally belonged to a Buddhistic rail.

FIG. 1.



COPING STONE

The excavations at these places fully occupied my attention all the month: for keeping in view my intention to produce the best results at the least cost, I guided the workmen daily, and did not allow them to dig unnecessarily, for which reason the contractors grumbled. The contract system did not satisfy me, the coolies breaking bricks and small relics now and then, and the contractors being careless, my strict injunctions notwithstanding; so I soon had recourse to daily labour. I had no time to explore other ancient sites, except **the Dargâh and the Jamunâ Dhih,** west of the Bankipore Railway Station.





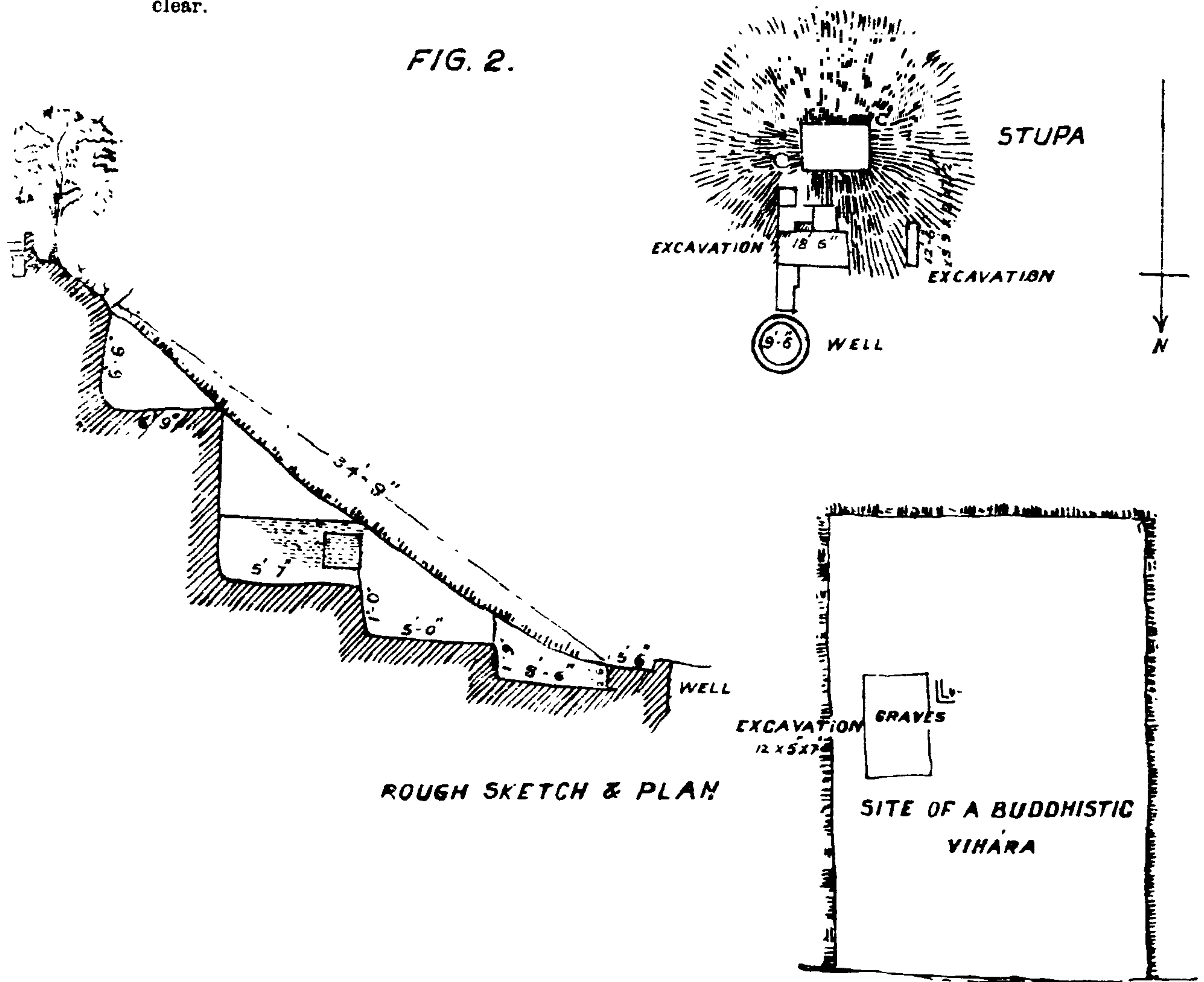
The extensive Dargâh, which stands on the high ground, on the north side of the large and rather sacred tank, called **Gunsâr or Sâgar,** appears to contain several relics of the Mauryan period. In the passage of the **inner entrance** I saw the carved side of several **rails** placed upside down. I secured **two relics** here — one a rail post, with a husband and wife in an amatory attitude under a tree carved, and the other a winged but headless **lion,** whose tail, now gone, was that of a *makara* (crocodile). On a mound west of the Dargâh, which is crowned with some Muhammadan graves, is a tall pillar of stone, nicely carved with ornaments, which is inscribed with shell characters, that are known to have always marked the Aśôka and Gupta monuments.

The results of the excavations.

I.

The *stûpa*-like mound, which contains the grave of **Laskarî Bîbî,** showed walls on its north-eastern face on the second day of excavation, which, however, yielded pure earth above

and below. This fact shows that this *stûpa* was originally formed of earth, and that subsequently some walls were added at the middle height to strengthen it, and probably also to make small cells for the Buddhist monks to live in, or perhaps to serve as shrines for the statues of the Buddha. Close by is a large well, apparently ancient, whose diameter is 9′ 6″; and on the north is an elevated piece of ground, rectangular in plan, which also contains some Muhammadan graves. The sketch plan and section below (Fig. 2) will make my meaning clear.



Finding the Laskarî Bibî mound to be not so promising as the others, I stopped work at this point. Close to the Laskarî is another mound, at Jagîpurâ, whence a carved stone of the Aśôka period was exhumed in 1895.

II.

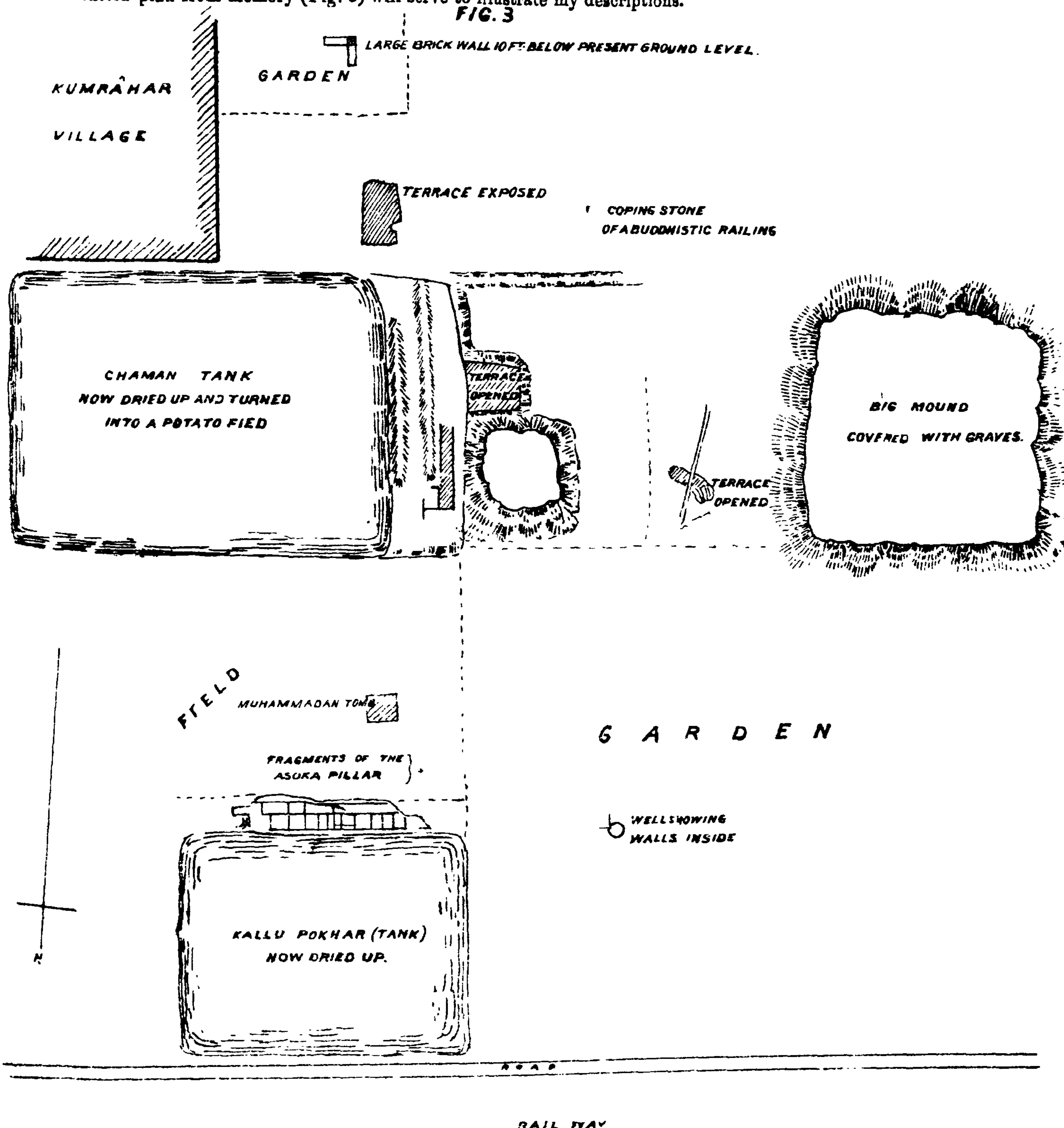
The large mound, about a mile south of the Bankipore Station, was opened; the two architraves, and a large wall with cross ones, was brought to light. Altogether this field appeared to be very promising. But as my excavations began to damage the standing crops, I had to stop work.

III.

The third place of excavation was at Bulandî Bâgh. Here two portions of a large terrace, or rather two terraces, *i. e.*, brick floors, were cleared; and a large brick-wall, which appeared to be massive, was touched.

IV.

The fourth place, yielding important results, was at **Kumrâhar**. The following rough sketch plan from memory (Fig. 3) will serve to illustrate my descriptions.



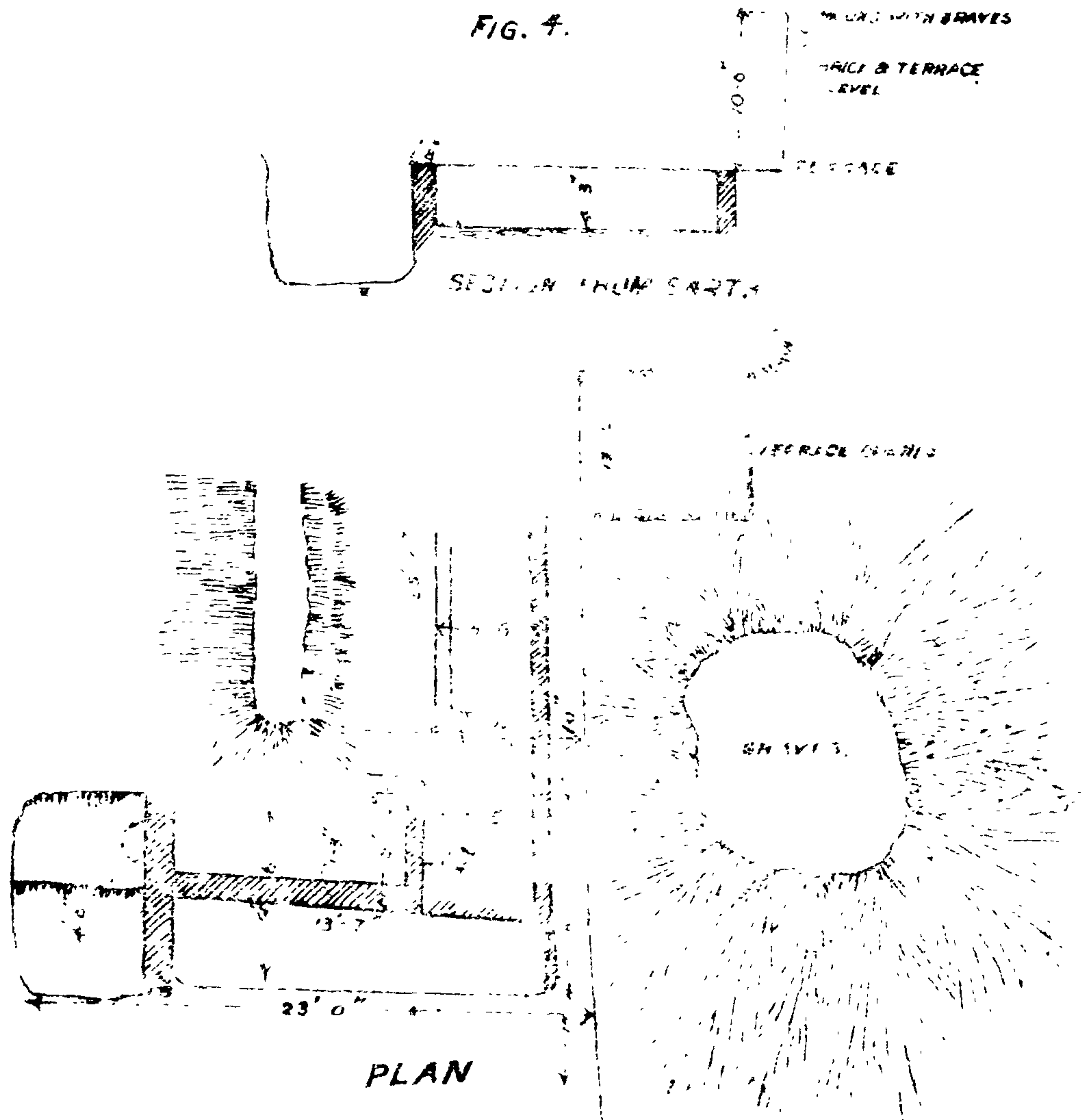
Commencing with the southern portion of the sketch map, I drove a trench, north to south at right angles to an old one, dug in 1895, in the garden of the headman of the Kumrâhar village. Below 10 feet I found portion of a large wall, made of bricks, each 1′ 1″ × 0′ 10″ × 0′ 4″ in dimensions. The portion of the wall exhumed was 8 feet in length by about 4 feet in breadth. Clearing round it and going down further about 2 feet I found clear earth, and no continuation, of the brick-work. So I stopped following up what Dr. Waddell and I thought to be part of the remains of **the Mauryan palace proper**. It would be necessary to study the ground afresh before making another trial-trench in order to trace the missing connection.

On the south of the village, not shown in the sketch, is a large earthen well, inside which is visible **a brick-wall about 8 feet below the present level of the ground. In a new well** close by, which was then dug, a bluish-white sandy earth was found about 12 feet below the surface, which belongs only to the bed of the Ganges. This fact shows that one of the channels of this river used to flow over this spot at some prehistoric period. And just below this Ganges silt, when the sub-soil water was reached, that is, at 19 feet, was found a block of *sál*-wood rotten with age, which might have belonged to **the palisade of Palibothra (Pâtâliputra),** mentioned by Megasthenes. I secured some pieces of it for the proposed local Museum. In the neighbourhood were other indications of ancient remains.

North of the garden, where I found the **wall of the Mauryan palace,** I came across a terrace or brick floor, about 36 by 10 feet, two feet below the present field, which I cleared. And just West of it, and under a big tamarind tree, was a very interesting piece of coping stone, which once crowned a Buddhistic railing surrounding a *stûpa*, most probably the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. This coping stone was carved on one face with three human figures, three birds and two trees—now worshipped by the villagers as a sylvan deity (see Fig. 1 above). So it was not possible to secure it for museum purposes. That the *stûpa* was here is evident, not only from what the Chinese traveller recorded, but from the archæological indications traceable in this place and its neighbourhood.

V.

On the north-west of the **Chaman Talâo** (see Fig. 4), I went deeper into **an excavation** of 1895; and, cutting in different directions, north and south, east and west, I brought to light some walls composed of large bricks, the purpose of which is not yet clear. They were 10′ 6″ below the west side mound, down which I went 4′ 3″ deeper, as shown in sketch section below. Below three feet or so, in the middle of the west bank, was a brick terrace, 13′ 0″ × 13′ 0″, whose end walls were not then discovered. Going about 7′ 6″ down still, I came across what appeared to be a floor, just above some thing which looked like an arched drain. Digging 4′ 3″ yet deeper, I exposed the walls, which were so soft with age that it required the greatest care to expose them entire.



EXCAVATIONS AT PATNA, 1896.

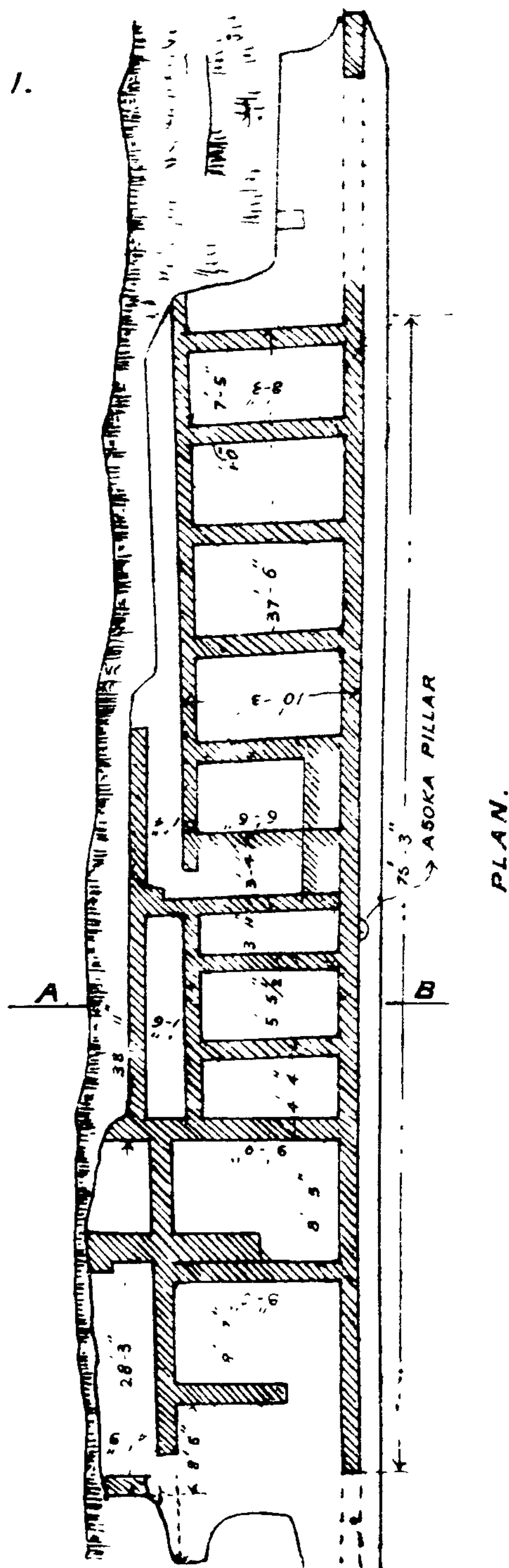
PLATE I.

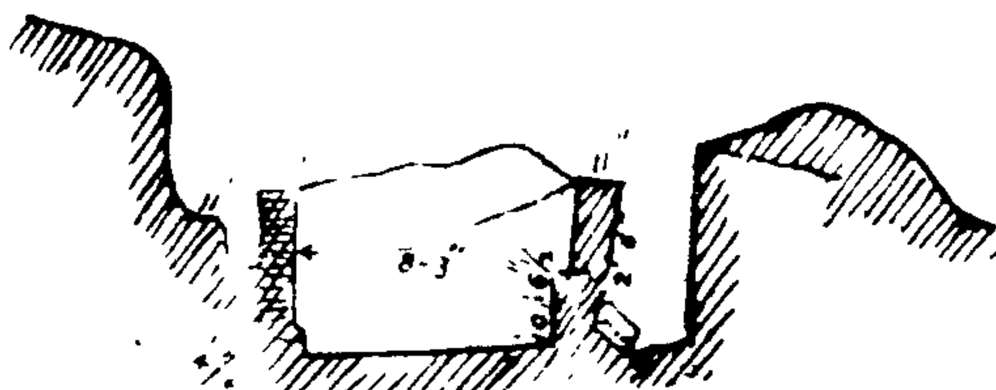
EXCAVATIONS ON THE SOUTH BANK OF THE KALLU POKHRA.



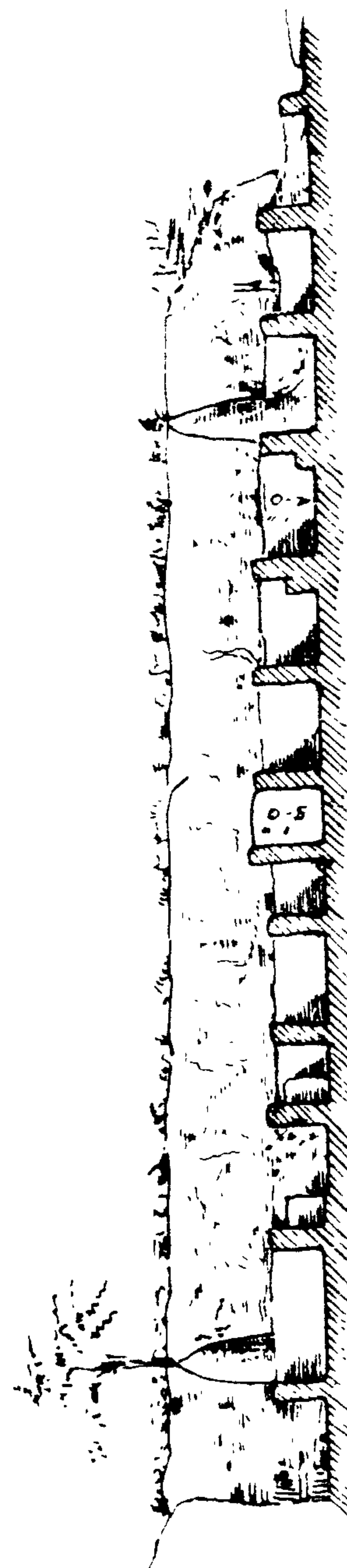
+ FRAGMENTS OF ASOKA PILLAR FOUND HERE







CROSS SECTION AT A. B.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION

P C MUKHARJI, DEL

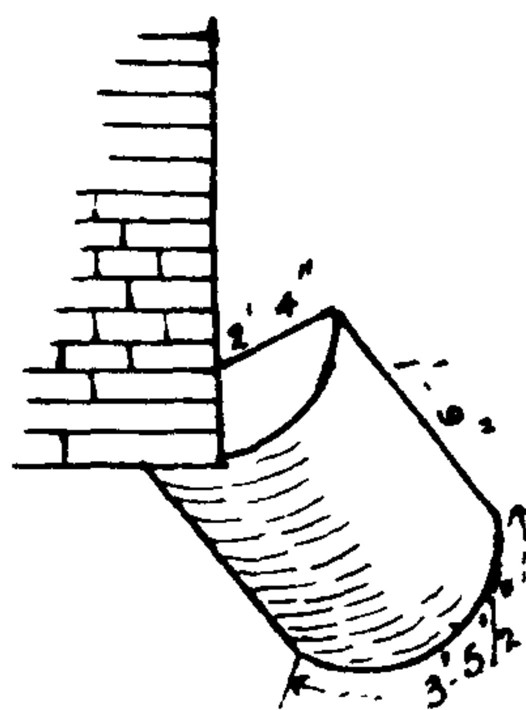
B E S PRESS. LITHO.

I also cleared another terrace on the west of the Chaman Talâo (flower-tank), where, in 1895, long trenches were cut without apparently any definite results, but the walls were not found.

VI.

The most important results were obtained from the excavations on the south bank of the Kallu Pokhrâ, where a portion (consisting of a number of rooms or rather cells) of a *vihâra* or of the out-houses of the palace were brought to light. The construction was peculiar; for, as will be seen in the sketch plan on Plate I., double walls and projecting bricks at the foundation were visible. Assuming the two parallel walls on the south to be those of a drain, it did not appear to be continuous, and there were others also parallel to the cross and the northern walls. So that the drain theory cannot hold good, and I cannot yet explain them otherwise. The meaning will most probably be clearer on extending the area of excavation, which was then already about 100 × 20 × 15 feet on the average. There were three kinds of bricks — one was 1 — 6 × 0 — 11¼ × 0 — 1¾″; a second was 1 — 6 × 0 — 11½ × 0 — 2½″; and a third, which was on the higher portion of the walls, was smaller in every dimension than the other two. The larger of the bricks were not four-square, but were curved like a bow, owing probably to age and to unequal pressure from the superstructure, of which the roof appeared to be gabled and tiled. Each tile had a hole in it to hold what appeared to be a knob on that immediately below it. This kind of tiling is not prevalent in Bengal at the present day, so far as I have seen.

Midway and just below the lowest brick of the northern wall, I discovered a large but semi-circular piece of an Aśôka pillar in granite, of which the surface appeared to be quite fresh and polished. Innumerable other fragments of smaller size were also found, though no inscribed portion was secured. The diameter of this portion of the shaft appears to be 2′ 4″, and the existing girth (presumably half) is 3′ 5½″. From the position of the pillar I conclude that the structure was built subsequently to the breakage of the Aśôka pillar, which act of vandalism, we learn from Hiuen Tsiang, was performed by Râja Saśâṅka Dêva in the 6th century A.D.



Position of the Aśôka pillar relic under the foundation wall.

Finds.

I secured a few coins and many other interesting things, beads, terra cottas, &c. But unfortunately I only recorded the main results up to the 31st December 1890.



A relic from Kumrâhar.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF REGALIA OF THE KINGS OF BURMA OF THE ALOMPRA DYNASTY.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

WHEN in Mandalay from 1887 to 1890, I procured **a native drawing, showing all the Regalia of the Court of King Thibaw set out in the orthodox order.** To each article was attached its name, and there were also notes on **the dates when some of the articles were added to the Regalia.** Afterwards, when I found that there was a convict carver at Port Blair, who had been about the Burmese Court and was well acquainted with the Regalia, I took advantage of his presence to have the whole of them carved for me in model to scale by him and other convicts. These Notes are made with a view to illustrating the collection of models and also in the hope that further information will be forthcoming about them.

In the drawing, the Regalia are arranged with the Throne in the centre and in front of it a row of flags and fans. This may be called the central division. The other articles are arranged on either side of the Throne on the right (*le'yâlaw*) and left (*le'wèdaw*). Level with the Throne on either side stand the umbrellas and great fans. In front of these, in two rows separated by railings, are placed on either side a number of miscellaneous articles of household use.

I give below a list of the articles with their names in the vernacular, with the traditional translation as explained to me, and here and there a note. I shall be very much obliged if any reader of this *Journal* will be so good as to communicate further information, or corrections of that now given. The subject is of some interest, and knowledge of it at first hand is not likely to survive for many years more.

I.

Le'yâdaw — Royal Right Hand.

Umbrellas — Tibyûdaw — Royal White Umbrella.

Kàmbu Tibyûdaw (Pâli *kampa*, (?) trembling).

Sinda Tibyûdaw (Pâli *chanda*, moon).

Kambu Tibyûdaw Thamôgda Zâlingaw (P. *kampa*, plus *samuddachhalanga*, (?) ocean of the six qualities).

Withâgyô Tibyûdaw (P. Visakrum for Viśvakarma, the celestial architect—*vide ante*, Vol. XXVII, p. 325).

Large Fans:

Yà'màdaw, Great Royal Fan.

Do. do. do, do.

Regalia of 1188 B. E. (1826 A. D.):

Pàndaung-gyî, Great Flower-vase.

Kadaung Kungwet, Betel-box (with a glass and 2 bowls).

Nagâgàn Kungwet, Dragon Betel-box.

Salingyâ-gyi, Great Candelabra.

Salingyâ-ngè, Pickled-tea Bowl.

Kunlaung-gyi, Betel-box (with packets of betel).

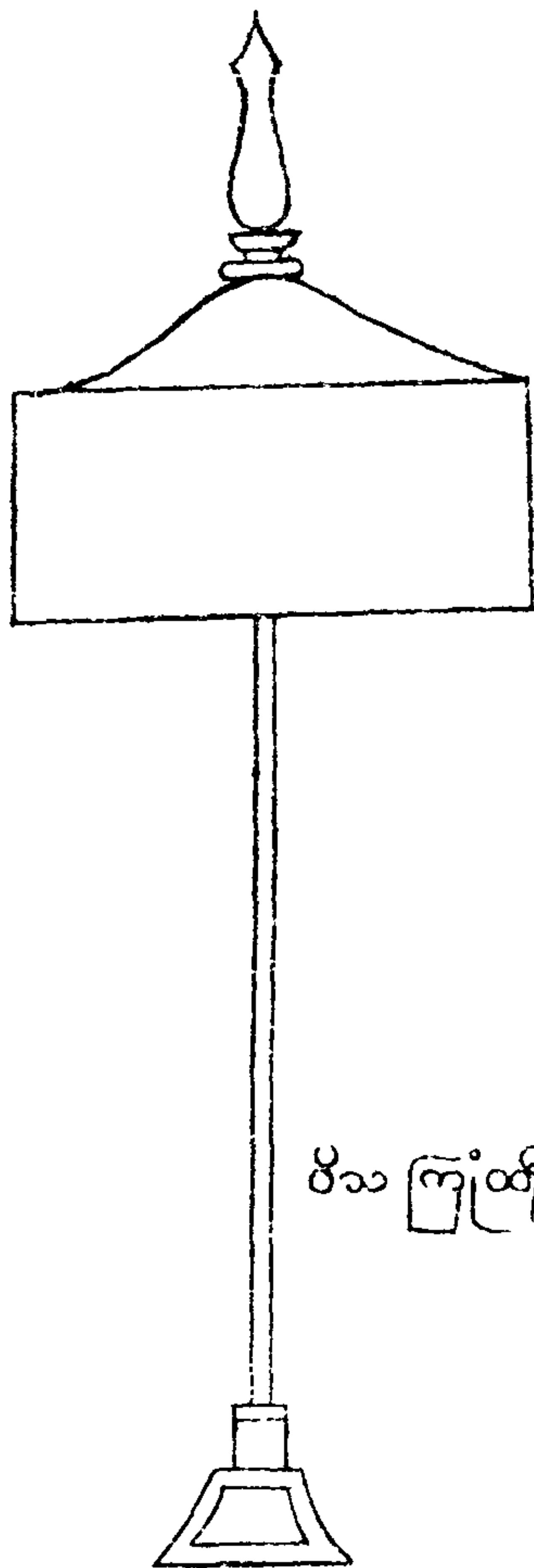
Kungyàt Thôngzin, Three-tray Betel-box

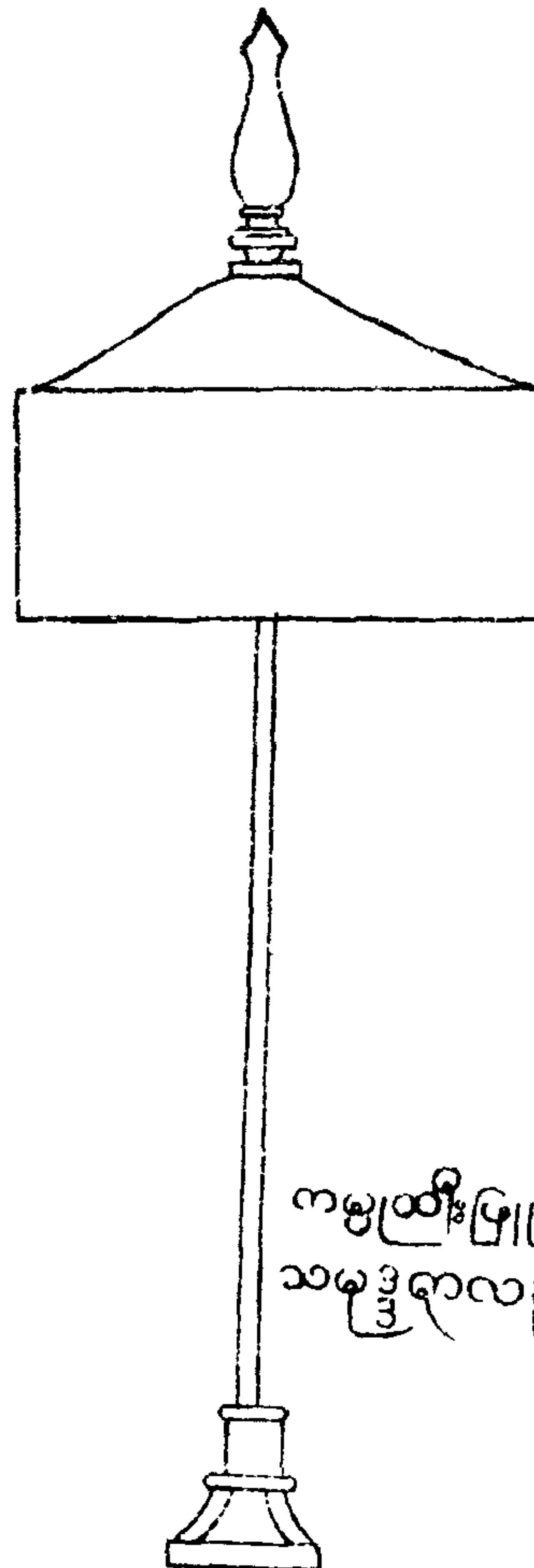
Kundaung-gyi, Great Betel-bowl.

The Throne of King Thibaw and the surrounding Regalia from an original Burmese drawing made in 1889.

Leyadaw—right hand.

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Large White Umbrellas to the Right of the Throne.

Second Line.

Nanswè-ôk, Pickled-tea Bowl.

Magàngayâ, Begging-bowl (P. Makara, Capricorn).

Ôbyit, Water-vessel.

Thaukyê-tin, Water-pot stand.

Pyâdò, Scent-box (over this is written "*mashî*").

Tagaung, Water-vessel.

Palâ, Golden Bowl.

Regalia of 1227 B. E. (1865 A. D.):

Myûdâ, Flower-pot.

Do. do. (over these two is written "*mashî*).

II.

Centre.

Mingàndaw — The Royal Throne.

Fans :

Yàt, Fan.

Do. do.

Do. do.

Do. do.

Flags — Alàn — (Yôk, Emblem) :

Myaukyôk Shwênîyaung-alàn : Gold, Monkey.

Galônyôk Ngwêlàn : Silver, Eagle (P. Garuḍa).

Balûyôk Awâbyau-alàn : Pale-yellow, Demon.

Daungyôk Alàn-net : Black, Peacock.

Chinthèyôk Alànzêng : Green, Lion.

Sinyôk Alàn-nî : Red, Elephant.

Nagâyôk Alànwâ: Yellow, Dragon.

III.

Le'wèdaw — Royal Left Hand.

Umbrellas — Tîbyûdaw — Royal White Umbrella.

Kanekkadàn Tîbyûdaw (P. *kanaka*, gold).

Thûrîyà Tîbyûdaw (P. Sûriya, Sun).

Padumà Tîbyûdaw (P. *paduma*, lotus).

Thamudi Tîbyûdaw (P. *samuti*, (?) uplifted).

Large Fans :

Yà'màdaw, Great Royal Fan.

Do. do. do. do.

Regalia of 1188 B. E. (1826 A. D):

Let-tingyà Kungwet, Pillow and Arm-rest.

Chinthegàn Kungwet, Lion Betel-box.

Kunlaung-ngè, Small Betel-box (with packet of betel).

Thalàt, Begging-bowl (over this is written "*mashî*").

Thalin-mvaung, Fruit and Food Vessel.

Thit-taing, Pot for the *nyaungbin* (Bôdhi) tree.

Kyàt-shà, Rice-bowl.

Second Line.

Khyênin. Stand for the Queen's shoes.

Panàt, Stand for the King's shoes.

Thâmyî jàt, Yak's tail Fan.

Thàn-hlet, Silver Spear.

Taungwê, Sceptre.

Chinthegàn-kayà, Lion Tea-pot.

Ôbyit, Water-vessel.

Mêiauk, Chin-rest.

Tidàndàgyî Khyêlingaw, Clothes-stand (P. *tidandachkhalanga*, the three staves of the six qualities).

Regalia of 1227 B. E. (1865 A. D.):

Myu-lâ, Flower-vase.

Do. do. (over these two is written "*mashî*").

The date for the acquisition of some of the Regalia is ascertained as follows: Over the second row of the articles on either side is a note, which occurs twice on the left side. It runs thus in the Burmese:—*Yedanâpûyâ sadêttâ Myôdè Mintayâ le'tet 1888 khû hnit thêng*, which I take to mean "acquired in 1188 B. E. (1826 A. D.) in the time of the King that built the fourth City of Ratanapura," *i. e.*, King **Bâgyîdaw** (1819-37), who lived at Ava or Ratanapura. The other date is found in a note written over the four *myû-lâ* or flower-vases on either side of the throne. The Burmese runs thus:—*Khamêdaw pyinsamâ Thinga-yanâdin Mintayâ le'tet 1227 khû hnit thêng*, which I would render by "acquired in 1227 B. E. (1865 A. D.) in the time of the King who convened the Fifth Synod as a royal gift." This was **Mindôn Min** (1852-78).

The word "*mashî*," written over some of the articles, means, I suppose, that they were missing when the picture was drawn. I fancy the picture was drawn as a memento for some official, who was responsible for the proper place of each article.

There are 58 articles in the Regalia altogether.

THE TULA-KAVERI-MAHATMYA.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

CHAPTER II.

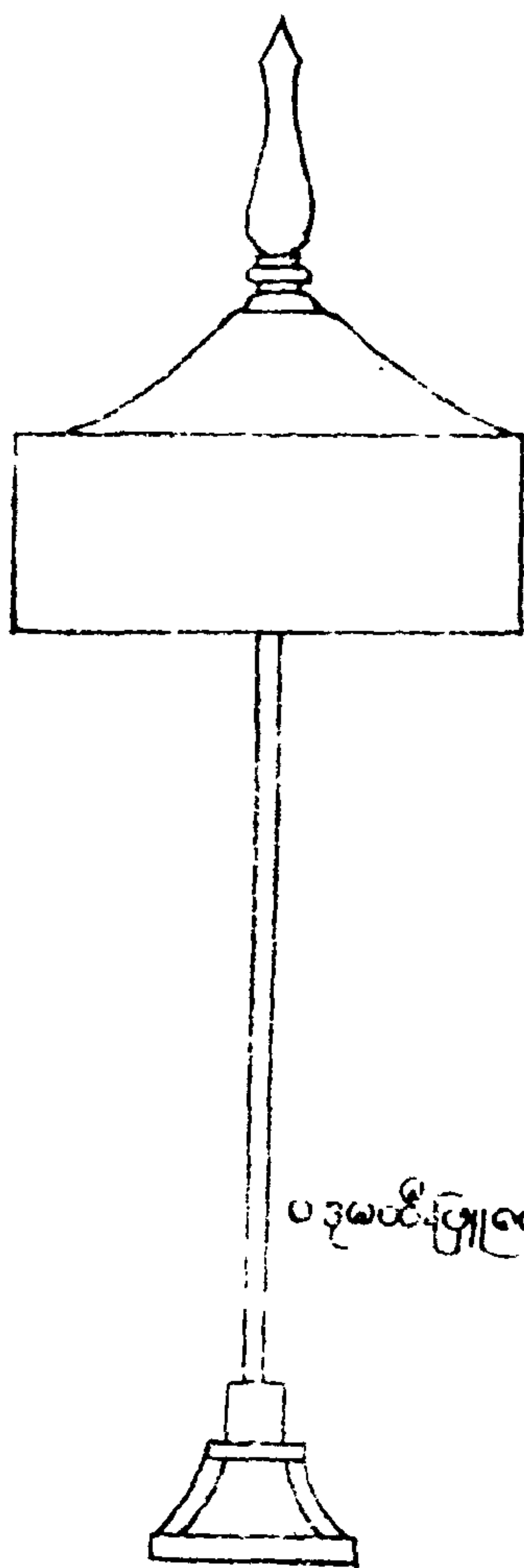
(Continued from Vol. XXX., p. 408.)

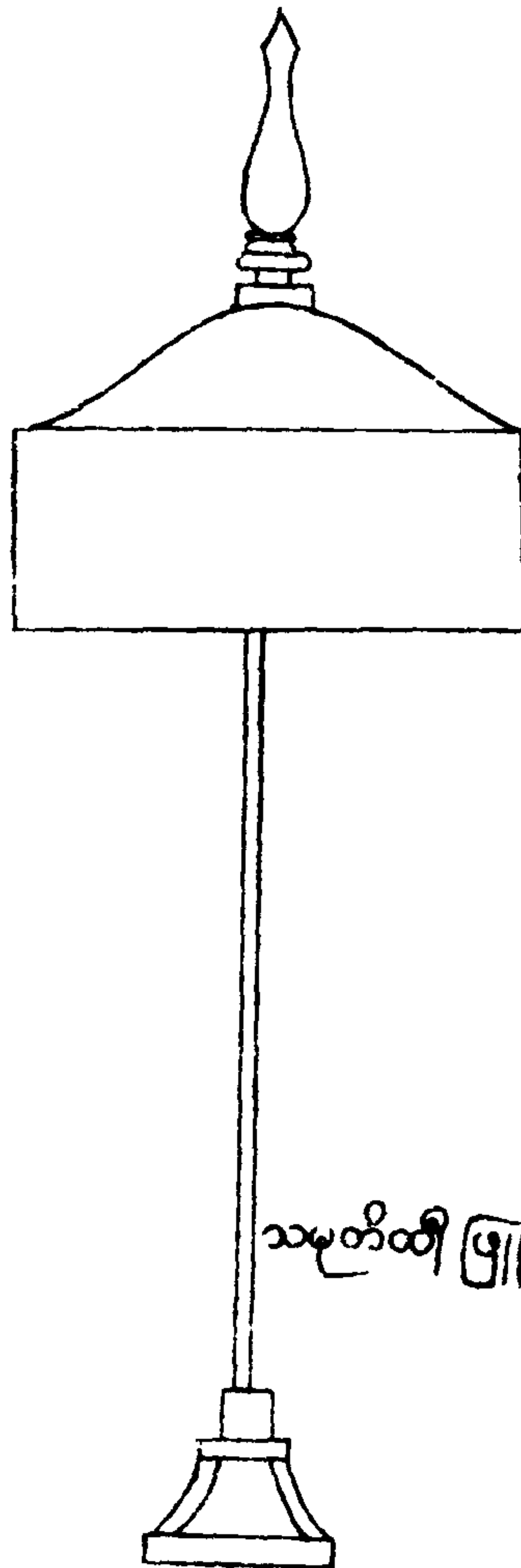
O DHARMA VARMA! the glittering Agastya, having heard the truth-speaking Hariśchandra, began thus to address him from the midst of the sages of the land:—

Your question is very excellent. Is it possible for any other than Vishnu to talk in glowing terms of the attainment of final beatitude of the man who, after bathing, reads or hears a chapter or a *ślôka* of *Tulâ-Kâvêrî-Mâhâtmya?* You were able to gain the friendship of the wise by good deeds

Lewedaw—left hand.

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Large White Umbrellas to the Left of the Throne.

in a prior incarnation. Friendship with the wise is the result of good deeds, the study of sacred texts, the performance of *vraṭâs* in a good many previous existences. This friendship would lead to the rare pleasure of hearing incomparably good stories, which would put an end to the three kinds of sins. This in turn would lead to clearness of the mind, by which we would be able to meditate and centralize in the *hṛidaya kamala* all our thoughts about God. Once meditation makes one come face to face with God, what cannot possibly be attained by *karmas* innumerable. O King ! you have at present therefore attained *mukti* by this friendship with the wise. I shall narrate to you in detail **Tulâ-Kâvêrî-Mâhâtmya** which be pleased to hear.

On both sides of **the Kâvêrî** the river is flooded with **images of Siva** as cosmic manifester, etc. The pools formed on the banks of the Kâvêrî are sacred streams in themselves, and the sand and stones are angelic hosts. The Kâvêrî which **rises in the Sahya mountains is** therefore the best of all rivers. It is unattainable by men generally. Of what avail are other *karmas* while this is able to lead us to the unattainable *môksha.* Many a sacred stream joins it in the Tulâ month. It rids us of the five greatest sins and gives us the *phala* of the *aśwamêdha* (horse-sacrifice). The angels, the *pitris*, the great sages and others extol to the skies the Kâvêrî in the Tulâ month. Who bathes in its sacred waters for three days, is rid of all his sins and on the threshhold of Vaikunta (Paradise). He will be worshipped in the Brahmalôka. Any small gift given to a good person in a good time leads to great results. Any gift therefore of rice and water in the Tulâ month multiplies a million-fold, and a Vedic text says that any oblation offered to the *pitris in* the shape of rice, *srâddha*, or water with sesamum seed lasts as long as the world. Brahma and other gods, the Seven Mothers, the Apsaric hosts, Sarasvatî, Lakshmî, Gourî, Indrâṇî, Rôhiṇî and other feminine angels make it a point to bathe daily in the waters of the Kâvêrî in the Tulâ month. In days long gone by Brahmâ has created the Kâvêrî, the best of sacred streams, to bestow on mankind food and final beatitude. Whosoever bathes in the Tulâ month in the sacred waters of the Kâvêrî, the representative of all the sacred streams of the world, his parents and father-in-law attain *môksha.* The bath leads to the forgiveness of all sins. The men and women born on its sacred banks are the chief enjoyers of multitudinous pleasures. Moreover, its animals, birds, trees, worms, etc., get *môksha* as soon as its fine soft cold breeze falls on them. What doubt is there, therefore, for people who bathe in it with *bhakti* to get *môksha ?* Is it possible for Sêsha, who is able to narrate anything in detail for a thousand years, to tell its sacredness ? I shall therefore relate to you briefly about it.

Is it possible for any other than the thousand-mouthed Sêsha to talk of the elegance of education, the sacredness of the Ṭulasî, of the Ganges, the fasting on Êkâdaśî day, the worship of the idol of Siva by Ṭulasî ? Listen with mute attention to all that I tell you about the sacredness of the Kâvêrî. Meditating on the Kâvêrî, chanting its various names, seeing it, hearing while others are mentioning its name, touching it, bathing in it, etc., are the result of a life of meditation in many previous existences. It is only possible to Hari to talk of its sacredness to those intent on bathing in its crystal transparent waters.

As among rivers, the Ganges, rising from the lotus-feet of Vishṇu, is regarded the best, the Ṭulasî amongst flowers, the Êkâdaśî day amongst *vraṭâs*, the five great sacrifices amongst *yajnas*, mental clearness amongst clear things, Mâḍhava amongst the gods, the *ômkâra* amongst sounds, the Gâyatri amongst *mantras*, the *Sâma* amongst the *Vedas*, Sankara amongst the Rudras, Arunṭhati amongst Brâhman wives, Ramâ amongst womankind, feeding amongst gifts, the moon amongst the planets, the sun amongst radiant objects, sacrifice of the mind amongst sacrifices, charity amongst friends, *japa* amongst *tapâs*, worship of Vishṇu amongst worship generally, married life amongst *âśramas*, the Brâhman amongst castes, the earth amongst patient objects, the Brahmâsthra amongst Asthrâs, Sriranga amongst sacred places, Râmasêtu amongst the purifiers, the *Purusha Sukta* amongst the Suktas, Kamaḍhênu (the angelic cow) amongst cows, Kṛita Yuga amongst the Yugas, learn that **amongst sacred streams the Kâvêrî is the best.** Chanting the Ganges, seeing Ḍhanushkôṭi, hearing the story of Ramâ, meditating on the Kâvêrî — these lead to *mukti.* The tract of country lying between Râmasêtu and Mount Kailas, which is one hundred thousand *yojanas* long and nine

thousand *yojanas* broad, is known as Karmic land and would lead to a life of virtue. The others are intended only for enjoyment.

Human life is the result of good deeds in many a thousand prior incarnation. And by good deeds done in millions of previous human existences a man becomes a *dvija, i. e.*, twice-born. Consider him an ass who, after attaining human life, the most difficult to attain, does not bathe in the Kâvêrî. The man who constantly bathes in the Kâvêrî in the Tulâ month need not be troubled with other *vratâs*, etc. By bathing once in the Kâvêrî he becomes as Nârâyaṇa. There are expiations for any shortcomings in other *vratâs*. A *thûshṇîm* bath, even without a *mantra* or any *niyama*, rids one of all sins committed in seven former births If the same is done with *niyama*, the parents for seven generations attain *môksha*, and the bather reaches Hari. Rising in Brâhma Muhûrta in the early morn, meditating on Hari, cleaning the teeth with flowers in the hand, chanting the Kâvêrî, worshipping Raṅganâtha, telling the *Aghamarshaṇa Sûkta*, bathing in its sacred waters, after sipping water thrice, rising on the bank, wearing a clean white cloth, with sacred ashes on the forehead, performing the daily ablutions, one should hear the story patiently, after worshipping the Brâhman well versed in narrating the *Purâṇa*.

The people should all assemble at a particular spot, and with mute attention prepare an elevated scrupulously clean seat with a fine soft clean cloth on it, should take the best of Brâhmans, — a subduer of the senses, a patient man, a subduer of anger, an ever-clean person, a man well versed in the *Vêdas* and *Vedanas*, a man fondly bent on hearing the *Vedanta*, an observer of the *Dharma Sastras*, one well conversant with the *Purâṇas*, one extremely diligent, one treading always in the path of virtue, — and adorn him with new clothes, new jewels, sandal, etc. They should consider him to be no other than the great Vyâsa, and with hands uplifted should prostrate before him and inform him of their desire to hear the *Kâvêrî Mahâtmya*. Have mercy on us therefore and make us attain final beatitude. From beginning to end, attention must hold them mute.

The bath in the Kâvêrî must be taken with a *niyama*, as one otherwise is utterly useless. If one is unable to maintain a *niyama*, he may take a *thûshṇîm* bath. A bath taken in the proper way leads to the attainment of *svarga*. Anointing the head with oil, sleeping in the day, shaving, beetle-chewing, partaking of the food of the less virtuous, copulation, friendship with the vicious, useless cant, sleeping on a mat, using forbidden vegetables, receiving of gifts, taking meals in a stranger's house, going on a journey — all these are forbidden. *Kûshmânda*, embylic myrabolan, Bengal gram, gram, *dâl*, drum-stick, cucumber, etc., etc , eating in a plate, supper, eating stale food, eating at dusk, of fried food, of the remnants of food eaten by boys, cold rice, of milk of a she-buffalo and sheep, of bad food, of food not consecrated to the gods, of food which is a feminine remnant, of food filled with hair, *śrâddha* remnants, Sûdra remnants, — all these must be rejected by the bathers in the Kâvêrî. As *môksha* cannot be got except by hard and often painful application of the physique, these *niyamas* must be observed. A partaker of forbidden food with a sense of strong desire in him becomes a pig. There is hardly any doubt that the person who bathes in the Kâvêrî, void of all desire and of the enjoyment of previously enjoyed objects, obtains *mukti*. Even a non-niyamic bath purges a man of all his sins.

This mundane existence of ours, saturated with urine, etc., is a mere bubble. Yama is always pouncing on this *jîva* of ours lying in our body. O King! Morning and evening are devourers of our life-time. We must seek for the attainment of *môksha* while the senses, etc., are in order and while the body is easily pliable. I tell you over and over again not to waste the day. While sacred streams are available, in the pleasant winter season, one must give up the devil like sleep, rise very early in the morning and bathe in the waters of the Kâvêrî. I raise my right hand and hammer my thoughts into you. The Kâvêrî, which would rid you of all sins, flows on forever. Its waters, therefore, are capable of yielding excellent results unattainable otherwise.

So said sage Agastya to King Hariśchandra, Dalbhya to Dharma Varma, and Sûta to Saunaka.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.R.A.S., M.F.L.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXX. p. 200.)

No. 18.—The Nymph of the Wire Hill.

A king had two wives: the elder wife brought forth no children, so he built a separate palace a mile distant from him for her, and lived with his younger wife, and waited, but she also had no issue. "What is the use of my waiting?" thought he, and, handing over the kingdom to the minister to be governed in his name. he set out to a forest. In the forest there was an anchorite practising austerities. He saw the king and asked him:

"Where are you going, O King?"

"I have married two wives. Neither of them have borne any offspring, and so leaving my kingdom, I am going to distant countries."

"Why should you go to distant countries? There is a mango-tree yonder; you climb and pluck three mango fruits and give them to your wives. They will bring forth children," said the anchorite.

Accordingly, the king went up the tree and plucked as much fruit as he chose, but only three mangoes remained with him. Again he went up and plucked as much as before, but only three remained, and for the third time he went up the tree and plucked much fruit, but, strange to say, only three remained: and with these he returned to his country and gave them to his young wife. The wife ate the fruit and threw the peel and the seed underneath her cot.

Now it was the duty of the senior queen's maid to go to the younger queen's palace and bring provisions—wheat, rice, vetch, &c.—every morning for her mistress, and, as usual, the maid-servant went the morning after the arrival of the king and saw the mango peels and seeds underneath the young queen's cot.

"So the king has brought nice fruit and given it to his younger wife, but nothing to the elder one," thought she, and as she got the food she put the mango peels and seeds under the grain and came to her mistress and said:

"See, Lady, the king has brought such nice fruit. He gave it all to his younger wife, and nothing to you."

"The younger wife is near him and so he gave her the fruit. I am at a distance, and so he gave me nothing," said the elder wife with great calmness, and, taking the seeds, broke them and ate the kernel and gave the husk to her mare.

In due course the king's younger wife, the senior wife, and the mare became pregnant, and in their season the king's younger wife brought forth two sons, the senior wife gave birth to a tortoise and the mare to a foal. The senior queen was very very kind to her offspring; she would make it sleep on her cot and nurse it tenderly. Now the tortoise was no other than a human being of tender years, and when all the people were asleep he used to come out of his tortoise covering, and, taking food from the vessels, would eat thereof and then go to the Dêvêndralôka to learn. For a long time the queen and the servant-maid were very much perplexed as to what became of the food in the vessels.

"This won't do. The thief must be caught," said the queen, and, cutting open her finger and boring a little hole in a lime, put her finger into it and went to sleep.

The lad stirred out as usual, put away the tortoise-covering underneath the cot, and, partaking of some curry and rice, went to Dêvêndralôka. His mother, smarting from the pain of her finger, soon awakened, and got up and found that the tortoise had gone. Her grief had better be imagined than described.

"The gods gave me a tortoise, and I did not despise the gift! And now the tortoise is taken from me," lamented she, and commenced searching about the palace and found a tortoise-covering.

"I understand now," muttered the queen, my child has gone somewhere. He will come back soon." With these words she tore the covering to shreds and went to her slumber again.

Presently the lad returned and could not find the covering and so he aroused his mother. She got up, took him in her lap, and, impressing sweet kisses on his cheeks, upbraided him. "Sonnie dear, you have been hiding yourself for so long and have never shown yourself to these sinful eyes even for a day."

"Make me a box, mother dear," said he, "and in it keep my food. That shall be my habitation for a season, because my covering is torn." His mother did as she was bidden, and the lad stayed in the box, receiving his education in the Dêvêndraloka.

Meanwhile the king's two sons received their instruction at the hands of a good Paṇḍit.

One day the minister said to the king: "The palace could be made charming beyond measure if only we possessed the Nymph of the Wire Hill;" the king at once began to long for the unattainable, and became extremely uneasy, and, refusing food and drink, laid himself down on a cot in great depression of spirits. The younger wife got ready his bath and food and came and asked her husband to get up and take his bath and food.

"No, I do not want any," said he. She entreated him with tears, but it was of no avail. "I do not want anything" was all he would say to his wife's entreaties.

In the meantime the princes came and approached the king and spoke: "O father dear, what ails you? why are you so depressed? what do you want? what can we do for you?"

"If you bring me," said the king, "the Nymph of the Wire Hill, I will look on you as brave men. If you don't, I'll have your heads off, and I'll hang them on the gateway of the fortress."

Immediately the two princes set out, and the son of the senior queen also wanted to go; and when she questioned him, "Why do you go, Sonnie dear? you are so beautiful,"

"I *must* go, mother," he replied; "if the Nymph of the Wire Hill is not brought to him, my father will die. He has refused food and drink. My brothers cannot bring her. I *must* go and bring her."

The queen thereupon applied some lamp-black to the boy's face in order that he might appear dark, and he set out on his winged horse, wishing his mother farewell. In due course he came to a city where the water, which issued from the baths of the daughter of the reigning king, formed into a large stream, and the princess had set up a pillar in it with an inscription to the effect that she would marry him who would jump across the stream. The two princes had been there, but after reading the inscription had said, "Who could jump so large a stream," and had forded it and passed on. But the third lad examined the stream, and, saying to himself that it only issued from a bath, spurred on his horse at it, and in the twinkling of an eye leapt across it.

The princess, who was looking on from her balcony, observed the feat and said to her father:

"Two young men have forded the river, and a third one, who is following them, jumped across the stream. He is to be my husband."

The king spoke by way of reply : "I saw the two young men myself. They are beautiful. Putting them aside, you say that the dark boy is to be your husband."

"Don't say that, father. He *is* my husband."

The king sent his minister to call the young man.

"I won't go to the king unless the two young men who preceded me come also," replied the prince, and the minister sent for the young men.

"What business has the king with us?" said they. "It is the other young man you want; take him."

"No, no; the king wants all three of you," said the minister.

Then they came to the king, and he asked the two princes what their country was, and they replied that they were the sons of the king of their country, and then the king put the same question to the third youth, who replied, "I have no country, I am a young ascetic visiting the countries of the world." But all the same the princess was given to him in marriage. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp.

For three days the three brothers stayed in that country. On the last day the one who had been married said to his wife, "I hear, my love, that the Wire Hill is in these parts, which is the way to it? Do you know?"

"I do not know, my Lord," replied she, "but in the country before you there is a city, where there is a princess. If you ask her she will tell you," and, lowering her head, added, "My Lord, I see you are going to the Wire Hill. Who knows that you will come back? Suppose you meet your fate, which God forbid, what will be the sign or omen?"

"When your mangalasusram[1] becomes black, you will know that I am dead, and come to the Hill," so spoke the prince, and, bidding his wife adieu, set out with his brothers and arrived at a new country.

Now in that country there was a princess, who, obtaining her father's permission, issued a proclamation that she would marry him who buys all the necessaries of life for one pie.

"Who can get all his provisions for a pie? Let it go! let it go," said the two princes and moved on their course, while the third went to the palace, and, receiving a pie from the steward, went to Bâzâr, gave the money, *i. e.*, the pie, to a Kômati (grocer), and asked him to tie up in a bundle a specimen of every kind of food in his shop. The Kômati did so, and the young man, taking it, together with some *ghî* on a leaf and a faggot of wood, went to the steward, and, handing it all over to him, followed his brothers.

In the meantime the princess went to the king and said, "Father dear, the young man who is going away has bought all his provisions for a pie. My marriage with him must be celebrated."

Her father replied : "Yes, the two young men have preceded the third. The two first appear to be princes, and are beautiful ; you must marry one of them."

"Father dear, said the daughter, don't say that, please. I will marry that one who acted up to my wishes as set forth in the proclamation."

The king now sent his minister to call the young man. "I will come on condition that those who are in advance of me also come," replied the prince.

The minister called them too. "What concern have you with us?" said they. "If you want the young man, you may take him."

"This won't do," said the minister, and made all the princes come to the palace.

[1] A circular piece of gold (*tâlê*) tied round the bride's neck by the bridegroom in completion of the marriage.

The king first of all asked the first two young men who they were, and what country they belonged to, and they told him. Turning to the third, the king put the same questions and received replies: "I am an ascetic. I have no parents. I wander from one country to another."

In spite of this confession the princess was married by the king to the young man, who stayed for three days, and on the third day asked his wife, "Which is the way to the Wire Hill?"

"I do not know, my Lord, but there is a princess in advance of you, who will tell you if you enquire of her," replied she; and, putting on a woe-begone appearance, added, "you are going to the Wire Hill, my Lord; suppose you come by serious harm or death, which God forbid, how am I to know it? What is the sign?"

The prince gave her a flower, saying, "If this withers and becomes black, know that I am dead, and come to the Hill."

With these words, and bidding a hasty fa[re]well to the princess, he set out. The two princes had already started, and were talking to each other: "We are so beautiful and nobody marries us. He is dark, and every princess falls in love with him and marries him!"

In due course they came to a fresh country, where there was a princess, who hung up on the palace walls a drawing from the Dêvêndralôka, with a legend underneath in weird characters, and obtaining her father's permission sent forth a manifesto: — "He who deciphers the writing under the picture and explains it, to him shall be given my hand in marriage."

The two princes went and looked at the picture, but they could not read the writing, much less explain it. The third prince went and cast a glance at the picture, read the writing, and announcing himself to the princess, he read and explained the legend fully and lucidly.

The princess was mightily pleased and reported to the king: "Father dear, here is a young man who has read and explained the legend of the picture from the Dêvêndralôka."

He was also pleased and at once celebrated the marriage of his daughter with the prince. For three days the prince stayed, and on the last day he spoke to his wife: "The Wire Lady is said to reside in the Wire Hill. Which is the road to the Hill?"

The princess replied, "Great kings have come, but no one has managed to carry off the Nymph of the Wire Hill? How can you manage, my Lord? It is impossible."

"But if I don't bring her my father will die," rejoined the prince.

"Suppose you come to grief, which God forbid! the undertaking is so beset with perils: how am I to know it, my Lord," asked the wife, putting a woe-begone appearance.

Upon which he planted a lily and said, "If the plant dies, know that I am dead, and come to the Hill."

Then the princess gave him the directions and said: "If you go to the south side of the Hill, you will come across a wire. If you catch hold of it, it will take you to the palace of the princess; she will come forward to embrace you, when you must say 'Mother, don't touch me.'"

Thanking his wife for the information, and wishing her good-bye, the prince came to the Wire Hill, where he saw that his brothers had already arrived and were wandering about the Hill. He enquired of them, "Why do you wonder about the Hill?" They did not reply, but said to each other, "if we tell him he will marry the Nymph of Wire Hill also and carry her away." The prince muttered to himself, "so that's it," and tethered his steed where the two princes had tethered theirs, caught hold of the wire and went up the Hill. The Nymph

of the Wire Hill appeared before him and said, "You have come at last after such a long time!" and wanted to embrace him, but he said, "Mother, don't touch me." She took the hint, bathed him with hot-water bath and fed him well. After this, the Nymph of the Wire Hill in front, and the prince behind her, set out, and had almost reached the foot of the Hill, where she cried out, "My parrot cage! my parrot cage!" The prince said at once, "Mother, I will fetch it," and went up the Hill by the aid of the wire.

In the meantime the two princes saw the Nymph of the Wire Hill at the foot of the Hill. "He has already married three princesses, and is now carrying away the Nymph of the Wire Hill," said the brothers, greatly bewildered, and what was their astonishment to see the prince descending with the cage along the Wire Hill. "If we cut the wire he will be dead and gone," said one brother to another, and, suiting their action to the words, did as their evil minds bid them, and down came the young man with the parrot cage with a great crash, and was instantly killed. The princes, then, compelling the Nymph of the Wire Hill to mount their steed, set out for home.

The evil omens showed themselves to the prince's wives. The first wife's *mangalasutram* became black. "Some mishap has befallen my husband. He asked me to go to the Hill," said she to herself in tears and set out lamenting. The flower given to the second wife withered and darkened. "My husband had come by some harm. He asked me to go to the Hill," said she to herself and started weeping. On the road the first two wives came together. "Why do you weep?" asked the one, "Why do you weep?" asked the other. "My husband has gone to the Wire Hill. He has come by death. I am going there," said the second wife. "My husband also has gone to the Wire Hill. He has met his fate there. I am going thither," said the first wife. "Then we are both his wives," said the two princesses after a little conversation, and started on their course with one object in common. In the meantime the third lamenting wife of the prince met them. "Why do you weep," asked they of her. "My husband has gone to the Wire Hill. He has suffered death there. I am going thither," replied she. "Your husband and our husband is one and the same. We three of us are his wives. Our goal is the same," said the two princesses, and with one object in common all three moved on and in due course reached the Hill. There they saw their husband's bones scattered.

The youngest wife asked her co-wives to collect and adjust the bones while she retired for a while. She left them and went to a cistern, and, having bathed there seven times, putting on wet clothes and standing in the attitude of half-contemplation, wept, and spread out the folds of her garments as if to receive something. Paramêshwar heard her lamentations and Pârbatî spoke to him:—"She is crying to her gods that her husband be brought to life." Instantly Paramêshwar threw a life-giving rod into the folds of the princess's garments, and she returned to her co-wives, who had by this collected the bones and adjusted them in their proper places. The life-giving rod instilled life into the prince and he sat up and exclaimed "What a sweet sleep I have had slept." The next moment he saw his three wives and asked the reason of their being there, and they explained it to him.

Half an hour after this the youngest princess went again to the cistern, and, having bathed seven times, threw the life-giving rod into it and returned, and very soon afterwards the prince and his three wives set out, and in due course reached the youngest wife's father's capital, where after staying for three days and receiving presents of elephants, horses and retinue from the king, he moved on. He reached the country of the father of his second wife, where staying for three days and receiving presents of elephants, horses and retinue, he set out again. In due course he reached the country of the father of his first wife, where also after staying for three days and receiving similar presents of horses, elephants and retinue, he started once again, and by rapid marches reached his own country, and pitched his camp in a garden.

Calling his wives together he said : "My mother will come. One of you should hold the *pallem*,[2] another should wash her feet and offer a seat, while the third should wipe them." With these words the prince left them and went to his mother, who, on seeing him, fell on his neck, and, shedding tears, exclaimed : "My son, my son, you have come back after all, and I have been so anxious." He told her that three daughters-in-law were awaiting her! She went to the princesses and was mightily pleased at their humility and comeliness.

Meanwhile the two other princes had reached their country with **the Nymph of the Wire Hill,** and their father was immensely delighted and applauded his two boys for having brought the unobtainable, and declared to the people that no two princes of equal prowess were to be found on the face of the earth. The princes also on their part went about bragging.

But the Nymph of the Wire Hill fretted, and constantly thought of the young man who had fallen headlong from the Wire Hill, and when the king made overtures to her, she said : "I have certain **Dêvêndra vows** to perform. If you get me some **cobra lilies** (*nâgu-mallailu* in Telugu) I will perform the vows and then marry you." Her object in asking for these lilies was to get news of the missing prince, as she was fully convinced that if any one could bring **the cobra-lilies, which are only to be found seven and seven, fourteen, seas beyond the sea of milk,** it would be he alone.

The king, summoning the two princes, said to them : "Your mother wants some cobra-lilies for the performance of her vows. Will you go and get them ?"

"It is not a difficult affair, father dear. We will go and bring them," said they, and, mounting their steeds, set out.

Now the third prince saw his two brothers going out to fetch the cobra-lilies and he at once ran to his youngest wife and said : "My brothers are going to bring the cobra-lilies; I will go too."

"But how are they going to fetch them ?" asked she. "They are in the sea of milk which is beyond seven and seven, fourteen, seas."

"What do you advise ?" the prince asked in haste, and she gave him some **seeds,** after repeating certain incantations over them, and also a letter and said : "When you come to the sea, throw these seeds, and the sea will make a way for you, and you can walk straight on dry-shod, and when you come to the sea of milk at the end of seven and seven, fourteen, seas, you will see a tortoise. Throw the letter to it, and it will take the letter to **the Lord of the Serpents.** The Lord of the Serpents will send back the tortoise, and you must take your seat on his back and go to the Lord of the Serpents, who will give the cobra-lilies and send you back."

Cordially thanking his wife for her help, and bidding her, his other two wives and his mother a hasty farewell, he hurriedly started, and when he came to the sea he did as he had been bidden. He threw the seeds on the sea, and the sea opened a passage for him. He passed along it and came to the sea of milk, and, seeing a tortoise, he threw the letter to it. The tortoise took the letter and ran to the Lord of the Serpents, who sent the tortoise back to bring the young man, and the prince, mounting the tortoise, went to the Lord of the Serpents, who received him with every mark of respect, and put him up at his own house and married him to his daughter, **the Celestial Swan.** He plucked some cobra-lilies, gave them to the prince, and said :

"Here take the cobra-lilies and go safely back to your country with your wife, my daughter." And he ordered the tortoise to carry them. The tortoise took the prince and princess on its back across the seven and seven, fourteen, seas, and set them down on the seashore of their own country.

[2] A small tray of gold or brass on which camphor is burnt and carried before a great personage by his host.

Now the other two princes, who set out in a bragging fashion to fetch the lilies, were at a loss, as they did not know how to cross the vast seas that lay before them, and so in their dilemma they sat down on the sea-beach, and, while they were *still sitting*, the prince and his wife appeared before them.

"Here he is! He is not dead, and has married yet another princess, and that bunch of flowers are doubtless the cobra-lilies. We had better get them from him," said the brothers to each other, and immediately proffered their services to the prince with great eagerness, and one of them took the bunch of flowers.

The prince did not object, and they travelled with the prince and his wife in an orderly manner as far as their own country, and then disappeared as if by magic with the bunch of cobra-lilies, and showed themselves to the king, who, on receiving the flowers, had declared that in the whole world no one had such brave sons as he. Without losing any time he repaired to the palace of the Nymph of the Wire Hill. She received them from the king, but was more than convinced in her heart that the prince was alive and so she said to her suitor :

"I will now perform the Dêvêndra vows. Please issue invitations to kings, princes and noblemen."

The invitations were issued, and all the neighbouring kings, princes and nobles, including the king's two sons, came and sat in the Assembly Hall. Their wives, too, including all the blood relatives, such as sisters and daughters, came and sat in the Hall in the places allotted to them. Thither also came the king's younger wife and her maids.

Casting a glance over the assembled crowd, the Wire Nymph said : "I see the younger wife of the king, but nowhere do I see his senior queen or her son in the assembly."

Whereupon the king was confused, and, muttering to himself, "How can she have a son without my knowing it?" sent for her. She came, followed by her son and her four daughters-in-law, all as resplendent as the full-moon in its glory, and took their seats.

The Wire Nymph now began her harangue: "Do you think, O King, that it was your two sons by the younger queen that brought me from the Wire Hill? Nothing of the sort. It was your son by the senior queen. We descended the Hill together, and I cried out for my parrot cage, and quick as lightning he ran up the Hill by the wire and was returning with the cage, when the two princes at the foot of the Hill broke the wire and the young man fell headlong from the summit and was killed ; but by the merits of his wives he was given a second birth. Do you want to know who brought the cobra-lilies? Your two sons you think! Nothing of the sort. I knew they could not, and that is why I required special flowers for the sham ceremony of the Dêvêndra vows, as a test to find out whether the prince was dead or alive: for I knew that he alone could bring them. And in truth it was your son by the senior queen that had brought the flowers, and your other two sons imposed upon the prince and managed by fraud to palm them off on you as theirs."

The king changed colour, and, calling his two sons from the assembly, cried out, "Are these things so?" They hung down their heads in shame and confusion, and proved their guilt. The king spat in their faces and bade them begone, and, calling forth the real hero, pressed him to his breast and wept, and soon after the assembly broke up. The king then embraced all his daughters-in-law and his senior wife. She at first upbraided him for his partiality to his younger wife and for forgetting her altogether! Then she unfolded to him how their son, of whom they had so much reason to be proud, was conceived after eating the kernel of the anchorite's mango how he had at first been a tortoise, how she had nursed the animal nevertheless, and how she, to her great joy, found one night that the tortoise was a human child under the tortoise-covering. The king listened to everything in silence and astonishment.

In due course the **king married the Wire Nymph**, and some days after performed the marriage of his son with the four princesses to which the fathers of the three princesses, as also the foster-father of the fourth princess — the Lord of the Serpents, — were invited. They were delighted to find that their son-in-law was not the son of a humble deceased anchorite as he gave out, but of royal blood like themselves. The next thing the king did was to crown his son with all pomp and glory, and abdicate the throne in his favour.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 428.)

1794. — No. XXIX.

Fort William **11th August 1794.** Read a Letter and its Enclosures from the Secretary to the Military Board.

Secry to the Mily Board.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to transmit for the Consideration of the Governor General in Council the enclosed **Proceedings of the Military Board** of this date as returned from Circulation, upon Indents No. 393 & 394 for Marine Stores applied for from the Andamans. The Indents accompany the Proceedings for the inspection of Government.

I have also the honor to transmit Lists of Military Stores and Provisions which have been passed on Indents No. 392 & 395. Acquainting you that the Indents have been forwarded to the Commissary of Stores and Garrison Store Keeper respectively, with instructions to prepare the Articles for dispatch on Such Ship as Government may be pleased to direct.

I further enclose a Letter Addressed to the Military and Provision Store Keeper at the Andamans which I request may be forwarded, under the Approbation of the Supreme Board, to that Officer.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant

Mily Bd Office (Sigd) **Isaac Humphrys**
the 8th August 1794. Secry My Board.

Proceedings of the Military Board returned from Circulation the 8th August 1794.

Indent No 393 on the Acting Naval Store Keeper for Copper Grapenails, Vittry, &ca for repairs of Vessels & Boats.

Remark.

The quantities of three of the articles in this Indent are left undefined.

Mily Audr Genl

This is not an Indent of a nature that requires hasty decision — the coppering of the long Boats being expensive, the public advantages to be derived ought to have been stated in order that Government, whose sanction is necessary to warrant the expence might judge of the expediency of authorizing it.

If the Establishment of Vessels and Boats of all descriptions for the Service of the Andamans has been laid down by Government — the Secretary can obtain an Account of them, if not, we should be apprized of their intentions, to Guide us in passing applications of this sort if it be expected that we should receive them but they ought perhaps to be made to the Marine Department.

(Signed) **John Murray.**

Commt. of Artly & Chief Engineer.

The Commandant of Artillery and Chief Engineer Subscribe to the above Minute.

Remark.

The Secretary reports that having made the enquiry proposed in the above Minute he has been informed that Government have not laid down any Establishment of Vessels or Boats for the Settlement.

Indent No. 394 on the Acting Naval Store Keeper for Sundries for the use of **the Honble Company's Brig Dispatch.**

Mily Audr. Genl.

This is certainly an Application for reference to the Marine Department — as this Board has no information that can enable us to form any Opinion whether the Articles are necessary or not.

(Signed) **John Murray.**

Commt. of Arty. & Chief Engineer.

The Commandant of Artillery and Chief Engineer Subscribe to the Military Auditor General's Opinion.

Resolution.

Agreed to send up for the Consideration of the Governor General in Council the two foregoing Indents with the Minutes upon them.

A true Extract
(Signed) **Isaac Humphrys**
Secy. M. Board.

Ordered that the Indents No. 393 and 394, received from the Military Board be sent to the Acting Naval Storekeeper, with Directions to comply herewith, and that the Articles to be furnished upon the Indents No. 392 & 395 be Dispatched to the Andamans on the Snow Cornwallis which will Sail in four or five days.

Ordered that these Resolutions be notified to Lieutenant Humphrys and the Garrison Store Keeper, respectively, and that the Letter for the Military and Provision Storekeeper at Port Cornwallis be forwarded by the next Dispatch.

1794. — No. XXX.

Fort William **11th August 1794. Read again Lieutent. Wales's Letter dated the 5th August** and recorded on the Proceedings of the 8th Ditto.

The Secretary lays before the Board a Note which he has received from Lieutenant Wales.

Sir, — A young Gentleman of the Name of **Ried** and who is an **Acting Lieutenant in the Bombay Marine,** is now at Calcutta, having come round as First Officer of **the Pilot Snow** which **Lieutt. Frayer** brought here, he bears an excellent Character from every person that knows him and Lieutt. Frayer tells me he is a good Officer, his being a Company's Servant also recommends him to me in preference to a Country Officer as he will need no instruction with Respect to either Conduct or discipline — Will you be so obliging as to propose him as a fitt Person to fill the Station of **2d Lieutenant on board the Cornwallis.**

I am, Sir, Yours Obediently
(Signed) **Jno. Wales.**

11th August 1794.

Agreed that Mr. Ried be Appointed 2d Officer on board the Cornwallis, and that the Governor in Council at Bombay, be informed that the Board wish that Mr. Ried may have permission to Serve on board one of the Company's Vessels at the Andaman Station, without prejudice to his Rank and Prospects at Bombay, in the same Manner as Similar Permission has been granted to Lieutts. Wales & Roper.

1794. — No. XXXI.

Fort William 22d **August 1794.** The Honble Company's Snow Cornwallis being under dispatch to the Andamans the following Sailing orders were given to the **Commander Lt Wales,** and the letter which will be entered after them, was written to Major Kyd, or, in his absence, the Senior Officer in charge of the Settlement.

To the Commander of the Cornwallis dated 21st August 1794.

To Lieutenant Wales Commanding the Cornwallis.

Sir, — You are hereby ordered, winds and weather [permitting] (and the Consignments for the Andamans embarked) to weigh your anchor and make the best of your way to Port Cornwallis, where, on your arrival you are to deliver the accompanying Packet to Major Kyd, or to the Senior Officer in Charge of the Settlement, and attend t· ll orders you may receive from him for your future guidance.

I wish you safe and Speedy Passage, and am

Fort William Sir, &ca

21st August, 1794

To th mmander of the Cornwallis & to the Superintendant at the Andamans, dated 25th August 1794.

To Major A. Kyd. Superintendant at the Andamans or to the Senior Officer in charge of that Settlement.

Sir, — I have the Pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated the 1st and 20th Ultimo by the Cornwallis Snow which imported here on the 2d August the former enclosing your Account Current for the Months of May and June last, with the Vouchers, together with a list of Bills of Exchange drawn upon this Government, orders were given for the acceptance of the latter, and the former is under Audit, in the usual course.

It is only necessary to observe, in answer to your letter of the 20th Ultimo, that authority to equip and employ **the Dispatch Brig** was given to you in my letter of the 14th July by the Sea Horse, and that the Sails belonging to the Brig were sent by that Conveyance, but that as the Master Attendant mentioned that they were in bad condition, and is in the expectation that they would not be found, you have indented for others, directions were given to the Acting Naval Store-keeper to provide new Sails for the Vessell, and they will be sent by the present conveyance which will also take the other Articles you have applied for in your Indents to the different Offices.

I enclose a Copy of Lieutenant Wales's Sailing Orders and am

Fort William Sir &ca

21st August 1794.

1794. — No. XXXII.

Fort William 8th **September 1794.** Read a Letter from the Military Auditor General.

Mily Audr Genl 1st of Septr

To the Honble Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council &c &c &c Military Department.

Honble Sir, — It is an Established Regulation that all Pay Abstracts shall be accompanied by Review Rolls of the different Discriptions of People for whom the Allowances are drawn, but as **Major Kyd** generally sends figured returns only of the Artificers on the Andaman Establishment, I beg

leave to request that he may be desired in future to insert the Peons Names, and to remark the dates of all casualties as in the Review Rolls of the regular Corps of the Army.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Honble Sir,
Your most Obedient faithful Servant

Mily Audr Genls Office
1st Septr 1794.

(Signed) **John Murray**
Col. & Mily Audr Genl

Ordered that Instructions be sent to Major Kyd in Conformity with the Recommendation in the above Letter from the Military Auditor General.

1794. — No. XXXIII.

Read a Letter from the Secretary to the Military Board.

Secry to the Mily Board 6th Septr 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Herewith I have the honor to transmit for the Sanction of Government Bill No. 59 and 60 Recommended by the Mily Board for Provisions Supplied by the Garrison Store keeper for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, and of 7 recruits proceeding to that Settlement.

I have the honor to be &c.

Agreed that Authority be given for passing the Bills abovementioned, and ordered that they be returned to the Military Board.

1794. — No. XXXIV.

Fort William the **29th of September 1794.** The following Letter was received from Major Kyd on the 26th Instant, **by the William Pitt.**

Supt at the Andamans 15th August 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to Government.

Sir, — Accompanying I have the honor of transmitting you the Account Current of this Settlement, brought up to the present date, with the various vouchers referred to therein. You will perceive that every Establishment is paid up to the first of next Month, which I have thought advisable to do **before my departure to Prince of Wales's Island,** in hopes that they will not require another payment till my return. Accompanying is a List of Bills I have drawn on Government for Cash received into the Treasury here, which is carried to the Public Credit in the Account now sent.

I have the honor to be &c.

Port Cornwallis
15th August 1794.

(Signed) **A. Kyd.**
Supt Andamans.

Ordered that Major Kyd's Account Current with its Vouchers, be sent for Audit to the Military Auditor General, who is also to be furnished with a Copy of his Letter enclosing them.

Ordered that the List of Bills drawn by Major Kyd, on the Governor General in Council be sent to the Accountant General's Office.

1794. — No. XXXV.

Fort William **3d November 1794.** The following Sailing Orders Dated the 1st Inst. have been given to **Captain Morgotty Commanding the Drake Cruizer.**

To Capt. Morgotty, Dated 1st October 1794.

To Captain Morgotty Commanding the Honble Companys Cruizer Drake.

Sir, — You are hereby directed winds and weather permitting, and **the Convicts for the Andamans** being on board, to weigh your Anchor, and make the best of your way to Port

Cornwallis, where on your arrival, you will deliver the accompanying Letter to Major Kyd the Superintendant. or in his absence to the Senior Military Officer at the Settlement, and having attended to his directions, with respect to landing the Convicts, you will proceed forthwith to Bombay and attend to all orders that you may receive from the Governor in Council there, ...

I wish you a safe and Speedy Passage, and am &ca

Fort William (Sigd) [Blank]
1st Novr 1794.

The following Letter was written, on the 1st Instant, to the Superintendt at the Andaman's by the Drake.

To Major Kyd Dated 1st Novr 1794.

To Major Kyd Superintendant, or in his absence to the Senior Military Officer at the Andamans.

Sir, — I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 15th of August transmitting your account Current and a List of Bills granted by you upon the Governor General in Council for Cash paid into your Treasury.

It being an Established Regulation that all Pay Abstracts shall be accompanied by Review Rolls of the Different Descriptions of People for whom the allowances are Drawn, and as you generally transmit figured Returns only of the Artificers on the Andaman Establishment, I have Orders to desire that in future you will insert the People's names and Remark the Dates of all Casualties as in the Review Rolls of the Regular Corps of the Army.

You will receive enclosed a Copy of the Sailing Orders to Captain Morgotty who Commands the Drake Cruizer now proceeding to the Andamans on her way to Bombay, and with it a return of the Provisions laid in for fifty Native Convicts sent in the Vessel to Port Cornwallis for their Supply during the Passage.

Fort William I am &ca
1st of Novr 1794. (Sigd) [Blank]

1794. — No. XXXVI.

Fort William **the 7th November 1794.** The following Letter was received, on the 3d Instant from Messrs Wilson Downie and Maitland, and Directions were given for receiving the Articles mentioned in it on board the Drake.

Messrs Wilson Downie & Maitland dated 3d Nov. 1794

Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — As **Lieutenant Wales of the Cornwallis** could not receive the following necessaries for the Bazar at the Andamans when he was last here which we were desired to send by that Conveyance we are very apprehensive that they may be much wanted at that Settlement, and therefore beg the favor of an order for their being received on board the Drake.

Calcutta We have the honor to be &ca
3d November 1794. (Signed) **Wilson Downie & Maitland.**

175 Maunds Flower.
150 Maunds Sugar.
50 Maunds Ghoor.
10 Maunds Dry Mangoes.
30 Maunds Gram.
20 Maunds Mussur Dhali.
10 Maunds Onions.
6 Maunds Garlick.

6 Maunds Chillies.
2 Maunds Ginger.
½ Maund Pepper.
3 Maunds Daniah [? dânâ].
20 Maunds Oil.

1794. — No. XXXVII.

The following Letter was received, on the 4th Instant, from Lieut. Greene.

Lieut. Greene Dated 4th Novr 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr Sub-Secretary Shakespear's Letter of yesterday, and to Acquaint you that, pursuant to the Orders therein Conveyed the 20 Bags of Dhall have been Shipped on board the Drake Cruizer as per Accompanying Receipt from the Officer on board that Vessel.

I have the honor to be &ca

Fort William Garrison Store
the 4th Novemr 1794.

(Signed) **A. Greene officiating in the absence of the Garrison Store keeper.**

1794. — No. XXXVIII.

The following Letter was written, on the 5th Inst., to Major Kyd, and dispatched by the Drake.

To Major Kyd dated 5th Novr 1794.

To Major Kyd Superintendant or in his Absence, to the Senior Military Officer at the Andamans.

Sir, — I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed Receipt for Twenty Bags of Dhall, put on Board **the Drake Cruizer** for the use of the Convicts proceeding to the Andamans, — also a Copy of a Letter dated the 3d Instant **from Messrs Wilsone, Downie, and Maitland,** — and to acquaint you that the Commander of the Drake has been authorized to receive Articles mentioned in it for the Use of the Settlement.

I am &c.

Fort William
5th November 1794.

(Signed) E. Hay
Secry to the Govt

1794. — No. XXXIX.

Fort William **23th November 1794.** The following Duplicate Letter was received this morning from the Superintendant at the Andamans by **the Brig Nautilus.**

Duplicate.

Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I beg you will acquaint the Honble. Governor General in Council that I arrived at this Place on the 7th Instant **on the Sea Horse Brig, having left Prince of Wales's Island on the 22d of last Month.**

The accompanying **Letters from Mr Mannington** will acquaint the Board of the unfortunate **Death of Mr Light** which happened on the 20th

Upon my arrival here I found that the Stock of Provisions for the Settlement was much smaller than it ever should be, I have therefore directed the Commissary to make out the necessary Indents and have now dispatched the Cornwallis Snow and Nautilus Brig and earnestly request that they may be returned without delay with the Amount of their Indents.

During my Stay at Prince of Wales Island, I took the utmost pains to obtain information on the Various points recommended to me by the Board, and hope to have the honor of personally delivering my Report early in the next Month.

I have the pleasure to say that the **Settlers here have been much more healthy** this season than the last, altho' **the Rains have been more Severe there having fallen from the 1st of last May to this period the extraordinary Quantity of 123 Inches** which is more than twice the Quantity that falls in Bengal in the most abundant Seasons.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Most Obedient Servant
(Sigd) **A. Kyd**
Superintendant Andamans.

Port Cornwallis
10th November 1794.

1794. — No. XL.

Fort William the **1st of December 1794.** The following Letters were received, on the 29th Ultimo, from **Major Kyd**, Superintendant at the Andamans, by the Snow Cornwallis, & Circulated for the perusal of the Members of Government.[28]

Superintendant at the Andamans 20th October 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I have to request you will acquaint the Honble. Governor General in Council, that in compliance with his instructions of the 21st April last, & those conveyed in your letter of the 5th August; I have obtained every information in my power respecting the various points therein specified.[29] * * * * It is now my intention of proceeding to the Andamans where I shall not have occasion to stay long, & expect to have the honor of presenting my report in person early in Decr[29] * * * *

I have the honor to be
(Signed) **A. Kyd**

Prince of Wales's Island
20th October 1794.

Ordered that the Snow Cornwallis and **Brig Nautilus** be returned, as soon as possible, to the Andamans with the Supplies they are respectively to take to that Settlement.

The Commanders are to be acquainted accordingly; and notice thereof is to be sent to the Garrison Store Keeper, Fort Adjutant & Military Board — The Commanders are, further, to be asked how many Convicts can be accommodated on each of the Vessels, after receiving the Supplies they are both to carry.

1794. — No. XLI.

Read a Letter and its Enclosure from the Secretary to the Hospital Board.

Secry to the Hospl Board 29th Novr 1794.

To Colin Shakespear Esqre Sub-Secretary.

Sir, — I am directed by **the Hospital Board** to enclose to you the Copy of a List of Necessaries which they have received from **Mr Robt Reddick Assistant Surgeon** to the Andamans, which they request you will lay before the Governor General in Council, & to acquaint him that they beg leave to recommend that they may be authorized to direct the Purveyor to furnish the necessaries required.

I have the honor to be &ca
(Signed) **A. Campbell** Secry

Fort William Hospl Bd Office
the 29th Novr 1794.

28 [The Letter dated the 10th November has been already given under the consultation of the 26th Novr where it is headed as 'Duplicate.']

29 [The portions omitted in the above Letter refer to Prince of Wales' Island.]

Indent for Necessaries for the use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis.

Madeira	Twelve Dozen
Brandy	Four Do
Arrack	Six Do
Lime Juice	Four Do
Vinegar	Six Do
Flour	Eight Maunds
Oil Mustard Seed ...	Four Do
Sugar	Eight Do
Leather Skins No. 6.	

(Signed) **Rt Reddick**
Assistant Surg.

Port Cornwallis
10th November 1794.

(Signed) **A. Kyd**
Supdt Andamans.

Hospl Bd Office
the 29th November 1794.

A true Copy
(Signed) **A. Campbell**
Secry

Agreed that the Hospital Board be Authorized to Comply with the above Indent, & desired to give Directions that the Articles may be procured, & put up immediately to be sent in the Snow Cornwallis.

The Situation of **2nd Officer on Board the Snow Cornwallis** having become Vacant by the Appointment of **Mr Reid to the Jackall.**

Agreed that **Mr Henry Pelham Davies** be appointed to it.

Ordered that Notice thereof be sent to Mr Davies, & the proper Officers.

1794. — No. XLII.

Fort William **5th December 1794.** Read a Letter and Enclosures from the Secretary to the **Military Board.**

Secry to the Mily Board 1st December 1794.

To Edward Hay Esqr Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I request you will submit for the information of Government the enclosed Copies of Indents No. 897 & 98 by the Military and Provision Store Keeper at the Andamans, and Acquaint him that the Originals have been this Day passed by the Military Board and returned to the Garrison Store Keeper's Office with Orders for the immediate preparation of the Articles for dispatch on Such Ship as Government may be pleased to direct.

I have the honor to be &ca
(Signed) **Isaac Humphrys**
Secr Mily Board.

Mily Bd Office
1st Decr 1794.

Indent No. 3. Duplicate.

To Lieut^{t} Geo. A. Robinson Garrison Store Keeper
Fort William.

Names of Stores.		Articles indented for	For what purpose wanted.	Admitted by the B^{d}
Arrack	Leagur	1	For 3 Mnths Subsistence to the Settlers at the Andamans.	1
Dholl (Hurriah) ...	Maunds	400		400
Ghee	D^{o}	80		80
Gram	D^{o}	250	For the Subsistence of the Live Stock.	250
Paddy	D^{o}	200		200
Rice	D^{o}	1200		1200
Salted Meat (Beef & Pork)	Casks	4	For three Months Subsistence to the Settlers at the Andamans.	4
Salt	Maunds	·80		80
Wheat	D^{o}	100		100

Port Cornwallis,
1st Nov^{r} 1794.

(Signed) **Joseph Stokoe**
Comm^{sry} Store & Provis^{n} Andamans.

Passed by the M^{y} B^{d} this Day
1st Dec. 1794.

(Signed) **A. Kyd**
Supt^{dt} Andamans.

Indent N^{o} 2. Duplicate.

To Lieut^{t} G. A. Robinson Garrison Store Keeper
Fort William.

Names of Stores.		Articles Indented.	Purposes for which wanted.	Admitted by the Mil^{y} B^{d}
Dholl	Maunds	100	For three Months Subsistence to the Convicts at Port Cornwallis.	100
Ghee	D^{o}	25		25
Rice	D^{o}	300		300
Salt	D^{o}	25		25

Port Cornwallis
1st November 1794.

(Signed) **Joseph Stokoe**
Comm^{y} Store & Provis^{ns} Andamans.

The Tonnage of the Snow Cornwallis and Nautilus Brig not being adequate to that of the Stores mentioned in the above Indents, Ordered that the following Articles which the Board understand are Chiefly wanted at the Andamans for early use be Shipped with a Convenient expedition Viz^{t}

Port Cornwallis, **Lieut^t^ Wales.**

300 Bags of Rice.
75 D^o^ of Dholl.
24 Maunds of Ghee.
60 Bags of Paddy.
75 D^o^ of Gram.
40 D^o^ of Whiet (*sic*).
4 Casks of Salt Provisions.
1 Leagur of Arrack.
125 Bags of Rice.
25 D^o^ of Gram.
20 Maunds of Ghee.

1794. — No. XLIII.

Fort William **12th December 1794.** The following Letter was received, on the 9th Instant, from the Commander of **the Nautilus Brig.**

Capt. Fimins.

To Edward Hay Esq^re^ Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the Honor to inform you that the Stores ordered from the Garrison Store Keeper for the Andamans, amounting to 150 Bags, and 5 Casks, are on board which together with the Bazar Articles Permitted to go down, will be the whole we can take and I am sorry to say we have **no room for any Convicts.**

I am &c^a^
(Signed) **Fimins**
H. C. B. Nautilus.

1794. — N^o^ XLIV.

Fort William **19th December 1794.** The following Letter was received on the 18th Inst. from the Secretary at Bombay.

Sec^ry^ Bombay 26th November 1794.

To Edward Hay Esq^r^ Secretary at Fort William.

Sir, — I have had the pleasure to receive your Letter dated the 29th Ultimo and am desired to Acquaint You that the wishes of the Governor General in Council **respecting Convicts being sent to the Andamans** will be duly Attended to by this Government . . . . .

I have the honor to be &c^a^
(Signed) **John Morris** Sec^ry^

Bombay Castle
26th November 1794.

1794. — No. XLV.

The following Minute was received from the Governor General on the [blank] and Circulated to the Members of the Board who Concurred in the Propositions it contained, and the necessary Orders were issued accordingly.

Gov. Gen^ls^ Minute.

Governor General. By the last dispatches from the Andamans it is known that the Settlement was very short of Provisions, and altho' the Indents from thence were Ordered to be Complied with in full, the Cornwallis and Nautilus were not Compitent to Carry down the

whole of the Supplies required, in consequence of which the following Articles remain to be dispatched, in part of the last Indents viz^t

Rice	Mds.	650
Dholl		400
Ghee		61
Salt		105
Paddy		80
Wheat		20

The above Articles may be estimated at a Tonnage equal to about 700 Bags.

There are also about 100 Convicts in the Jail of the 24 Purgunnahs, under Sentence of Transportation.

A Tender has been made by **Captain Copestakes of the Snow Druid** (formerly freighted for a similar Purpose) who will engage to carry down 100 Convicts with their Provisions and Water for 15 Days, and 1000 Bags of Grain for the Supply of the Settlement for the Sum of S^a R^s 3000, which is the same as was formerly paid him, I propose therefore that his Offer should be accepted, and that the following Orders should be issued in consequence.

1^st To the Secretary to prepare for the Embarkation of 100 Convicts on the Druid, as soon as the Vessel may be ready to receive them.

2. To the Garrison Store Keeper to provide and Ship Provisions and Water for the Subsistence of 100 Convicts on their Passage Allowing at this Season 15 Days for their Passage down.

3. To the Garrison Store Keeper, to provide and Ship Provisions and Water for the Subsistence of 100 Convicts on their Passage, Allowing at this Season 15 Days for their Passage down.

3. To the Garrison Store Keeper to Ship the Provisions due on the Indents already Passed, and to fill up the Vacant Tonnage with Rice, Dholl & Paddy equal to the 1000 Bags which the Vessel is engaged to Carry, as a further Supply for the use of the Settlement, and of the Additional Convicts to be sent there.

(Signed) **J. Shore.**
P. Speke.
W^m Cowper.

1794. — No. XLVI.

Fort William **the 19^th December 1794.** Read a Letter from Captain Copestakes.

Edward Hay Esq. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — The Druid will be ready to receive the Convicts on Board, as soon as the Grain and their Water is on Board, but as Yet I have not seen any, but expect it to day Viz^t a part.

I am &c^a

19^th December 1794. **Stephen Copestakes.**

1795. — No. I.

Fort William, 2nd January 1795.

Secretary to the Military Board.

To Edward Hay Esqre Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to enclose for the approval of Government Bill No. 178 for Provisions sent by the Garrison Store Keeper on board the **Cornwallis Snow**, for Subsistence

of **30 Convicts Ordered to the Andamans** and to intimate the recommendation of the Military Board that it may be passed transferring the charge to the Civil Department.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most obedient humble Servant

(Signed) **Isaac Humphreys**
Secry. Military Board.

Military Boards Office
29th December 1794.

Agreed that the Bill above mentioned be passed and that **Lieutenant Robinson Garrison Store Keeper** be instructed to present it to the Civil Paymaster for Payment.

1795. — No. II.

12th January 1795.

Similar letter to the above.

1795. — No. III.

Fort Willaim, 19th January 1795.

Read a letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqre. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Accompanying I do myself the pleasure of transmitting you the accounts of this Settlement brought up to the 1st of the ensuing Month. By the last Account Current sent, you would perceive that there was but a small balance of Cash in hand, I have however by receiving money from Individuals and by giving Notes on my own Agents in Calcutta for part of the pay of almost all the different Classes of people been able to discharge every expence of the Settlements to the 1st of December for which I have drawn Bills on Government according to the accompanying List. I must however now beg that you will acquaint the Governor General in Council that a Supply of Fifteen or Twenty Thousand Rupees in Specie Will be necessary for the next three Months Expenditure, half in Gold and half in Silver, and have to request he will be pleased to direct its being sent by the first Opportunity.

The Dispatch Brig being completely repaired and equipped, I have given Command of her to **Mr John Roberts** first Officer of the Cornwallis Snow, Who has been employed in fitting her out. While at **Prince of Wales's Island** I engaged **Mr E. Gardiner** as an Officer for that Vessel with the Pay of a Second Officer as also the necessary Europeans, and I have fixt her Establishment upon as economical a plan as possible, her expences of every kind are paid up by me to the 1st of December, but from that period it probably will be more convenient for Mr Roberts to indent for Pay and Provisions on the Marine Pay Master in Bengal as is practised by the other Commanders of Vessels on the Establishment.

A few days ago I sent **the Dispatch to Chittagong** Conceiving that at this Season of the Year, it is the readiest and cheapest place from which we can draw Provisions and Stock, and I have written to the Collector of that District requesting he will supply the grain that the Vessel can take. drawing on Government for the amount of its cost which I hope will be approved of.

While I was at Prince of Wales's Island the Government of Bombay sent in one of the Company's Cruizers bound to Prince of Wales's Island ; **five European Convicts to be landed at the Andamans**, but the Officer Commanding there would not receive them but very properly referred the Captain of the Cruizer to me. As it struck me that it never was the intention of the Governor General in Council to send European Convicts to the Andamans, and as there appeared to me many cogent Reasons against the Measure, I thought it best to request the Commander of the Cruizer to take them back to Bombay, and now enclose a Copy of the letter I wrote to the Secretary of Government at Bombay on that Subject.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant

(Signed) A. Kyd Supt. Andamans.

Fort Cornwallis
20th Novr. 1794.

Enclosure.

To John Morris Esqre Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir, — Your letter of the 26th July last by the **Ship Intrepid** giving Notice of **five European Convicts** having been sent to the Andamans by Order of the Honble the Governor in Council of Bombay was delivered me by **Captain Pruen** at this place. The Officer I left in Command at Port Cornwallis where Captain Pruen touched did not think it expedient to receive the Prisoners for which he has assigned to me Sufficient reasons, but referred Captain Pruen to me. I must now beg the favor of you to acquaint the Governor in Council that I do not think I can with propriety receive these Convicts at the Andamans without the particular directions of the Governor General in Council and that should he even think the banishment of European Convicts to the Andamans, a measure in itself expedient it would be necessary for me to represent that the Settlement is not yet in a Situation to accommodate them but with much convenience, but I must beg leave humbly to observe to the Governor in Council of Bombay that I conceive the fitness of such sentence of the Court of Oyer and Terminer has not been duly considered as the Andamans cannot in any manner be applicable as a place of banishment for European Convicts.

In all cases of Transportation I presume that two points must be established the one that there is a strong local attachment from habit, Possession of fixt property; ties of consanguinity or affection, the dissolving of which with condemnation to hard labour constitutes the Exemplary punishment, the other that the Country chosen for the place of banishment is to derive benefit by the acquisition of even such bad subjects as was formerly the case in the Transportation of Convicts from Great Britain to its Colonies in North America and at this time to Botany Bay. In the present case neither of these objects seem to be attended to, nor are they I conceive attainable. I imagine the Sentence does not extend to hard labor, as to Europeans in a Climate near the Equator it would be a very rigorous one entailling a certain and speedy death, if it is not to hard labor, there appears no punishment at all, for it cannot be supposed that the class of Europeans most subject to such Sentences can have cause for strong local attachments to any place in India and as they would be as well subsisted at the Andamans as at Bombay and obliged to perform no harder duty, there is no reason why they should not be quite contented with their Situation, neither can the Country reap any advantage from the acquisition of such men, they are unfit for hard labour in such a climate, they could be employed in no Office of Trust, or as Overseers to the Native labourers as it would be placing them in situations far superior to what they probably left nor could they be made to serve in a Corps of European Soldiers without giving a just cause of discontent, they could only therefore remain as Prisoners to be subsisted by Government at a greater expence than in any other part of India, as every Article of Provision must be sent from Bengal and would remain a very great incumbrance and inconvenience to the Settlement in providing them with habitations Clothing, Medical Attendance and other conveniences which humanity requires that Europeans should have in such a Climate. I hope these reasons will appear sufficient to the Governor in Council of Bombay to excuse me in his Opinion for objecting to receive these Men, and that they may Operate with the Court of Oyer and Terminer to induce it to adopt some more applicable punishment for Criminals of this class.

I have the honor to be, Your Obedient Servant

(Signed) **A. Kyd**
Supt. Andamans.

Prince of Wales's Island,
20th September 1794.

Ordered that the Accounts of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis transmitted with Major Kyd's Letter dated the 20th November, be sent to the Military Auditor General for his report upon them, and that the list of the Bills he has drawn upon the Governor General in Council be forwarded to the Accountant General.

Agreed that an Order on the Treasury for Twenty Thousand Rupees payable half in Gold and half in Silver be issued in favor of the Superintendant who is now at the Presidency, to be dispatched to the Andamans by the first Opportunities that Offer.

Agreed that Major Kyd be informed that the Board approve of his having given the Command of the Dispath Brig to Mr John Roberts, and of his Nomination of Mr E. Gardiner to be an officer of that Vessel with the pay of a Second, and that they [omission ?] with the Superintendant to lay before them the Establishment he has fixed for her.

The Board approving of the Suggestion that Mr Roberts should indent on **Mr Boswell's Office** for the pay and Provisions required for the Dispatch subsequent to the 1st of December, to which Time the Expences of the Vessel were provided for by the Superintendant, observe that Indents so made out were passed at the last meeting.

Agreed with respect to the European Convicts sent from Bombay that the Superintendant be informed that the Governor General in Council approves of his having returned them to that Presidency for the Reasons Stated, and observes that Instructions sent upon the subject, some time ago, by this to the Bombay Government will prevent the Transportation of any more European Convicts from thence to the Andamans.

1795. — No. IV.

Superintendant at the Andamans dated 23rd November.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I have the pleasure to acquaint you for the information of Government, that the Honble. Company's **Snow Drake** arrived here yesterday from Bengal with Convicts but I am very sorry to find that there is no provisions on Board for them. I have particularly to request that so great a number of people may never be sent to the Settlement without the necessary precaution being taken for their Subsistence for at least four Months, as in our situation at this time it may be the occasion of very serious distress to the Settlement. I have also to observe that there were fifty one Convicts landed instead of fifty as expressed by the list sent by the Magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs and that there are many of them, Old, Sickly and of classes of Men very unfit for labor.

I have been honored with your letter of the 1st Instant, and shall rigidly attend to the Board's direction in sending **Review Rolls** with the names of the different Classes of people paid by the Public at the Andamans. As I did not at all perceive the utility of their [these] papers, I have heretofore omitted sending them, conceiving the accumulation of all unnecessary Papers as an evil which the Board would have wished me to avoid.

I have now the pleasure of sending you Review Rolls for the Months of September, October and November the Accounts of which were made up and sent a few days ago.

I have the honor te be Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

(Signed) **A. Kyd.**

Port Cornwallis 23rd November 1794.

Ordered that Particular Attention be paid in future to the Supplies of Provisions for the Convicts sent to the Andamans, and that it be made the Rule that Subsistence shall be provided for them for at least four Months as the Superintendent recommends.

Ordered that the necessary directions in consequence be sent to the Garrison Store Keeper.

Ordered that an Extract from Major Kyd's letter, relating to the Number and State of the Convicts sent in the Drake be transmitted to the Judicial Department.

Ordered that Copies of the two last Paragraphs of Major Kyd's letter be forwarded to the Military Auditor General with the Review Rolls to which they refer.

1795. — No. V.

Mr. Wood dated 23rd November.

Read a letter from Mr. David Wood.

To the Honble Sir John Shore Bart. Governor General in Council, Fort William.

Honble Sir, — It is with great diffidence I take the liberty to address you at this time on the subject of my situation at Port Cornwallis. The precarious and temporary appointment I have filled, for upwards of four years, and the anxiety I feel on that account, will I hope apologize for my intruding my case, on your consideration.

The fifth year is now passing on, since I received the orders of the Governor General in Council to proceed to the Andamans, and execute the Medical duties at that settlement. During that time, I have filled a place, that required constant attendance, and of considerable labour. A situation, from the infant state of the settlement, by no means enviable; upon allowances considerably reduced, and, even to the prejudice of my general health. I candidly acknowledge my acceptance of the situation, unconditionally; but had great reason to hope my services here, which I understand have been satisfactory to my commanding officers would have induced the Honble Court of Directors to confirm my rank on the Bengal establishment. The object I always looked up to and, for which I voluntarily relinquished an appointment on the Madras establishment, which, my friends had procured for me, about the time of my arrival at the Andamans.

The number of Assistant Surgeons appointed by the Honble Court of Directors this season, for the Bengal establishment, without any reference to the recommendation forwarded two years ago by the Marquis Cornwallis in my favour, fills my mind with anxiety and the dread of being again thrown upon the world, without any provision, should bad health ever oblige me to relinquish my present temporary appointment.

I have thus presumed to lay my case before you, in expectation that the peculiarity of it may induce you to forward another application to the Honble Court of Directors or to grant me rank on the Bengal establishment (until their pleasure is known) as your wisdom shall best direct.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect Honble. Sir Your Most
Obedient and Most Humble Servant,

Port Cornwallis, November 23rd 1794. (Signed) David Wood.

Ordered that Mr Wood be informed on the subject of his letter that the Governor General in Council will remind the Honble Court of Directors of the Recommendation submitted to them in the Year 1792 of Mr Wood to be appointed an Assistant Surgeon on this Establishment and advise him of the Answer as soon as it arrives.

1795. — No. VI.

Read a letter from the commander of the Dispatch Brig Captain Roberts dated 14th January.

To Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Having succeeded by regular rotation in the Honble Company's Marine service to the Command of the **Brig Dispatch** on the Andaman Station, on the First of August last; I have to request you will do me the honor to solicit of the Governor General in Council **a Commission of Captain**, bearing date from that period.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
(Signed) John Roberts.

Agreed that the Secretary be directed to comply with the above application, and to **grant Mr Roberts the Commission** he requests.

1795. — No. VII.

Fort William 6th February 1795.

Read a Letter and its Enclosure from the Secretary to the Military Board.

Edward Hay Esqr. Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have the honor to transmit Copies of Letters which have this day been addressed to the Commissary of Stores and Garrison Store Keeper by Order of the Military Board together with a Copy of the Indent, which was sent with the former, shewing what Articles have been passed on the Arsenal

I have the honor to be &ca

(Signed) **Isaac Humphreys** Secry. Mily. Board.

Enclosure.

To Lieutenant George Abercromby Robinson Garrison Store Keeper.

Sir, — The Military Provision Store Keeper, in an Indent which has been submitted to the board, applied for some **Articles not usually known on the arsenal Books,** you are requested to indent for them on the agent of supplies.

They are **as follows** —

Hooks Fishing.
Jaggry.
Knives Common.
Lines Fishing.

After procuring them from **Captain Collins** be pleased to Ship them on such **Vessel as** Government may be pleased to direct.

I am &ca

(Signed) **Isaac Humphreys,** Secry. Mily. Board.

Military Board Office, **the 31st January 1795.**

Enclosure.

Lieutenant William Golding, Commissary of Stores.

Sir, — Enclosed I beg to forward to you an Indent No 1073 for Sundries for **the Settlement at the Andamans,** of which you are directed to prepare such as have been admitted by the Board for dispatch, on such ship as Government may be pleased to direct. The Garrison Store Keeper will receive Instructions to obtain from the Agent of Stores such articles as are not usually known on the Arsenal Books.

I am Sir, Your Most Obedient humble Servant

(Signed) **Isaac Humphreys** Secry. Mily. Board.

Military Board Office, 31st January 1795.

Indent No. 3.

To **Lieutenant** William Golding, Commissary of Stores, Fort William.

Names of Stores.	Articles indented for	For what purposes wanted.	Admitted by the Board.
Adzes Europe	12	Carpenters	12
Chalk ... ... Maunds	2	Ditto	2
Firmers Inch ... ... Dozen	6	Ditto	6
Hooks Fishing of Sizes	200	For the use of the Settlers... ..	..
Jaggry ... ... Mds.	50	For Masonry	...

Names of Stores.		Articles indented for	For what purpose wanted.	Admitted by the Board.
Knives Common		50	For the use of the Lascars	...
Lanthorns Horn		10	Guards and Patroles	10
Lines Fishing		50	For the use of the Settlers ..	...
Needles Packing		50	For the Store Room	50
Ditto Sail		50	Sail Makers	50
Oil Mustard Seed	Mds.	50	For Masonry	50
Ditto Lintseed Boiled ...	Do.	5	Painting Public Buildings	5
Paint Black	Kegs	1	Ditto	1
Paint Blue	Ditto	1	Ditto	1
Ditto Yellow	Ditto	1	Ditto	1
Ditto White	Ditto	2	Ditto	2
Ditto Verdegrease... ...	Ditto	1	Ditto	1
Scissars	Pairs	2	For the use of the Store Room ..	2
Tarpawlins Large and Small (each 10)		20	For the protection of Grain and Stores	20
Twine, Jute ...	Maunds	10	For Thatching &c	10

Indent No. 4.

To Lieutenant William Golding, Commissary of Stores, Fort William.

Names of Stores.		Articles indented for	For what purposes wanted.	Admitted by the Board.
Chissels of Sorts	Doz.	4	Carpenters	4
Files flat large	Do.	2	Smiths	2
Ditto Pit Saw	Do.	2	Sawyers	2
Nails, 1 Inch	Md.	1	Carpenters	1
Oil Coconut	Do.	1	Siclegurs & Cleaning Arms ...	1
Salamoniac...	lbs.	10	Smiths	10
Saws Pit with Handles		6	Sawyers	6
Silk Sewing red & blue of each 2 lbs.		4	Repairs	4
Thread Cotton	lbs.	2	Repairs	2
Solder Tin	Seers	5	Smiths	5

(Signed) Joseph Stokoe, Commissary Stores & Provisions, Andamans.
(Signed) Thomas Ramsay Smith, In temporary charge of the Settlement.

Passed by the Military Board this day, 2nd February, 1795.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 433.)

(*To be Continued*).

MISCELLANEA.

INHERITED POWER OF CURING DISEASE OR CAUSING EVIL IN THE PANJÂB.

BY H. A. ROSE,

Superintendent of Ethnography, Panjâb.

THE **Balôches** have several sub-divisions, who

Gurchanis ..	Division:	Durkani.
	Sub-division:	Batani.
,, ..	Division:	Leshari.
	Sub-division:	Jabrani.
,, ...	Division:	Jaskani.
	Sub-division:	Girani.
Legharis ...	Division:	Hadiani.
	Sub-division:	Shahmani.
Khosas ...	... ...	Chitar.
		Fakir.

can stop bleeding by reciting charms and **touching** the wound, and they used to have the power of **bewitching the arms** of their enemies **so that they became useless.** In his translation of the *Balôchinâma*, Hêtu Râm says :—'The Nôthânîs are the Levitical section of the Bugtis and guardians of Pîr Sohrî's shrine, though they have admitted a Gurchânî to a share in the guardianship. **Before an expedition each man passes under a yoke of guns (or swords)** held by men of the Nôthânî section. **They can charm guns** so that the bullets shall be harmless and get (or claim) a share of all crops grown in the Bugtî country.' The Usrânâs of Khûî Bhârâ in Kulâchî Tahsîl have similar powers.

Numerous Pathân sections also have similar powers. In Mûsâ Khêl, in Dêra Isma'il Khân, the descendants of Murat, of the Môi Khêl, **can cure burns** by applying their spittle to the wound, and reciting the formula, '*Bi'sm-i-lla-ir-Rahmân-ir-Rahim.*' The power was conferred by a Hindustani *faqîr.* The Khwàja Khêl received a similar power from an Indian *faqîr*, and can **cure pain of any kind** by blowing in a piece of salt or sweetmeat and giving it to the patient. Among the Niâzîs is a sept, called Sarang, who **cure jaundice** by blowing on grains of white *jiwâr*, which the patient eats. This power was bestowed by Miân Khwâja Sâhib of Miân Bâgh, at whose shrine is a *sarinh* tree, and by eating its leaves on the *śankrânt* of Baisâkh one becomes immune from *rishta-narrû* (a disease) for as many years as one has eaten leaves. **The tomb also has a general power of healing.** Another Niâzî sept, the Michan Khêl, is descended from Michan Bâbâ, and has three sub-septs, the Badni, Gôrkî and Akâ Khêls, which have varying degrees of power to **cure hydrophobia and snake-bite**, and visits to the tomb of the Bâwâ also secure immunity from snake-bite. The Burâ Khêl of the Bhitanni comprises six or seven families claiming Sayyid descent, but believed to be Mullâgaurs, who **can avert the enemy's bullets** in war, and the Shâkî sept **can cure any disorder** if seven members of the sept pray for the patient and spread a *chddar* or sheet over him. This sept is paid for its services. In Tânk is a sept called Tâib, near Gambilâ, also claiming Sayyid descent, but probably of Bhitannî origin, who can **cause rain by their prayers, and avert misfortunes.** Among the Gandapûr is a Musâ-zâî sept which **cures cataract**, and another sept, called Buiâ, **cures pains** by striking the part affected with an iron implement. Three visits must be made. A third sept, the Ibrâzâî, can cure a disease called *dur*, by blowing on the wound two days, the cure resulting on the third. Among the Bâbars is a sept, Akhûndzâî, of the Bâwan-zâîs, who can **cure snake-bite and hydrophobia** : they write a charm in three wooden vessels, wash off the writing with water, and make the patient drink it. This must be done by them gratis, but the carpenter who makes the bowls may be paid, and an essential condition is that no other treatment, before or after, may be tried. The Ushtarânâ Pathâns, by origin Sayyids, can give **immunity from weapons** in battle, and the Harî-pâl sept of the Shirannis have a similar power, and claim a similar descent. Finally, some of the Qasrânîs practise **divination** from the shoulder-blades of goats, and take **auguries** from the cries of birds.

Various other tribes have similar septs with these curative powers. The Shêkhs of Gandî 'Umr Khân in Tahsîl Kulâchi cure ulcers by reciting a charm and touching the part. The Mahar Jâṭs in Bahâwalpûr can cure sore throats by rubbing salt with the ashes of cow-dung on the patient's neck. The cure is instantaneous, and the belief said to be general in the Panjâb. The Ganglis of Khân Bêlâ have a similar power. A Hindu Arôṛâ of the Chugh *gôt* can cure chuk or pain in the loins by pushing the sufferer from behind. If a Chugh is not on hand, it is sufficient to go to his house and rub one's back against the wall. Chugh may be derived from *chuk*, because the tribe has this power, but perhaps the idea is simply that a Chugh has power over *chuk*. Imitative magic finds scope in the following rite:— If your field be suffering from *mûlâ* or blight, call in a man named Mûlâ Mal or Mûlâ Râm and drive him from the field, beating him with shoes *a tergo*. Then as Mûlâ runs away, with lamentations, so, too, will the blight depart. The Duâ section of the Arôṛâs have also an inherited power of curing a sprain in the back or loins by touching the part affected.[1] The pain called *chuk* may also be cured by this section which uses the following charm :—'*Duâ sîth bârî, phûlôṅ bhârî dorî, bhannê chîl* (waist) *karêndâ sârî.*' The charm is read over a cloth and this is then applied thrice to the part, a push being finally given to it to expel the pain. The power was conferred on Sêṭh Harî, the ancestor of the section, by *faqîrs*. It is also said to be essential that the patient should go straight home without looking back. The power is exercised gratis

But these powers, though most common in the south-west of the Panjâb, are by no means confined to that area For instance, the Pathâls of Phâphil Râjâ Râm in Jhêlam cure boils on children's heads gratis, by first filling the mouth with salt and then spitting on the sore, and the head of the Paswâl Gûjars at Jakkar in that District cures a skin disease which causes baldness by pulling out a single hair. He practises on one Sunday in the month and must not accept any fee, because that condition was made by the *faqîr* who conferred the power some generations ago. Thus, too, the Khatrîs of the Asrî section at Sankhâtrâ in Siâlkôt can cure snake-bite by reciting charms and touching the person bitten with *drek* leaves. Among the Jâṭs the Salêhriâ of Sidhwân in Tahsîl Zafarwâl can cure ulcers by administering pepper charmed by them on a Sunday or Tuesday. Sâdhû Râm Dâs conferred this power on them. In Patiâlâ the Bât Khatrîs of Bhiwânigaṛh cure enlarged glands by touching them with a pen dipped in ink. And the males of the Sungal *gôt* of the Baniâs of the same tract can cure sores by touching them with salt. Among the Sônkhlâ Râjputs of Unâ Tahsîl the descendants of one Sangû have the power of curing small-pox by inoculation. The power was conferred by a *faqîr*. The Nâgiânâ or Nangiânâ (the play on the words *nâg*, snake, and *nangâ*, naked, causes constant confusion in beliefs) of Shâhpûr are also believed to be able to cause injury. The popular derivation is from *nâg*, because they have that power. The Ghiraths have a section, called Rihârâ, which has hereditary power to inflict evil.

The above instances of hereditary supernatural or supernormal powers have been collected in the Panjâb. It would be of interest to know if similar septs or clans exist in other parts of India, and what explanations are given of the transmission of the power from father to son.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CHEE-CHEE.

HERE is a quotation of some importance for the etymology of this word, from *The Times* Weekly Edition of May 16, 1902, Supplement, p. iii, in an article entitled *Personal Reminiscences of St. Pierre (Martinique)* :—

"Here the Chee-chee, or patois, was 'nigger-French,' indeed the most common of the two patois throughout the Leeward and Windward Islands, and still the language of the back population in St Lucia and in Dominica."

Now Chee-chee is, according to all authorities, an East Indian word, denoting the language first, and then the personality of the East-Indian half-caste. But is it after all one of those words belonging equally to the East and West Indies? If so, a new etymology will have to be sought for it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH.

HINGAIN—ANGLE-IRON.

ANTE, Vol. XXX. p. 320, I quoted an instance where the English term angle-iron had become hangling in the mouths of Indian builders. But I have since heard hingain, which has a very Hindi look about it, and is far away from the original.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] A child born feet foremost can cure pain in the loins by kicking the part affected. Was the progenitor of the Duâ Arôṛâs so born? In Hissâr this section of the Arôṛîs may not wear blue *lênghâ* (trousers).

THE SUKRITASAMKIRTANA OF ARISIMHA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE PROFESSOR G. BÜHLER, C I E., LL.D., VIENNA BY E. H. BURGESS, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D.

[THE paper, of which the following is a translation, appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna (Vol. CXIX., 1889), and some copies of it were struck off in a separate form, chiefly for distribution to friends.[1] There are many scholars, both in Europe and India, who are interested in the subject of the paper but are not familiar with the German language; to them the following translation is offered in order to make its contents accessible. — J. B.]

IN my *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1879-80, p. 5, I announced the discovery of **a historical poem** which bears the title **Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana**, and was **composed by Arisiṁha** in honour of his patron, the Jaina **Vastupâla**, who served the Vâghelâ prince **Râṇaka-Vîradhavala** of Ḍholkâ and his son **Vîsaladeva** as minister from **Vikrama-Saṁvat 1276 to 1296 or 1297.** Although since then, by the publication of Someśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî*, the most important source concerning the origin of the power of the Vâghelâ dynasty of Gujarât, has become generally accessible, yet a discussion of the contents of **Arisiṁha's poem** will not be superfluous. For this touches on several details about which Someśvara is silent, and gives new and in part valuable accounts of other incidents. The manuscript which I have used for the following examination is No. 302 of my collection in the library of the India Office. This was copied in August 1880 from the same original in Ahmadâbâd from which No. 415 of the Dekhan College Collection of 1879-80 was taken; and it was then carefully collated with No. 411 of the Dekhan College Collection of 1880-81. It is therefore, — with the exception of the confusion between the sibilants, between *a* and *i*, *ra* and *ṛi*, as well as *ṭa* and *ṭha*, — pretty free from errors, and the text is almost throughout easily intelligible.

The character and arrangement of the work.

The **Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana** is, as the inscription of each canto intimates, a *Mahâkâvya* or artistic poem, composed according to the rules of prosody, and it contains 11 Sargas with 553 verses. Five verses at the end of each Sarga are due not to Arisiṁha but to Amarapaṇḍita. It says, I. 46: — "In this work which **Arisiṁha** composed, **Amarapaṇḍita** wrote these four last verses canto by canto." The number refers to the preceding four verses 42-45, and the fifth, which is repeated at the end of each Sarga, is not reckoned. These verses have no close connection with the contents of the preceding parts. The first three either contain general praises and blessings upon Vastupâla or mention incidents not described by Arisiṁha. The fourth always names Arisiṁha as the author of the work and praises his poetic skill.

The titles of **the separate cantos** are as follows: —

I. — *Châpotkaṭânvayavarṇana*, Description of the Châpotkaṭa dynasty (of Gujarât), 46 verses; principal metre: Vasantatilakâ.

II. — *Chaulukyânvayavarṇana*, Description of the Chaulukya dynasty (of Gujarât), 56 verses; principal metre: Upajâti.

III. — *Mantriprakâśa*, Appearance of the ministers, 67 verses; principal metre: Anushṭubh.

[1] The German original is accompanied by the Sanskrit text of the passages that are translated in this paper.

IV. — *Dharmopadeśana*, Instruction in the holy law, 49 verses; principal metre: Rathoddhatâ.

V. — *Saṁghaprasthâna*, Departure of the (Jaina) congregation, 55 verses; principal metre: Vaṁśastha.

VI. — *Sûryodayavarṇana*, Description of the sunrise, 40 verses; principal metre: Mâlinî.

VII. — *Satruṁjayadarśana*, Visit to Satruṁjaya, 48 verses: principal metre: Svâgatâ.

VIII. — *Srî-Nemidarśana*, Visit to (the shrine of) the divine Neminâtha, 48 verses; principal metre: Pramitâksharâ.

IX. — *Shaḍṛituvarṇana*, Description of the six seasons of the year, 56 verses; principal metre: Drutavilambitâ.

X. — *Purapraveśa*, Entrance into the town (Ḍholkâ), 47 verses; the metres vary every two verses or still more frequently.

XI. — Enumeration of Vastupala's buildings, 41 verses: principal metre: Vasantatilakâ.

Besides the metres already mentioned, the following also occur in single verses: Âryâ, Indravajrâ, Upendravajrâ, Pushpitâgrâ, Mañjubhâshiṇî, Mandâkrântâ, Sârdûlavikrîḍita, Sikhariṇî and Sragdharâ. Amarapaṇḍita usually begins his first verse in the metre with which Arisiṁha ceases. In spite of the pains both poets have taken with the versification, it often happens that the first and third foot of a verse stop in the middle of a simple word. And although the really distinguished poets often use the weak cæsura by ending the first *pâdas* of a half verse with one part of a compound, yet they avoid dividing simple words. This abuse first occurs in later poetasters. The more difficult feats of art, like Pratilomânuloma, Gomûtrikâ, etc., neither Arisiṁha nor Amarapaṇḍita has tried. On the other hand, there are numerous *anuprâsas* or alliterations, and — although more seldom — even *yamakas* or rhymes. As for the diction, one easily perceives the zealous striving to vary the turnings of the classical models and to find new expressions or figures. The result is not a brilliant one, however, and the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana* nowhere rises above the level of the mediocre. At some points one may doubt whether the authors are quite sound in grammar. Once, I. 44, the MS. gives the form *asisnapat*, and again VII. 38, *asasnapat*. It is possible, however, that these are clerical errors. In another place, VII. 43, there is the incorrect form *pratilâbhita*. One peculiarity is the abrupt commencement of the poem which has neither an introduction nor a long *maṅgala*. The *maṅgala* is represented only by the word *Srî* with which the first verse begins.

The author and his time.

All that we learn from the poem about **Arisiṁha** is that his father was called Lâvaṇyasiṁha, VIII. 48, or Lavaṇasiṁha, X. 46. The latter is, of course, the form really used in ordinary life. We may further infer from the whole manner of representation that the poet belonged to the Jaina sect. Since his own and his father's name both end in *siṁha*, it is probable that they were both Râjputs. We learn something more about him from his assistant Amarapaṇḍita or Amarayati, whose full name is Amarachandra, and from the later *Prabandhas* of the Jainas. Amarachandra, pupil of Jinadattasuri, was the author of a series of works, among which the *Bâlabhârata*, published in the *Paṇḍit* of 1869 ff., the 'instruction for poets,' called *Kâvyakalpalatâ* (*Kavisikshâ*), and the *Kâvyakalpalatâparimala*[2] have been known for a long time. In the introduction to the second work he says that the aphorisms in it are composed partly by himself, partly by Arisiṁha. It is said there, I. 2: — "Whilst I esteem

[2] That the third work, a super-commentary to the second, comes from Amarachandra himself; it says at the end of *Kâvyakalpalatâ*, I. 5: *etachchhlokaktara vyâkhyânam tu shântarâni kavisamayodâharaṇâni matkṛitakâvyakalpalatâparimalâj jñeyâni.*

the *Kavi... asya* of the excellent poet **Arisiṁha**, who, like the full moon, causes the great ocean of the nectar of poetry to swell, on account of extempore composition, I shall comment upon the aphorisms composed partly by me, partly by him."[3] From this it follows, first, that Arisiṁha wrote a handbook of poetry with the title *Kavitârahasya*, and, secondly, that the text of the *Kâvyakalpalatâ* was written by him and Amarachandra in common.

More is contained in Râjaśekhara's *Prabandhakosha*, in which the thirteenth part is dedicated to the poet Amarachandra. It is narrated there that **Amarachandra**, pupil of **Jinadattasûri**, received the charm called *Siddhasâraswata* from an unnamed *Kavirâja*, *i. e.*, from a man who bore the title poet-prince. Through the proper use of the same, Amarachandra compelled the goddess of eloquence to appear to him, and obtained grace from her to become a perfect poet, honoured by all princes. He then wrote the first and second of the above-named works as well as the *Chhandoratnâvalî*, the *Sûktaratnâvalî*, the *Kalâkalâpa*, and later, 'upon the word,' *i. e.*, at the desire of a patron, the *Kaushthâgârika Padma*, the *Sâstra* called *Padmânanda*. Râjaśekhara farther records that Amarachandra, after various adventures, arrived at the court of Vîsaladeva, king of Ḍholkâ, and won his favour. Once, it continues, the king asked him: 'Who is thy teacher in the fine arts?' Amara said: 'The poet-prince **Arisiṁha**.' 'Then bring him to me to-morrow morning' (answered the king). The following morning Amarachandra led the poet before the king. The king sat leaning on his sword and asked: 'Is this the poet-prince?' He answered: 'Om.' Then the king said: 'Recite something suitable to the occasion.' Thereupon Arisiṁha recited four verses in which he praised Vîsaladeva's sword. The prince was so charmed that he bestowed a permanent appointment and a high salary upon the poet. Soon afterwards the salary was doubled because he sang in a masterly manner of a blade of grass which the king held in his hand.

Like the records of most of the *Prabandhas*, this one also contains, besides what is undoubtedly correct, much that is not so. In the first place it is true that Amarachandra wrote a work called *Padmânanda*. Peterson found it and bought it for the Bombay Government (see *First Report*, p. 126, No. 285). From the extracts given there from the Cambay Library MS., it appears that it bears also the title *Jinendracharita* and is a *Mahâkâvya*, containing 12 Sargas (*cf.* also Peterson, *loc. cit.* p. 58).

The statement, then, that **Arisiṁha** was the teacher of **Amarachandra** in the fine arts agrees with the contents of the above second verse of the *Kâvyakalpalatâ*. The reverential way in which Amarachandra expresses himself in his verses about Arisiṁha speaks for the same thing: —

I. 45. — "Arisiṁha, a lion for his elephant-like opponents, composed this work, which, like the glances of the ever-gracious Vastupâla, dispenses rivers of nectar."

VIII. 48. — "This work, a flood of beams from the moon of the face of Lavaṇyasiṁha's son, which draws off the swarms of bees from those waterlilies, the faces of the unworthy, produces mighty waves in the milk-ocean of fame of the excellent minister and prince Vastupâla."[4]

Only a pupil speaking of his teacher, or a client of his patron, would express himself thus.

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[3] See Aufrecht, *Catalogus cod. S. M. Bibl. Bodleianæ*, p. 210[b]. In the beginning of the second Pâda, MS. No. 119 of my collection has *matvâ* instead of *natvâ* and I translate accordingly. Compare also Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report on the Search*, etc., 1883-84, p. 6.

[4] The swarms of bees are the admirers, who formerly hung upon the lips of the bad poets, but now turn to Arisiṁha.

On the other hand, the *Prabandha* is incorrect in stating that Amarapaṇḍita and, through him, Arisiṁha came to the court of Ḍholkâ only during the reign of Vîsaladeva, circa Vikrama-Saṁvat 1296 to 1318. For soon after Vîsaladeva's accession **Vastupâla** lost his high position and died, as Narachandra had prophesied, in the Vikrama year 1298.[5] From the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana* it is apparent, however, that it was written when the minister was in the zenith of his power. This is proved, for instance, by two verses at the end of the first and second cantos: —

I. 42. — " Daily, illustrious prince of the council, Vastupâla, the Brâhmaṇs cry blessings on you : ' Long may you live ! ' — the bard princes : ' May you attain the age of Brahmâ ! ' — and noble women : ' May you never grow old and be immortal ! ' But I will also say something : ' May you rejoice in your life as long as your far-reaching fame dances in the sky.' "

II. 52. — " Heavenly (wishing) cow, (paradise) trees, (wish-fulfilling) precious stones ! Why hide ye yourselves in the tottering rocks of the divine mountain (Meru) ? Adorn the earth ; nobody demands you ! May the illustrious minister Vastupâla alone live for ever ! "

It is hence certain that both poets stood in close relation to the minister who served Vîsaladeva's father, and their connection with him, according to the last verse, is scarcely doubtful. For when an Indian poet praises the generosity of his hero in the above manner, it is a certain sign that he has either experienced the same or hopes to do so. There are, however, a number of other passages which make it still clearer that Amarachandra and probably also Arisiṁha belonged to Vastupâla's suite of poets which the *Prabandhas* often mention. The next verse, II. 54, ought to suffice to convince the most incredulous. It says : — " Poverty has resignedly deserted so completely those men who continually rejoice in praising Vastupâla that she, indolent in spite of the command of the gods, does not even cross the threshold of their neighbours' houses." That is to say, in simple prose, that the singer and other poets were well paid by **Vastupâla**. If one must accept from this that Râjaśekhara places the prime of Amarachandra and Arisiṁha too late,[6] it need not therefore be concluded that they had no connection with **Vîsaladeva**. It is very possible that they kept themselves in favour at the Court of Ḍholkâ after Viradhavala's death and the fall of Vastupâla.

As to the exact date of composition of the poem we need not be content to ascribe it merely in general to the period of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1276-1296 or 1297, during which Vastupâla occupied his high position. It will be seen later, from the comparison of his statements concerning Vastupâla's buildings with the inscriptions, that it was probably written about the Vikrama year 1285. It is probably some years younger than the *Kîrtikaumudî*. The *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana* seems never to have found much esteem even with the Jainas. Neither Râjaśekhara in the *Prabandhakosha*, nor Jinaharsha in the *Vastupâlacharita*, quotes it, although the latter gives long extracts from older sources. Both follow Someśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî*, the greater fame of which put the poem of the less distinguished Arisiṁha in the shade. Its author Arisiṁha is perhaps mentioned in Sârṅgadhara's *Paddhati*, where a verse of a certain **Arasî-Ṭhakkura**, No. 76 (Peterson's edition), is mentioned. Arasî stands for Arisî, and is a quite correct Prakrit form of **Arisiṁha** (see *Ueber das Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, p. 39), which is still frequently used in Gujarât. The identity of the two persons is, of course, by no means proved by the similarity of their names, but is only a possibility.

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[5] *Kîrtikaumudî*, pp. xviii-xix ; *Prabandhakosha*, p. 288 : — *Srî-Vastupâlo jvarâruglêśena pôḍitastêjaḥpâlam sputrapautraṁ svaputraṁ cha jayaṁtasiṁhabhâshata* I
vatsaḥ Srî-Narachandrasûribhirmaladhâribhiḥ 1287 varshê Bhâdrapada badi 10 dinê divagamanasamayê vayamuktâḥ I
mantrin 1298 svargârohanaṁ bhavishyati II.

[6] As a further proof of this, it may be mentioned that the Cambay MS. of the *Padmânanda-Kâvya* was written in the Vikrama year 1297.

Notes on the history of the Chauḍas and Chaulukyas.

The first Sarga, which contains the genealogy of the Châpoṭkata or Châuḍâ kings, gives the following names :—

I. — **Vanarâja**	... ...	Verses 1-26
II. — **Yogarâja**	... ...	„ 27-28
III. — **Ratnâditya**	... ...	„ 29-30
IV. — **Vairisiṁha**	... ...	„ 31-32
V. — **Kshemarâja**	... ...	„ 33-34
VI. — **Châmuṇḍa**	... ...	„ 35-36
VII. — **Râhaḍa**	... ...	„ 37-38
VIII. — **Bhûbhaṭa**	... ...	„ 39-41

The verses dedicated to these kings contain almost nothing but conventional flatteries in which no historical events are mentioned. **Vanarâja** and **Bhûbhaṭa** are the only exceptions. As regards the first, it is mentioned in verse 9 that he founded the city of **Aṇahilapâṭaka** or Aṇhilvâḍ, and verse 10 that he built there the temple of Pañchâsara-Pârśvanâtha. Both statements are found in most of the later Jaina *Prabandhas*, and are therefore of no special interest. On the other hand, the statement, verse 41, that **Bhûbhaṭa** ruled the earth long, is of some significance and also the arrangement and number of the Châuḍâ kings. For both entirely disagree with the statements in Kṛishṇâjî's *Ratnamâlâ*, in some MSS. of Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*,[7] and in later works, like Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumârapâlacharita*, Jinaharsha's *Vastupâlacharita*, and Dharmasâgara's *Pravachanaparîkshâ*.

All these works recognise only seven instead of eight Châuḍâ kings, whose succession differs from the above, and they ascribe to the last a reign of only seven years. On the other hand, our list is almost identical with that contained in Merutuṅga's *Therâvali*,[8] and in the Bombay edition of the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, pp. 35-38.[9] In the *Therâvali* there are differences only with regard to the names of the seventh and eighth kings. The former is called not **Râhaḍa**, but Thâghaḍa or Ghâghaḍa, and the latter not **Bhûbhaṭa** but Pûada. Pûada is doubtless a clerical error for Bhûyaḍa or Bhûvaḍa, which is the usual Apabhraṁśa form for Bhûbhaṭa in the *Prabandhas*. Instead of Thâghaḍa or Ghâghaḍa, **Râghaḍa** is to be read, which may be the same as **Râhaḍa** if the original form of the name be Râghavabhaṭa.[10] The edition of the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* has the form Âkaḍa, which differs still more strongly. On the other hand, it gives for Bhûbhaṭa the form **Bhûyaḍa**,[11] which one expects.

The reign of this last prince extended to 19 years according to the *Therâvali*, whilst the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* edition gives even 27. The latter number would, of course, agree best with the expression *chiram*, 'long.' In comparison with the apparently more authentic traditions of Kṛishṇâjî (which, moreover, have been printed from bad MSS.) the statements of the *Therâvali* have hitherto received no consideration. The narrative of the seven Châuḍâ kings, the last of whom is said to have been murdered after a seven years' reign by **Mûlarâja**,

[7] Thus No. 296 of my collection and Bhâû Dâji's MSS., *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. IX. p. 157.

[8] See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc. loc. cit.*

[9] The passage is in parenthesis in the edition. Also the narrative which follows in the text shews that the MS. which forms the groundwork differs considerably from the other known ones.

[10] It is quite possible to find for the seventh Châuḍâ king in the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana* a name which comes very near the Âkaḍa given in the published edition of the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*. We can divide I. 37, *prabalaśatruyaśaḥ śaśâṅkairirâhur âhaḍa iti*, by which means the form Âhaḍa is obtained. This much may be said for this division, that we gain thereby a construction exactly corresponding to that in verses 27, 31, 35, etc., and also that the word Âhaḍa, which might stand for the Sanskṛit Âhavabhaṭa (compare Âhavamalla), would be quite a suitable epithet for a king. Nevertheless I hold it probable that the name was Râhaḍa; for I do not believe that the poet would have lighted upon the alliteration °râhurâhadaḥ if the name had not begun with râ. Then the certainly corrupt forms Thâghaḍa and Ghâghaḍa tend to prove that the initial was a consonant.

[11] Or Bhûyagaḍa.

his sister's son, and of the Chaulukya prince **Râji**, is unhesitatingly accepted, though it contains the absurdity of Râji's marriage having taken place and his son having grown up, within these seven years.[12] It is plain from Arisimha's statements that the *Therâvali* does not stand alone in its representations, but rests upon older traditions. Since Krishṇâjî's *Ratnamâlâ* is perhaps as old as the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana*, the two contradictory accounts of the Châṇḍâ kings existed at least in the thirteenth century, and probably earlier still. It must be left to the future to establish their real history when authentic documents are found. For the present we must be content with the conclusion that the version current in India, through Forbes's *Râs Mâlâ*, has no particular claim to be received and was not uncontested in the older tradition.

The notes about the **Chaulukya kings** in Sarga II. are considerably fuller. Of the first king **Mûlarâja** it is related that he particularly venerated Somanâtha, and it is said, verse 3: — "Which hero (Mûlarâja), plainly proving his veneration, prostrated himself every Monday before Somanâtha and obtained great splendour and fame from the hot flames out of the eye on the forehead of that god."

Possibly Arisimha knew the absurd legend of the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 43, according to which Mûlarâja made a pilgrimage every Monday to Somanâthapattana near Verâval, until the god, to please the king, settled first nearer Aṇhilvâḍ in **Maṇḍalî** or Mândal, and at last came even into the capital. Mûlarâja's worship of Śiva is proved besides by his presentation of land. The following verse 4 seems to refer to the erection of the Tripurushaprâsâda in Aṇhilvâḍ. From among the military undertakings of Mûlarâja, the victories over **Bârapa** and **Laksha**, king of Kachh, are mentioned. The former is made a general of the king of **Kanyakubja**. Of the next king **Châmuṇḍa**, vv. 8-9, Arisimha has nothing positive to say. On the other hand, a victory of **Vallabharâja** over the king of Mâlvâ is celebrated in verse 13, and in verse 14 the remark is made that Vallabha had the *biruda* of **Jagajjhampana**, which does not occur elsewhere. The *Kîrtikaumudî*, which also mentions the probably apocryphal victory, II. 11, gives him the *biruda* of **Jagatkampana**. It says of **Durlabharâja**, vv. 15-16, that he was very modest, and was ashamed when his court poets compared him to Kṛishṇa. In the *Kîrtikaumudî* also Durlabha is praised for this virtue. Of his successor **Bhîma I.** we are told only that he conquered the celebrated king **Bhoja** of Dhârâ. This statement agrees again with that of the *Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 17-18, and also with those of the later *Prabandhas*, whilst it does not occur in Hemachandra's *Dvyâśraya*. Bhîma's son **Karṇa**, vv. 20-23, is praised for his beauty, mentioned also by Hemachandra in the *Praśasti* to his Grammar, verse 17, in the *Ratnamâlâ* and in the *Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 21. Then Arisimha states that Karṇa conquered the king of Mâlvâ and brought home from there a statue of **Nîlakaṇṭha** or Śiva. It says, verse 23: — "Who (Karṇa) conquered the king of Mâlvâ with his army and truly brought with him Nîlakaṇṭha; the fame of him for whom the number of paths through the river on the head of this god was multiplied, he extended in the three worlds."

Most *Prabandhas* and even Hemachandra's *Dvyâśraya* mention no kings during **Karna's** reign. The latest discoveries, however, shew that this silence is by no means justified. Bilhaṇa's drama, *Karṇasundarî*, which was found by Paṇḍit Durgâprasâd and published in the Bombay *Kâvyamâlâ*, speaks of a fortunate war with the Muhammadan princes of Sindh and Ghaznî. Since Bilhaṇa was in Aṇhilvâḍ during Karṇa's reign, and probably made an unsuccessful attempt to become the court poet of that king, his statement deserves credit. Then Someśvara, Arisimha's contemporary, narrates, in the *Surathotsava*,[13] found by Dr. Bhandarkar, that his ancestor **Âma**, house-priest of king Karṇa, compelled an evil spirit (*kṛityâ*) raised by the house-priest of the king of Dhârâ, to kill its originator. The reason why the Paramâra prince's priest sought to destroy the Chaulukya ruler was that the latter had invaded the dominion

[12] I first drew attention to this atrocious nonsense in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. pp. 181-182.
[13] *Report on the Search*, etc., 1883-84, p. 20.

of Mâlvâ. Someśvara then without hesitation confirms Arisiṁha's assertion, and we may accept it as a fact that the feud between Mâlvâ and Gujarât did not rest during Karṇa's reign.

Of **Jayasiṁha's** deeds it is related, vv. 23-38, that his cavalry bathed their horses in the Ganges (v. 32), that the 'air-walker **Barbaraka**' carried him about in the atmosphere (v. 33), that he took prisoner **Yaśovarman,** king of Dhârâ (v. 34), that he had the tank called **Siddhasaras** dug (v. 35), and a high pillar of victory (*kîrtistambha*) built (v. 37). All these points are sufficiently known. It is only of interest that Barbaraka has here, as also in most of the other *Prabandhas*, become a purely mythical being. Verse 36 speaks of Jayasiṁha's worship of his mother, and alludes indeed to the narrative (*Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 139), according to which the king, at the request of Mayaṇallâdevî, remitted a tax imposed on pilgrims going to Somanâthapattana by the officials at **Bâhuloḍa.**

Verses 39-43, referring to **Kumârapâla,** first praise the favouring of the Jaina religion by this king, who abolished the confiscation of the goods of tradesmen dying without male heirs, and caused *vihâras* to be built in every city.[14] Then his victories over the **Jaṅgaleśa,** *i. e.*, **Arṇorâja** of **Śâkambharî** or Sambhar, and over the **Kauṅkaṇa emperor,** *i. e.*, the Kâdamba king **Mallikârjuna,** who ruled over the **Koṅkaṇ** (*Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 47-48), are celebrated. With respect to the latter, Arisiṁha gives a note which contradicts Someśvara's reports, but shews on the other hand that the representation of the later *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* is correct. It says, verse 43 : — "What is wonderful in this strong one's (Kumârapâla's) conquering even the Jâṅgala princes, seeing the ruler of the marshland, the Kauṅkaṇa emperor, was defeated by his very tradesman (*baṇij*) ? "

Someśvara, in the *Kaumudî*, ascribes both victories to the king himself ; in the *Praśasti* of Tejaḥpâla's temple at Âbû (vv. 35-36) on the other hand, the first is ascribed to the Paramâra **Yaśodhavala** and the second to his son **Dhârâvarsha.** Merutuṅga, on the other hand, records in the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 201 ff., that the Srîmâlî-Vâṇiâ Âmrabhaṭa, son of the counsellor Udayana,[15] advanced twice against the king of the Koṅkaṇ. At first he suffered defeat, but in the second campaign he is said to have slain Mallikârjuna.

Kumârapâla's successor is called in verse 44, **Ajayadeva** instead of **Ajayapâla.** This form of the name is also found elsewhere (see *Ueber das Leben des J. M. Hemachandra*, S. 55, note 6). Like all *Prabandhas*, the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana* mentions with praise that the king sent him as a tribute from **Sapâdalaksha** in Eastern Râjputana, a golden *maṇḍapika*, *i. e.*, a little ornament in the form of a *maṇḍapa* or pillared hall. Not less known is the victory which (v. 46) Ajayadeva's son **Mûlarâja** II. gained over the Turushkas, *i. e.*, over **Muhammad Shâhabuddîn Ghorî.** The Muhammadan authors (see Elliot, *History*, Vol. II. p. 294) confirm this information, which is found also in the *Pṛithvirâjavijaya* (*Kaśmîr Report*, pp. 62-63).

Much more important is that part of the work (Sarga II. 48-57, Sarga III. 1-62) which follows next, relating to **Bhîmadeva II.**, representing his relation to **Lavaṇaprasâda** and his son **Vîradhavala,** the Râṇâ of Dholkâ, and stating how **Vastupâla** became minister to the latter. Arisiṁha gives an account here, which differs markedly from Someśvara's narrative in the *Kîrtikaumudî*. It will therefore be as well to give the most important verses of this part word for word : —

II. 48. Now his (Mûlarâja's) brother, the illustrious **Bhîmadeva,** whose invincible, terrible arm, like the post of a gate, destroyed all his enemies, wears the amulet of the sphere for which the shores of the ocean furnish the pearls.

49. His whole life long he held fast to the reflection : 'This seat of the gods (Mount Meru) ought not to disappear through my liberality, which lasts but for a moment,' —

[14] See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des J. M. Hemachandra*, S. 39-40.

[15] See *Ueber das Leben des J. M. Hemachandra*, S. 9 and note 28.

and so he abstained from uprooting the golden mountain (Meru) in order to distribute gifts of gold.

II. 50. That beggars always experienced his liberality we hear from the songs of the pleasure-seekers (nymphs) who settled in the neighbourhood of his palace on the gold-mountains terraced for pleasure, in the belief that these were spurs of Mount Meru.

51. **Bhîma** the husband of the earth, whose entire riches had disappeared through continual and too liberal gifts, — whose brilliant glory had departed, whose kingdom was bit by bit violently devoured by the barons, — ate his inmost heart out in long-accumulated cares.

III. 1. All at once, the prince, whose whole possessions had become small, saw in a dream at the end of the night a glorious and splendid god.

12. Thereupon the god poured upon the lord of the earth, who was as it were the root of the creeper of his love, the nectar-waves of his eloquence as follows : —

13. "I, thy grandfather,[16] king **Kumârapâla,** who have won the bliss of heaven through the laws of Arhat, am come because I love thee in thy misfortune.

14. "Son, I will give thee a proud governor of the kingdom, through which thou obtainest great glory, as fire does by wind.

15. "The great-armed **Arṇorâja,** son of the illustrious **Dhavala,** was an elephant in the forest of the **Chaulukya**-stem, an eagle for the serpents, his enemies.

18. "This man of adventurous spirit, who was the cause of my glory, was made by me, whose heart he won by his courage, lord of the city of **Bhîmapallî.**

19. "When evil counsellors opposed thee, this strong one made thy accession the means of repaying my favour for ever.

20. "His son is **Lâvaṇyaprasâda,** whose arm, brandishing the sword — one would think it was his tongue — prepares to destroy his enemies in fight."

23. "If thou make this ornament of the sphere lord of all (*sarveśvara*) thou wilt become the husband of Fortuna and rest in happiness like Vishṇu in the Ocean.

24. "He has a son **Vîradhavala,** who for the sake of the battle wishes to perform again the oath of the descendant of Bhṛigu (Paraśurâma) to destroy the Kshatriya-race."

27. "Give this strong-armed one, whose shining toe-nails have become jewels on the heads of hostile kings, the rank of heir to the throne (*yauvarâjya*), and thyself wilt rule yet a long time.

28. "Still more! save thou the Jaina-faith which helped me to attain unhindered to the fields of heaven, and which now almost sinks into the Kali-(period)."

29. When the king heard this, he embraced smiling the lotus-feet (of the god) as if he wished to hold in his hands the Fortuna that lives in the water-lilies.

30. Honouring him graciously, the god, lovingly attached to him, laid his hand which resembled the Lotus, the house of the Kamalâ, on his head.

31. When in the morning the sound of the trumpet announced the sunrise to the ruler of the world, sleep, which closed his lotus-eyes, departed, like the night which closes the eye-like water-lilies.

32. When the prince saw with astonished gaze the light of the lamps, (he said) : 'There is indeed visibly a god!' and then quickly he left his bed.

33. Then the husband of the earth, who had accomplished the duties of the morning, visited his hall, whose thick buttresses of jewels streamed forth rich splendour.

35. The ruler caught sight of the devoted barons among the company, shining like sparks of their courage.

36. The father and the son whom the god pointed out, the king anointed lords over all, with his eyes which were like nectar-jars.

[16] If Kumârapâla calls himself Bhîma's grandfather, the expression, as is often the case with the indication of grades of relationship, is very likely only indefinitely used. For Kumârapâla was, according to all the *Prabandhas*, the great-uncle of Bhîma, whose grandfather's name was Mahîpâla (see Forbes's *Râs Mâlâ*, p. 158).

III. 37. Thereupon the king directed joyfully this gracious speech before the nobles to **Lâvaṇyaprasâda** : —

38. "Through thy father, the terror of his enemies, I was set up (*as king*) in this kingdom; do thou therefore increase my diminishing prosperity.

39. "Accept from me, thou great in war, the rank of a lord over all; **Vîradhavala**, who shines in virtue, shall be my successor."

40. Thus requested by the king, himself worthy to be entreated in a matter in which they ought to have been the suppliants, the two spake joyfully: 'Your Majesty's command is law to us.'

41. Laying his hollow hands together as if he held in them the fluttering Butterfly (Fortuna), **Vîradhavala** turned again towards the husband of the earth (and said) : —

42. "Master, I am in need of an adviser: without one, the brave lion springs at the thunder-cloud, taking it for an elephant and suffers a great fall.

43. "Give me such a counsellor, distinguished by extraordinary virtues, acquainted with the use of weapons, with books, with the acquisition of wealth and with battle."

44. Greatly delighted by this speech, which was like a stream of nectar poured out to invigorate the liana-(creeper) of his happiness, the master of the world thought a little and then said : —

45. "Once upon a time was **Chaṇḍapa**, fiery in his splendour, a branch of the ever-fresh liana of fame of the distinguished **Prâgvâṭa** lineage, a servant (of the king) in this realm.

47. "His son, named **Chaṇḍaprasâda**, was furnished with skill and affability, . . .

49. "To him was born a son named **Soma**, who flooded the firmament with his glory,

50. "Who had no master but king **Siddha** and no god but the lord of the Jinas.

51. "His descendant **Aśvarâja** made the universe splendid with his glory; he who accomplished seven pilgrimages to escape the seven hells.

53. "His beloved wife was **Kumâradevî**, who, though the first among the Jina-believing (women), worshipped the husband of Gaurî.

54. "To these two were born three sons, whose power made their enemies tremble . . .

55. "First among them, **Malladeva** is famous as a treasury of wisdom; he who obtained autocracy in his kingdom by the will of his preceptor.

56. "His younger brother is the wise **Vastupâla**, a dwelling-place of the fine arts, whose feet the later-born **Tejaḥpâla** daily worships.

57. "These two, like wands to whirl about the ocean of deeds, like paths leading to conjunction with Fortuna, I will give you for counsellors; but they protect their friends."

58. As **Vîradhavala** rejoiced at this speech, the husband of the earth called to these two sons of one mother, who bowed their heads, (and said) : —

59. "May you, who alone have crossed the ocean of state affairs, be clothed with the dignity of counsellors of the great **Vîradhavala**.

60. "His courage will attain to sight, if you serve him as eyes; unceasingly vigilant may he trample down all my enemies.

61. "Yet more—may you two, who hang on the feet of the Jina-prince, like bees on a lotus, glorify the faith in the lord of the Jinas; this great wish of king **Kumârapâla**, which he entrusted to me in a vision, must of necessity be fulfilled."

62. When the king had given these instructions, to which a good invisible god called out his approval — falsely taken for the echo from the vault of the audience chamber, — he gave over the two to the heroic **Vîradhavala**."

If we compare this narrative with that given concerning these events by **Someśvara in the Kîrtikaumudî**, a considerable difference, especially in the rôle allotted to **Bhîma II.**, is unmistakable. According to Someśvara's representation, the Gûrjararâjalakshmî, the Fortuna or protectress of the kings of Gujarât, appeared in a dream to Lavaṇaprasâda, the Râṇâ of

Dholkâ, and called upon him, with the help of his son, to save the kingdom which had fallen into decay in the unskilled hands of Bhîma.[17] Someśvara further states that he himself was called before Lavaṇaprasâda on the following morning and asked concerning the meaning of the vision. He convinced his master, he assures us, that he was appointed by Providence to save his fatherland and induced him to obey the command of the goddess.[18] Thereupon Lavaṇaprasâda entrusted to his son the execution of the duty laid upon him.[19] A short time afterwards, Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla were appointed his ministers."[20] If we reject the mythological additions in this record, which Someśvara, as a good court poet and artist, held himself bound to put in, it merely says that **Bhîma** was a weak and unskilful ruler, and that **Lavaṇaprasâda** and **Vîradhavala** made use of his weakness in order to found a kingdom of their own. To this understanding we are led particularly by the circumstance, that Someśvara, in the description of the kings of Aṇhilvâḍ, expresses himself by no means respectfully concerning **Bhîma II.**, when he says (*Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 61) : — "Powerful ministers and barons gradually divided the kingdom of this young and foolish (*bâlasya*) ruler," and elsewhere again (*ibid.* II. 4) he gives the king the same not very complimentary epithet *bâla*. On the other hand, there is nowhere a question of **Lavaṇaprasâda's** service, and in the numerous inscriptions in the temples built by Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla on Girnâr and Âbû, and in other places, any mention of the suzerain of Gujarât is entirely wanting. On the other hand, in the Girnâr inscriptions, which were written V.-S. 1288, ten years before Bhîma's death, **Vîradhavala** receives the title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, as if he were an independent ruler. Such a disregard of the forms which Indian etiquette prescribes for vassal-princes and their servants, shews that **Bhîma** did not stand in great esteem at the court of Ḍholkâ, and that he was not powerful enough to force from Lavaṇaprasâda and Vîradhavala the respect due to him. In spite of this it was probable, before the discovery of the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana*, that Someśvara's account did not quite correctly represent the true relation of his master to Bhîma II. For Merutuṅga says in the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 250 (Bombay edition), quite clearly, — *Srîmad-Bhîmadevarâjyachintâkârî Vyâghrapallîya-saṁketaprasiddhaḥ śrîmad-Ânâkanandanaḥ śrî-Lavanaprasâdaś chiraṁ râjyaṁ chakâra*,[21] — 'the administrator of the illustrious Bhîmadeva, the illustrious Lavaṇaprasâda, son of the illustrious Ânâka (Arṇorâja) surnamed **Vâghrapallîya** (Vâghelâ), ruled a long time.' This note led me in my first discussion of Someśvara's works (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. 187 ff.) to suppose that Lavaṇaprasâda was for a time in Bhîma's service, and that he only later, — when Bhîma's folly, to this day proverbial in Gujarât, his arrogance and extravagance, convinced him that there was no help for it,—undertook to found a kingdom of his own. As the date of this defection, I thought proper to fix the Vikrama year 1276, in which, according to the Girnâr inscriptions, **Vastupâla** was appointed minister. Arisiṁha's account, which, coming from a contemporary, possesses as much authority as Someśvara's, confirms only a part of these suppositions, whilst he makes it necessary to modify another part of the same. We learn from him that **Bhîma II.**, through his inability to keep the vassals in order and through various difficulties, was forced to seek help and support, and that he himself chose his relative. The choice was prompted partly by Lavaṇaprasâda's personal qualities, the description of which agrees with that of other sources, partly through his father Arṇorâja's having (v. 18 above) already done important service to Kumârapâla and having been helpful to Bhîma himself in obtaining the throne (vv. 19 and 38 above). The title *Sarveśvara*, 'Lord over All,' which Lavaṇaprasâda, according to Arisiṁha's representation, received, has much the same meaning as Merutuṅga's expression *-râjyachintâkârin*, and hints that Lavaṇaprasâda's position was a very independent one. The further statement that **Vîradhavala** was at the same time named heir to the throne (*Yuvarâja*), takes for granted that Bhîma had no sons. Nor do the *Prabandhas* make any mention of such. It must,

[17] *Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 89-107. [18] *Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 83-86, 108-113. [19] *Kîrtikaumudî*, II. 114-115.

[20] *Kîrtikaumudî*, III. 51 : compare also II. 112, where Someśvara accentuates to his lord the necessity of appointing capable advisers.

[21] The edition and MSS. of my collection write, evidently incorrectly : *Vyâghrapallîsaṁ*. *Lavaṇaprasâdaś* is the reading of I. O. L. B. S. MS. No. 296, instead of the *Lavaṇasâhaprasâdaś* of the published edition.

however, be remarked also that neither is Vîradhavala's appointment anywhere mentioned. In any case it remained without practical consequences, for Vîradhavala died several years before Bhîma. Also, in the statement that Bhîma gave the brothers Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla to his *Sarveśvara* for counsellors, Arisiṁha stands alone. Someśvara says nothing particular at all as to how the two Jainas acquired their dignity. In the third Sarga of the *Kîrtikaumudî* he gives first a description of their genealogy which agrees with that given by Arisiṁha (vv. 45-56 above) and adds (vv. 51 and 52) that the two at once occurred to the prince who desired to win able men: he considered their great qualities and then sent for them. Further on, his address and Vastupâla's answer are given in full, without, however, affording any possibility of learning anything from them of the earlier circumstances of the latter. The later *Prabandhas*, Râjaśekhara's *Vastupâlaprabandha* and Jinaharsha's *Vastupâlacharita*, state that the brothers had come accidentally to Ḍholkâ on their return from a pilgrimage to Satruṁjaya, and were immediately engaged by Lavaṇaprasâda and Vîradhavala who had just seen the supernatural appearance mentioned by Someśvara. These statements, like a great deal more, seem to be borrowed directly from the *Kîrtikaumudî* and are hence of no value. Someśvara's representation is, however, certainly defective, for he leaves it uncertain how Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla had so distinguished themselves that Lavaṇaprasâda could take them for suitable instruments for his plans. On the other hand, if one accepts, as Arisiṁha hints (vv. 57 and 59 above), that they had both been already in the royal service, this difficulty disappears. The probability of these statements is also supported by the circumstance mentioned by Someśvara (*Kîrt.* III. 14) and by Arisiṁha (v. 50 above), that their grandfather **Soma** had held a high position under Jayasimha. In the case of the brothers having been in royal service, however, Bhîma's consent was naturally necessary to their entering Lavaṇaprasâda's service. Thus we must declare Arisiṁha's account to be the more worthy of credit. We can only doubt whether Vastupâla received his appointment at the same audience at which Lavaṇaprasâda was appointed *Sarveśvara*. The date of the former event is fixed, as already mentioned, by the Girnâr inscriptions, where it is repeatedly said that, from the [Vikrama] year [12]76, in Ḍholkâ and other cities, he sealed "affairs with the seal."[22] The acceptance of Arisiṁha's statements makes it, of course, necessary to reject the suppositions expressed on a former occasion (*Indian Antiquary, loc. cit.*) that the appointment of Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla marks the period when Lavaṇaprasâda deserted Bhîma and began to found a kingdom of his own.

The **new discoveries made since 1877** render it doubtful whether the *Sarveśvara* or his son ever was unfaithful to his master. It appears rather as if **Lavaṇaprasâda**, in his relation to the latter, although he practically ruled independently over the southern part of the Gûrjara kingdom, yet conducted himself at least outwardly as a vassal, and that Professor V. A. Kathvati is quite justified in comparing[23] his relation to Bhîma with that of the Marâṭha Peshvâs to the court of Sâtârâ. Of special significance for this point is the *Lekhapañchâśikâ*,[24] discovered by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, which, as he correctly acknowledges, was composed in the Vikrama year 1288, that is, twelve years after Vastupâla's appointment as minister and during Bhîma's reign. This little work gives formulæ for letters and documents of different kinds Among the latter there is a gift of land, dated V.-S. 1288, in which the *Mahâmaṇḍaleśvarâdhipati*, 'the great overlord of the tributary princes,' Râṇâ Lavaṇyaprasâda, is named as giver. Before his name stands the whole genealogy of the Chaulukya kings of Aṇhilvâḍ, and it is remarked that, by the grace of his master Bhîma II., he possessed the *Kheṭakâhârapathaka*, 'the district of **Kaira**.'[25] Then the same work contains, as

[22] *Arch. Reports of Western India*, Vol. II. p 170. Vastupâla calls himself in this, and in corresponding passages in other inscriptions, *Sarveśvara*; his brother, on the other hand, *Mahâmâtya*.

[23] *Kîrtikaumudî*, p. xxv.

[24] *Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1882-83. p. 28 ff. and p. 222 ff.

[25] This should be written p. 223 for *kheṭakârâpathake*, and p. 224 for *kheṭakadhârâpathake*. As in other passages of the formulary, the expression is incorrect. For *âhâra* originally corresponded approximately to the modern zillâ and *pathaka* to tâlukâ. Moreover, similar combinations of the two expressions are found in real presentations of land in later times.

an example of a state treaty an agreement of the same date between the *Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara* Râṇâ Lavaṇaprasâda and Simhaṇa (Siṁghaṇa), the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* of Devagiri, in which both contracting parties respectively promise to respect the other's boundaries, to keep peace and to help each other. Although the first of these two documents is evidently nothing more than a formula, and of the second nothing can be certainly proved as to whether it is a copy of a real treaty, yet their value remains considerable. Then, as the author of the *Lekhapañchâśikâ* was a contemporary of Lavaṇaprasâda, we may take for granted that he describes the political relations in general correctly. We may believe him on the one hand that in the Vikrama year 1288 Lavaṇaprasâda was authorised to make treaties with foreign princes and consequently possessed a high degree of independence. On the other hand we must admit, that if Lavaṇaprasâda at that time made gifts of land, he employed the form ordinarily used by tributary princes and acknowledged the overlordship of Bhîma. If this be correct, there can be no question of a defection on the part of Lavaṇaprasâda, at least until V.-S. 1288. The relation must rather have been as Arisiṁha gives it. Lavaṇaprasâda stood higher than all other rulers of districts, and governed the kingdom for his master in the strength of the trust committed to him. However free and high may have been his position, he had not become a rebel. The confirmation, which Arisiṁha's statements receive through the *Lekhapañchâśikâ*, make it advisable, in the representation of this period of the history of Gujarât, to trust him more than the insinuations of Someśvara.

In concluding the discussion of this part of the *Sukṛitasaṁkîrtana*, **the mythological clothing** must still be mentioned. In the treatise by Zachariae and myself on the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, p. 48, I shewed that the court-poets often deemed it suitable, at crises in the history of their heroes, to make the gods actively interfere. When Arisiṁha then makes the spirit of Kumârapâla descend from the fields of heaven to move Bhîma to the appointment of Lavaṇaprasâda as his *Sarveśvara*, it is not difficult to see what moved him to make use of this *deus ex machina*. Kumârapâla was well known as the adherent and protector of the Jaina faith. After his death a Brâhmaṇ reaction took place under Ajayapâla; and though Ajayapâla reigned only a short time, the Jaina sect seems not to have regained its former importance under his sons Mûlarâja and Bhima II. Only when Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla became ministers in Dholkâ, did it again raise its head. Both belonged to one Jaina family and were filled with great enthusiasm for their religion. They spent a great part of their rich incomes on the erection of temples, asylums and benevolent institutions, so that at least the outward lustre of the name of the Jainas was restored. Arisiṁha tried to unite the two prosperous periods of his sect by representing Kumârapâla as the intellectual originator of the second. In doing so, he has not refrained from putting words into king Bhîma's mouth which he certainly never spoke, when he makes him call upon Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla (v. 61 above) 'to glorify the belief on the lord of the Jainas.' According to all we know of Bhima, he favoured exclusively the Brâhmaṇs, and especially the Śaivas, to whom he made many presents. To excite Vastupâla's enthusiasm for his faith was, however, absolutely unnecessary.

Vastupâla's pilgrimage to Śatruṁjaya and Girnâr.

In the fourth Sarga Arisiṁha turns to the description of the *sukṛita* or pious works of **Vastupâla,** by which he adorned the Jaina religion. First he mentions shortly that Vîradhavala, with the help of his minister, soon 'conquered the ocean-girt earth' and put down all wrong and violence (vv. 1-7). Then he relates how in that happy time Tejaḥpâla came to his brother, praised his successes, and advised him to keep in mind the king's command and support the Jaina religion (vv. 8-13). Vastupâla agreed and declared he would at once visit his spiritual director to hear his preaching and begin his works of piety according to his advice (vv. 14-26). On this occasion the succession of the monks of **the Nâgendra gachchha** is gone over, which, since the time of **Chaṇḍapa,** had served the family as spiritual advisers. The names are precisely the same as those in the *Praśasti* of Tejaḥpâla's temple on Mount Âbû[26]: — (1) Mahendrasûri (vv. 15-16);

[26] *Kîrtikaumudî*, App. A., pp 9-10.

(2) Sântisûri (vv..17-18); (3) (*a*) Ânandasûri and (*b*) Amarasûri (who received from king Jayasiṁha the title of honour *vyâghraśiśukau*, 'the young tigers,' because even in early youth they were able to withstand proud disputants resembling fiery elephants (vv. 19-21); (4) Haribhadrasûri (vv. 22-23); and (5) **Vijayasena** (Vastupâla's spiritual counsellor, vv. 24-26). Next we are told how Vastupâla went into the monastery with his brother and offered his homage to Vijayasena. The sermon following by the latter (which fills vv. 33-43) commends, as the most meritorious undertaking, a pilgrimage, and extols, as happy above all others the *saṁghâdhipati*, the leader of pious pilgrims. The consequence is naturally that Vastupâla resolves to undertake a pilgrimage of the congregation to the holy places in Kâṭhiâvâḍ.

The fifth Sarga then describes (vv. 1-6) the preparations for this journey. **Vastupâla**, it says, sent letters to the believers in every town to invite them. He visited personally the monks in the monasteries and invited them respectfully. For those who responded he cared in every way. Whoever had no carriage, he gave him one; whoever wanted provisions for the journey, got them; and for those who had no servants he provided them. Medicines and physicians also were not forgotten, so that those who sickened by the way might have assistance. When all preparations were complete, he had himself solemnly consecrated by his Guru as *Saṁghâdhipati*, and set out 'surrounded by a wonderful army of carriages' (vv. 7-8). In verses 10-13 the names of some distinguished monks who took part in the pilgrimage are mentioned: — Narachandrasûri, Jinadattasûri of the Vâyaṭa gachcha, Sântisûri of the Saṇḍeraka gachcha, and Vardhamânasûri 'the sun of the Gallakas.' In Kâsahrada, which is probably identical with the modern Kâsandra or Kâsandhra near Gâmph,[27] a halt was made, and (v. 16) a great festival was instituted in the temple of Ṛishabha. Of other stations by the way nothing is said. The Sarga closes with the arrival of the pilgrims at the foot of Mount **Satruṁjaya**, where Vastupâla pitched a great tent-camp (v. 41) and distributed rich presents, especially of provisions, to all in want. He cared not for himself, it says, until he had assured himself by means of his heralds that no one wanted anything.

After, in the sixth Sarga, a conventional description of sunrise, which in a *Mahâkâvya* must not be wanting, there follows in the seventh the description of **the ascent of the mountain** and the festivities engaged in there. The ascent took place on the morning after the arrival. The first shrine which the pilgrims reached was that of the Yaksha Kapardin (v. 12). Vastupâla offered his homage and celebrated him in a song of praise (vv. 13-16). Then he hastened to **the temple of Âdinâtha**, whither the pilgrims followed him in crowds (v. 17). Still covered with the dust of the way, Vastupâla fell down outside before the lord of the Jainas (v. 26), and praised him in a hymn (vv. 27-33). Only then did he purify himself, the pilgrims following his example, and then he entered the Chaitya with them amid the performance of dances and songs (vv. 34-37). Thereupon he washed the image, as the rule prescribed, with saffron-water, rubbed it with musk, and wreathed it with flowers. The pilgrims burnt at the same time so much incense that the temple was wrapped in thick darkness. And at last the *ârâtrika* was performed, numerous lamps being swung to and fro before the statue (vv. 38-42). The following verse 43 tells us that the stay on the mountain and the worship lasted eight days.[28] Then the prince of counsellors, after bestowing rich gifts upon the monks, descended from Mount Satruṁjaya, performed the auspicious ceremonies for the journey and longed to bring his homage to the divine Neminâtha on Girnâr.

[27] Instead of *hrada*, 'tank,' *draha* occurs in the Prâkṛit, so that Kâsadraha would correspond exactly to the Sanskṛit Kâsahrada. The further corruption conforms to the rules of Gujarâtî phonetics. Kasandra lies (see *Trig. Surv. Maps, Guj. Ser. Nr.* 82), in 72° 14′ E. long and 22° 19′ N. lat., pretty nearly on the direct route from Ḍholkâ to Pâlitânâ. In the text Kâsahrada is called a *pattana*, 'a town.' The modern Kâsandra is a village of about 400 inhabitants.

[28] This note, found also in Jinaharsha's *Vastupâlacharita*, has a particular interest, because Jaina pilgrims never pass the night on the mountain now.

According to Sarga VIII. 1, the procession did not go directly to Junâgaḍh, but first to **Devapattana** or **Somanâtha** on the south coast of Soraṭh. 'There he, who possessed terrible power, worshipped the conqueror of Kâma, the (god) characterised by the moon, he who is beautiful to look upon,' *i. e.*, Śiva-Somanâtha. Soon, however, the ocean, 'pure through its shell-mark and blue as the *indranîla*-stone,' reminded Vastupâla, by these its qualities, of Neminâtha (v. 10), and drove him to go further. Mount **Raivataka** (Girnâr) came in sight, and it seemed to the minister as if the creepers of its woods, swayed by the wind, performed a joyful dance in honour of the arrival of the holy congregation (v. 11). This sight inspired Vastupâla to a song of praise (vv. 12-16). After his arrival he had a camp pitched at the foot of the mountain and celebrated the arrival by a festival. On the next morning the pilgrims ascended Girnâr (v. 28). The description which now follows of the worship of **Neminâtha** (vv. 29-42) is only a repetition of the scenes in the temple of Âdinâtha. In conclusion, it says that the halt on Girnâr lasted, like that on Śatruṁjaya, eight days. It is worthy of note that Vastupâla, on leaving, is said to have offered his homage to the Brâhmaṇ gods Ambâ, Sâmba, Pradyumna, and the rest, who had temples on the mountain.

The ninth Sarga is, like the sixth, a purely poetical addition without any historical element whatever. It gives a description of the six seasons, which the prince of the wise, whose wishes were fulfilled, saw on the slopes of the mountain.

The tenth Sarga is occupied with the return of the congregation from Girnâr to Ḍholkâ. Immediately after the descent Vastupâla gave the pilgrims a magnificent banquet and distributed rich gifts among them (vv. 1-5). Then he set out for **Vâmanasthalî**, the modern Vanthlî, on the way from Junâgaḍh to Devapattana, and made a solemn entry into the town. Formerly it was forbidden to Jaina pilgrims to enter the city. Vastupâla, however, had "the godless writing" destroyed (v. 6). Concerning the further course of the journey, all that is related is that in every village incense was offered to the Tîrthaṁkaras (v. 7). When the procession reached the neighbourhood of Ḍholkâ, not only Vastupâla's relations, but also Vîradhavala, with the citizens, came out to meet him. In the midst, between the Râṇâ and his brother Tejaḥpâla, "like a Śiva represented in the manner of the Tripurushas" (v. 11). he entered the town amid the praises of the bards (vv. 14-29) and the passionate expressions of joy of the women (vv. 31-42).

Vastupâla's pilgrimage is mentioned in **the inscriptions** in his temple on Girnâr as well as in Someśvara's **Kîrtikaumudî**. The inscriptions[29] state quite briefly that "Vastupâla, in the year 77 (V.-S. 1277), attained the dignity of a *Saṁghâdhîpati* or head of the congregation by the grace of the illustrious over-god of the gods, who, in consequence of the mighty working of the festive pilgrimage undertaken to Śatruṁjaya, Ujjayanta (Girnâr) and other shrines, revealed himself." Someśvara, on the other hand, dedicates the whole of the last Sarga of his poem to the pilgrimage, and his description of it agrees on the whole with that given by Arisiṁha. Yet there are the following differences. The halt in Kâsahrada is not mentioned. It is said on the other hand (*Kîrt.* IX. 19, 20), that the route followed by the minister could be traced by means of the restored old temples of the Jinas and the freshly dug tanks, as also that the pilgrims offered homage in all the temples to which the procession came. On **Śatruṁjaya**, Vastupâla stopped according to Someśvara (*Kîrt.* IX. 36), only 'two or three days.' In spite of this, it is said immediately before (IX. 30-36) that he presented a flag of yellow-white stuff to the temple of **Âdinâtha**, that he built two temples to **Neminâtha** and **Pârśvanâtha**, and had a large tank dug. It is not doubtful that the last two notes refer to a later time. Further on, in the course of his report, Someśvara (IX. 66-69), places the visit to **Girnâr** before that

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[29] J. Burgess, *Archæolog. Survey of Western India*, No. 2—Memorandum of the Antiquities at Dabhoi, etc., p. 22, l. 4 ff., p. 23, l. 11 ff., etc., and *Arch. Report, Western India*, Vol. II. p. 170. — *Saṁ. 77 varshe Śrî-Śatruṁjayojjayaṁtaprabhṛitimahâtîrthayâtrotsavaprabhâvâvirbhûta śrîmaddevâdhidevaprasâdâsâditasaṁghâ - dhipatyena . . . Śrî-Vastupâlena*, The same date V. S. 1277 is rightly given by Merutuṅga in the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 254.

to **Devapattana** or **Prabhâsa** (IX. 70-71). He states also that Vastupâla was 'many days' on Girnâr, and that in Devapattana he worshipped, besides Siva-Somanâtha,[30] the Jaina Tîrthamkara Chandraprabhu. Probably this contradiction is explained, in that two visits to Devapattana took place. Arisimha hints at this when he says the pilgrims went to Vâmanasthalî on their return-journey. Vâmanasthalî or Vanthlî lies about nine miles south-west of Girnâr and on the direct road to Devapattana. Whoever travels by Vanthlî on the return from the Girnâr cannot readily take any other way afterwards towards the mainland of Gujarât than that which leads from Devapattana first along the south and then along the east coast of the peninsula. This seems to have been in early times the ordinary route for caravans and pilgrimages.[31]

Vastupâla's buildings and pious institutions.

The eleventh and last Sarga begins with the statement, that **Vastupâla**, after he was made lord of the town of **Stambhatîrtha** by Vîradhavala, began to build temples (*kîrtanâni*) which resembled embodiments of his fame on earth, and in verses 2-34 forty-three buildings, restorations and institutions of different kinds are enumerated. This list is much more modest than those which occur in the later *Prabandhas* of Râjaśekhara and Jinaharsha. It contrasts also advantageously with the absurd boastfulness of the Girnâr inscriptions, in which it is said[32] that Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla caused new places of religion (*dharmasthânâni*), *i. e.*, temples, asylums, abodes for the performance of perpetual vows, tanks and so on, to the number of ten millions (*koṭiśaḥ*), and also caused very many restorations to be made. Arisimha gives the following details: —

I. — In **Aṇahilapurî** or **Aṇhilvâḍ-Pâṭaṇ**:—

1. The restoration of the temple of Pañchâsara-Pârśvanâtha which Vanarâja (p. 481 above) had caused to be built (S. XI. 2). With this agrees Jinaharsha in the *Vastupâlacharita* VII. 66, where it is added that the building took place when Vastupâla visited Pâṭaṇ after a battle against the Muhammadans at Âbû, which he won by the help of Dhârâvarsha of Chandrâvatî. Muhammadan authors mention nothing of attacks upon Gujarât in the first half of the 13th century. At the same time it is possible that during or after Shamsuddîn Altamsh's expedition against Ranthambor, A. D. 1226,[33] parts of the victorious army may have come as far as Âbû and attempted an invasion of Gujarât. If Jinaharsha's note be correct, we may perhaps accept that the restoration of the temple in Aṇhilvâḍ took place in the year A. D. 1226 or 1227.

II. — In **Stambatîrtha** or **Cambay**:—

2. The erection of a golden, *i. e.*, a gilded, flag-staff and knob on the temple of **Bhîmeśa** (S. XI. 3). The *Vastupâlacharita* (IV. 720) gives the same note, and has, instead of the vague *ketu* (literally "banner"), the plainer expression *dhvajadaṇḍa*.

3. The erection of an *Uttânapaṭṭa* before Bhaṭṭâditya and of a golden wreath on his head (S. XI. 4). The *Vastupâlacharita*, IV. 719, speaks of an Uttânapâda (?) in the temple of Bhaṭṭâditya. The technical meaning of *Uttâṇapaṭṭa* is unknown to me.

4. The excavation of a well in the temple-grove (*pûjanavana*) called Vahaka of Bhattârka (S. XI. 5).

5. The erection of a *maṇḍapa* or vestibule overlaid with stucco (*sudhâmadhura*) before the temple of the sun-god called Bakula (S. XI. 6). The *Vastupâlacharita* (IV. 721) speaks of a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* or painted vestibule before the temple of Bakulasvâmideva.

[30] The worship of Śiva, unfitting for a Jaina, is also admitted by Jinaharsha — *V. Char.* VI. 535.

[31] In the *Vastupâlacharita*, VI. 515 ff., the way is more minutely described and the stations between Śatruñjaya and Girnâr are: (1) Tâladhvaja or Tâlâjâ, (2) Kotinâri or Koḍinâr, (3) Devapattana, and (4) Vamanasthali or Vanthali.

[32] *Arch. Rep. Western India*, Vol. II. p. 170, l. 5, transcription.

[33] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 324.

6. The restoration of the *maṇḍapa* and of the temple of Siva-Vaidyanâtha (S. XI. 7). The *Vastupâlacharita* (VI. 718) says more plainly[34] : — "The temple of the god Vaidyanâtha, together with the *maṇḍapa*, he made new again to the everlasting safety of his king."

7. The erection of high-walled enclosures for the sale of sour milk (*takra*, S. XI. 8). Both Somesvara (*Kîrt.* IV. 17) and Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* IV. 716) mention this. The *uchchaiḥpada* or *vedîbandha* must, as Prof. A. V. Kathvate in the notes to the *Kîrtikaumudî* says, have been erected for the purpose of protecting the wares from contamination by people of low caste.

8-9. The erection of two asylums (*upâśrayas*) for Jaina monks (S. XI. 9). Somesvara (*Kîrt.* IV. 36) speaks of many *paushadhaśâlâs*, which Vastupâla caused to be erected in Cambay.

10. The erection of a drinking-hall with round windows (*gavâksha*) on two sides (S. XI. 10). Somesvara (*Kîrt.* IV. 33) again speaks of many such.

III. — In **Dhavalakkaka** or **Ḍholkâ** : —

11. The building of a temple of Âdinâtha (S. XI. 11). According to *V. Char.* III. 4.., this temple was called Satruṁjayâvatara.

12-13. The erection of two asylums (*upâśrayas*) for Jaina monks (S. XI. 12).

14. The restoration of the temple named Râṇaka of Bhattâraka (Siva) (S. XI. 13).

15. The construction of a *vâpî* or a square covered water-reservoir (S. XI. 13).

16. The erection of a pump-room (*prapâ*) (S. XI. 14).

IV. — At **Satruṁjaya** near **Pâlitânâ** : —

17. The erection of an *indramaṇḍapa* before the temple of Âdinâtha (S. XI. 15) : compare *V. Char.* VI. 630.

18-19. The erection of a temple of the Jina of Ujjayanta, *i. e.*, of Neminâtha, and of a temple of the Jina of Stambhana, *i. e.*, of Pârśvanâtha (S. XI. 16). Somesvara (*Kîrtikaumudî* IX. 31-33) and Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* VI. 631-632) also mention both temples, and the former calls the two Jinas by the usual names.

20. The erection of a statue of the goddess Sarasvatî (S. XI. 17). Neither Somesvara nor Jinaharsha mention this. It is, however, probable, for Vastupâla says, in the Girnâr inscriptions,[35] that he erected in Girnâr a *praśastisahita-Kaśmîrâvatara-Sarasvatîmûrti.*

21. The erection of statues of his ancestors (S. XI. 18) ; compare also *Kîrtikaumudî*, IX. 34, and *V. Char.* VI. 633. According to the latter passage, these statues, as well as those named further on, were set up in the temple of Pârśvanâtha. This statement agrees with the actual state of things found in Tejaḥpâla's temple on Âbû, where the statues stand in an annex (*balânaka*, *Kîrtikaumudî*, App. A., v. 61) to the right of the adytum.

22. The setting up of three statues on elephants : his own, that of Tejaḥpâla, and that of Vîradhavala (S. XI. 19). With this, Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* VI. 633-634) agrees entirely ; Somesvara (*Kîrtikaumudî*, IX. 35) says the three personages were on horseback, which is certainly a mistake.

23-26. The erection of sculptures representing the four mountain summits consecrated to Avalokanâ, to Ambâ, to Sâmba and to Pradyumna (S. XI. 20). Jinaharsha says (*V. Char.* VI. 631) that these sculptures were found in the above-mentioned temple of Neminâtha.[36] The four peaks might be those of Mount Girnâr, now named after Ambâ, Gorakhnâth, Dattâtreya, and Kâlikâ Mâtâ : compare also the Girnâr inscriptions, *Arch. Sur. Rep. W. Ind. loc. cit.* l. 6, and above p. 490.

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[34] *Vaidanâthasya devasya mandiraṁ maṇḍapottaram* ।
Śreyase nijabhûbhartus tene yena punar navam ॥

[35] *Arch. Report W. Ind., loc. cit.* l. 6.

[36] *Tatrâmbikâvalokanâśâmbapradyumnaśânubhiḥ* ।
Saha Raivatatîrthendor asau chaityam acîtrayat ॥

27. The preparation of a *toraṇa* before the temple of the Jinapati, *i. e.*, probably of Âdinâtha (S. XI. 21). Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* VI. 629)[37] speaks of a *toraṇa* over the western door of the *indramaṇḍapa*, which last stood before the temple of Adinâtha.

28-29. The erection of temples of Suvrata of Bhṛigupura or Broach and of Vira of Satyapura or Sâchor (S XI. 22).[38] Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* VI. 656-658) says the two temples stood right and left of the temple of Âdinâtha, and that the first was built for the welfare of Vastupâla's first wife Lalitâdevi, and the other for the welfare of the second, Saukhyalatâ or Sokhukâ.

30. The erection of a *prishṭhapaṭṭa*, *i. e.*, of a tablet, behind the statue of Jina (Âdinâtha ?) of gold and precious stones, which seemed to give the statue a halo (*bhâmaṇḍala*) (S. XI. 23).

31. The raising of a golden *toraṇa* (S. XI. 24).[39]

V. — In the neighbourhood of **Padaliptapura** or **Pâlitânâ** : —

32. The excavation of a large tank (*saraḥ*, S. XI. 26), mentioned also by Someśvara (*Kîrtikaumudî*, IX. 36) and by Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* VI. 677). In the latter passage it is added, that the tank lay near Vâgbhaṭapura, the place built by Kumârapâla's minister Vâgbhaṭa, and bore the name of Lalitâsaraḥ in honour of Vastupâla's first wife.

33. The erection of an asylum (*upâśraya*) for Jaina monks (S. XI. 27).

34. Of a pump-room (*prapâ*, S. XI. 28).

VI. — In the village of **Arkapâlita** or **Ankavâliya** : —

35. The digging of a tank (*taḍâga*, S. XI. 29). Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* VI. 690) adds, that Vastupâla had this tank dug for his own welfare. According to the same author, he erected in the same place a pump-room for the benefit of his mother, a *sattra* or alms-house for the benefit of both his parents, and further, a temple of Siva (*purabhido devasya*), and a rest-house for travellers. There are several villages in Kâṭhiâvâd with the name of Aṅkavâliya. Probably the one meant here is that which lies eastward from Bhîmnâth, 71° 59′ E. long. and 22° 15′ N. lat. (Trigonometrical Survey Map, Kâṭh. Ser. No. 14) on the river Lîlkâ. There is a large tank, and the village lies on the old road from Ḍholkâ to Satruṁjaya.

VII. — On Mount **Ujjayanta** or **Girnâr** : —

36-37. The erection of two temples of Pârśvanâtha of Stambhana and of Âdinâtha of Satruṁjaya (S. XI. 30). These two temples are mentioned in the Girnâr inscriptions (*Arch. Rep. W. I.* Vol. II. p. 170, l. 6) first among the buildings erected there. Jinaharsha (*V. Char.* VI. 695) speaks only of the temple of Âdinâtha.

VIII. — In **Stambhana**[40] : —

38. The restoration of the temple of Pârśvanâtha which was adorned with statues of Âdinâtha and Neminâtha (S. XI. 31). Jinaharsha says (*V. Char.* VI. 518) that Vastupâla deposited 1,000 *dînâras* in the treasury of Pârśvanâtha for the purpose of the restoration, not that he himself had it done.

39-40. The erection of two pump-rooms (*prapâ*) near the temple of Pârśvanâtha (S. XI 32).

IX. — In **Darbhâvati** or **Dabhoi** : —

41-42. The placing of gold capitals on the temple of (Siva)-Vaidyanâtha, because the old ones were carried off by the king of Mâlava; and the erection of a statue of the sun-god (S. XI, 33). Jinaharsha mentions these (*V. Char.* III. 371), but ascribes them to Tejaḥpâla.

[37] *Pratyagdvâragataṁ chandrakalâsitaśilâśataiḥ* ।
tatrendramaṇḍape mantrî toraṇa vyarîrachat ॥

[38] Sâchor now belongs to Jodhpur in Râjputânâ, and lies to the North-East of Tharâd. It is still a holy place of the Jainas and famous for its temple; it is in 25° 11′ N. lat., 71° 55′ E. long.

[39] In verse 25 the author says that he would be able to describe all the buildings erected on the Satruṁjaya, 'if the creator had given him a place in the firmament like the teacher of the gods (the planet Jupiter).'

[40] This place lay, as is often mentioned in the *Prabandhas*, on the river Śeḍhî or Sheḍhî, and thus in the eastern part of the present collectorate of Kheḍâ. Peterson's identification of it with Stambhatîrtha or Cambay (*Third Report*, p. 26) is untenable, for the Sheḍhî is more than 30 miles distant from Cambay, and Stambhana is named along with Stambhatîrtha in the Girnâr inscriptions. [Stambhana is an old name for Thâmna on the Śoḍhî, 10 miles south-west from Ṭhâsrâ in Ânand tâluka, lat. 22° 43′ N., long. 73° 9′ E. — J. B.]

X. — On Mount **Arbuda** or **Âbû** : —

43. The building of a temple of Malladeva (by whom may be meant Mallideva or **Mallinâtha**) for the benefit of his brother Malladeva (S. XI. 34). In the *V. Char.* VIII. 76, it is stated that the temple for the benefit of Mâladeva was built on Satrumjaya. Since only one temple of **Neminâtha**, built by Tejahpâla, is found on Âbu, and its position makes it improbable that a second ever existed, the mistake may be on Arisimha's side.

In this list of Vastupâla's buildings **the restorations of Brâhman temples**, as well as of the decoration of such buildings, have a special interest. They prove, as does also his worship of Siva-Somanâtha in Devapattana (p. 491 above), that he was no exclusive Jaina, but was rather lax in his religious views, and thereby confirm some hints in the later *Prabandhas* on this point (see *Kîrtikaumudî*, p. xxii.). The reason for his lax view may have lain partly, as Professor A. V. Kathvate says, in the passage quoted, in his familiar intercourse with the high priest Somesvara and other Brâhman savants, but may partly be due to his position at the Brâhman court of Dholkâ. The latter is hinted at by Jinaharsha also. He adds apologetically, on mentioning the worship of Siva-Somanâtha in Devapattana, that Vastupâla performed this act to please his king.[41] He also says further on, that the minister, 'at the command of his master,' prepared a *mundamâlâ*, or 'skull-chain' or 'tiara,' adorned with rubies, for Siva. These well-authenticated pieces of information have their significance in the judgment of cases where something similar is stated of court Jainas, as, for instance, of Hemachandra,[42] in works less worthy of credit.

The second interesting point in the catalogue is the mention of **only two temples on Girnâr**. This shews plainly that the great threefold temple, which now forms the principal ornament of the mountain, was not yet finished, perhaps not yet begun. The date of the six inscriptions, identical in their first parts, in the Vastupâlavihâra, is Vikrama-Samvat 1288, Phâlguna sudi 10, which, according to Jacobi's calculation, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII. p. 151 f., corresponds with 3rd March A. D. 1232. The *Sukritasamkîrtana* must therefore have been written before that time, and we must not put its authorship earlier than Vikrama-Samvat 1285. From a comparison of the list of Vastupâla's buildings in the *Kîrtikaumudî* it is further clear that the latter work was written a little earlier than the *Sukritsamkîrtana*. For in the *Kîrtikaumudî* the buildings on Satrumjaya are mentioned, but not the two temples on Girnâr.

Notes on Vastupala's warlike deeds.

While Arisimha, true to his plan, sings only of the *sukritas* — the pious deeds of **Vastupâla**, Amarapandita endeavours to acquaint posterity also with the heroic deeds of his patron. He evidently knows of only one, the victory of Vastupâla over **Samgrâmasimha**, the son of **Sindhurâja**, who seems to have been a petty vassal-prince or village chief in Vatakûpa near Cambay, and over his ally **Sankha**. He says, I. 44 : "They call him a Jaina ; but the illustrious minister Vastupâla is devoted also to Śiva. He washed the master who wears the form of air (*i. e.*, goes naked) with the water of shining fame which he took from **Sankha**." Further, VIII. 46 : "Thy sword, illustrious Vastupâla, beautiful in rising and brandishing, valiant in deed, defeated in the world that **Samgrâmasimha**." And X. 45 : "Thy glory, O Vastupâla, which shines by thy victory over **Sindhurâja**, is like the moon in the sky, since the spot in it is certainly the face of Sindhurâja, which was blackened by his deep shame."

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[41] *V. Char.* VI. 535-536 : —
Srî-Vîradhavalâdhîśasvântasamtoshahetave |
Someśvaraṁ tadânarcha mantrî nânâvidhârchanaiḥ || 535 ||
Narendrâdeśato mantrî Somanâthamaheśituḥ |
Mânikyakhachitâm mundam âlâm ayam akârayat || 536 ||

[42] See *Ueber das Leben des Jaina-Mönches, Hemachandra*, S. 27 f.

Vastupâla's feud with **Saṁgrâmasiṁha** and **Saṅkha** is related at length by Somesvara in the *Kîrtikaumudi*, IV-V, and Somesvara also is unable to report any other warlike deed of his friend. Since, then, we possess two eulogies, which, although otherwise independent of each other, mention only this one exploit, we may conclude that the accounts in the later *Prabandhas* of the numerous heroic deeds of Vastupâla and Tejaḥpâla, in the beginning of their career, deserve no great confidence.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that Amarapaṇḍita twice addresses **Vastupâla** by the name of **Vasantapâla**. This was his poet-name, under which he wrote the *Naranârâyaṇânandakâvya*, which I found in Aṇhilvâḍ in 1875.[43]

REPORTS MADE DURING THE PROGRESS OF EXCAVATIONS AT PATNA.

BY BABU P. C. MUKHARJI.

(Continued from p. 441.)

REPORT No. II. — JANUARY, 1897.

THE promising results of the work in December 1896 were sustained during January 1897. The excavations at **Kumrâhar** and **Jamunâ Dhih** brought to light valuable structural remains and relics, chiefly terra-cottas at the latter place.

I.

At **Jamunâ Dhih** on the West of the Bankipore Railway Station, and on the south bank of the old and now dried-up bed of the Sôhan, a channel of which used to flow at the spot in ancient times, I commenced work in the beginning of January (see Plate II.). In a few days I exhumed several large vases (*nânds*) and some walls, made of large bricks, on the east side of the mound. On the north side, where I began excavating a week later, some rooms and more *nânds* were brought to light; and, continuing the work during the whole month, other rooms and several walls projecting in different directions were traced out, the *nânds* or jars appearing everywhere. In the last week of the month I commenced tapping the north-west corner; but beyond some uninteresting vessels and terra-cottas, no architectural remains were found. As to terra-cotta figures and vessels, several were discovered. The terra-cotta figures consisted of horses and other interesting playthings. The vessels were innumerable, exhibiting some graceful forms. Regarding stone-work, innumerable fragments of stools and pestles and mortars (*sîl-lôḍhâ*) were recovered, as also several round stones, between 3 and 4 inches in diameter. As to fragments of sculpture, a defaced base of statue, and a half circular slab, which showed some peculiar ornaments, and the back of which was rounded, was brought to light.

On a close examination of the mound I found that it was not a Râja's fort, as marked in Dr. Waddell's map. It appeared to be the site of a village that at first had mud houses (which accounts for the raised level of the land), where, during the period of the Mauryan Emperors, the villagers, chiefly Gawâlâs and potters, becoming a little richer, built brick and tiled houses. The large bricks, about 1′ 6″ × 1′ 0″ × 2″ or 3″, and the great numbers of the *nânds* and other vessels lead to that conclusion. On the north-east corner of the mound is an elevated spot dedicated to Gaurayyâ Dêvî, containing a statue of Gaurî Shankar, rather defaced, which shows the goddess seated on the lap of the four-armed Mahâdêvâ in the style commonly seen. Here I secured a statuette of a Dêvî, about 3 inches in height, seated on a lion, and holding in her right hand a lotus, and in her left a vessel (Fig. 1). These relics show that there was a temple here. The *nânds* were used for feeding the cattle, and the larger ones for storing the produce of the fields. I also obtained some metallic relics (chiefly copper), consisting of some coins (*maddhu sâi*), and square pieces, a few diminutive sticks called *silâi* for applying *surmâ* to the eyes, and a knife in iron — all very much injured by age.

FIG. I.

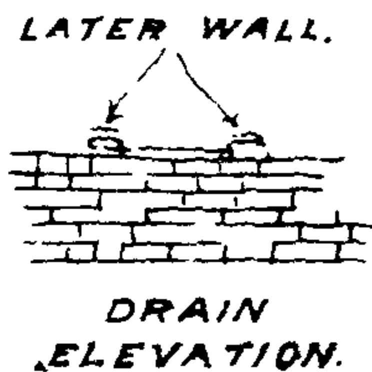


[43] A copy of the work is in the Dekhan College Collection of 1875-77, No. 731.

II.

At **Kallu Talão, Kumrâhar or Kumbharâj, originally known as Nêmapûr,** I exposed more walls and rooms on the west side and the south-west corner, the fragments of **the Asôka pillars** appearing everywhere, — so much so that in one room the mud floor was fairly covered with smaller pieces of it. Assuming that the original position of the great pillar was somewhere between the exposed *vihâra* (monastery) and the Dargâh, I commenced excavating on the north side of the latter, towards which I was also working from the western portion of the *vihâra* which I had exposed. No inscribed fragments were found. In the new digging at the Dargâh I exposed two walls, running west to east.

III.





At the **Chaman Talâo** I drove two tunnels under the highest mound in order to follow the double wall, six feet in thickness, which comes from the west. It appeared to be a large drain, once emptying its contents into the tank. Over and at right angles to it was built another double wall, at which place it had gone to ruin. Wherever the latter structure had fallen down, all the bricks had been taken out and removed for subsequent building purposes, only a few bricks being left at the edges to tell its tale. East of and parallel to it was found another wall. On the east side I also followed the drain by driving a tunnel; but on this side the drain terminated after a short distance. The two parallel tunnels, following the two sides of the drain, went west about 25 feet, where I joined them. I also commenced excavating on the south and north sides of the mound, in order to determine the nature of the original structure, of which the *dêbris* is now turned into a Muhammadan graveyard. See sketch-plan with rough measurements in Plate III. attached.

IV.

In the garden of the headman of the village, where I reported in December 1896 the finding of a portion of a large wall, 10 feet below the present level of the ground I exposed a brick terrace, about 200 feet east of it, at which place I found also two fragments of **the Asôka pillar.** About 20 years ago here was discovered a very interesting Buddhist statue, which *is now* worshipped as **Durukhiâ Dêvî** by the villagers of Nawâtôlâ.[1]

V.

On the south of the village of **Kumrâhar** I discovered **a log of sâl-wood** in a new well, 19 feet below the present level of the field. It was dug out in pieces, amidst sandy clay, bluish and whitish in colour, the silt found only in the bed of the Ganges. Most probably a portion of the wood-work to which it belonged is still *in situ*. The importance of this find will be understood, if it belonged to the ancient **palisade of Pataliputra,** described by Megasthenes. Since palisades have also been discovered on the north of **Kumrâhar,** as reported by Dr. Waddell, this village, with the extensive *dêbris* around it, **represents the site of Pataliputra,** as he assumes very rightly. There is a tradition, still remembered by the oldest of the villagers, that this was the town of Nandalâll (evidently the Nanda king), about 3,000 years ago.

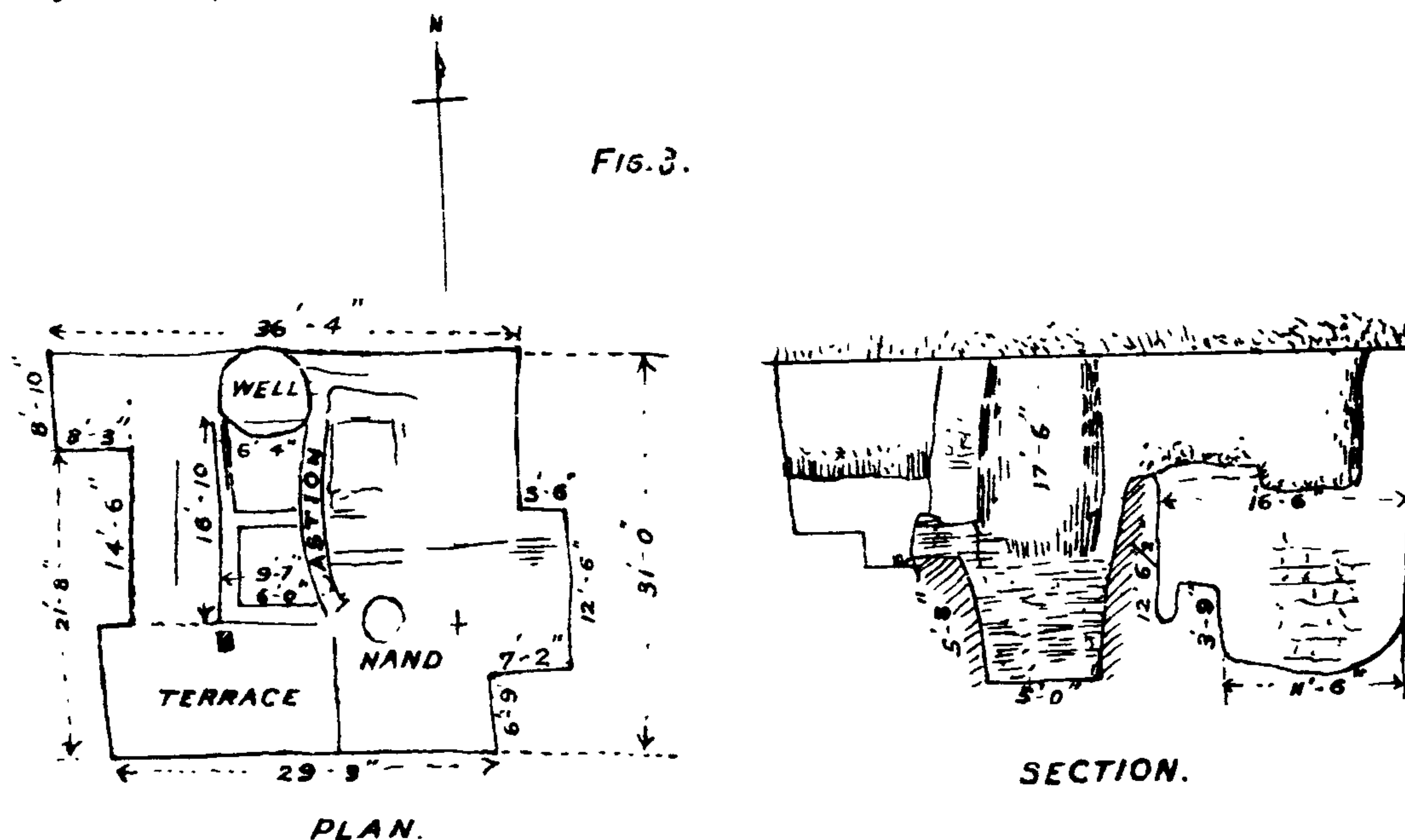
On the east of the village I dug a trial-trench in the compound of a Gawâlâ's house, and found only a little fragmentary wall and terrace, about 8 feet below the surface. The excavated earth here, as elsewhere, consisted of brick and rubble. Terraces were also exposed at several places; but working at their edges I could not trace any walls. This fact shows that the bricks of the walls have been removed long ago, perhaps about a thousand years before the present land surface was formed.

VI.

On the south of the village and near the well, at which place I found the remains of an ancient block of *sâl*-wood, I saw slight signs of a wall in another well, known as **Khârî Kûân;** and here

[1] Drawn and described it in my second *Bihâr Report* in 1894.

I dug deep into the soil, down to about 20 feet, and exposed what I at first supposed to be the portion of an ancient bastion. Clearing it all round I found that the circular wall did not, however, continue towards the north-east and south-east; but on its west face, two reservoirs or cells, about 6 feet square at about 10 feet down, and 5 feet square at 17′ 6″ below the present level of the ground, were traced out. The slope of the bastion wall, of which 12′ 6½″ remains now, from the bottom upwards, is 1′ 4″ on its western face. On its east and north-east face are other walls at right angles to it, of which I did not clear the northernmost. On the south of the cell is a terrace and a little bit of a wall at about 6 feet below the present ground level; and on the south-east corner is a large jar or *nând*, about 10 feet below.

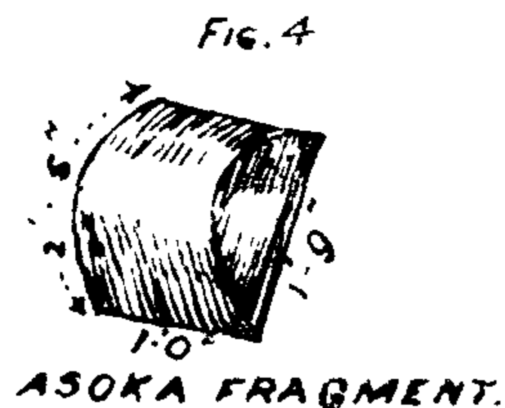


SKETCH PLAN AND SECTION OF EXCAVATION AT KHÂRÎ KÛÂN.

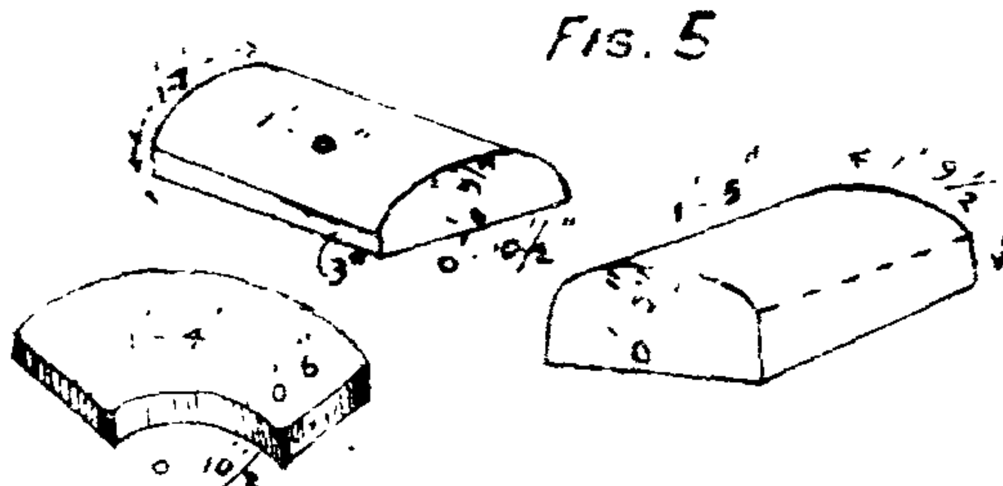
East of it, at the place marked with a cross on the sketch-plan (Fig. 3), and with dots on the section, I exhumed **a great number of very interesting bricks** (Figs. 5 and 6). I at first thought that they must have belonged to a structure close by, for which I searched, but could not find. The bricks commenced to appear at about 8 feet, and terminated at about 16 feet below the present ground-level.

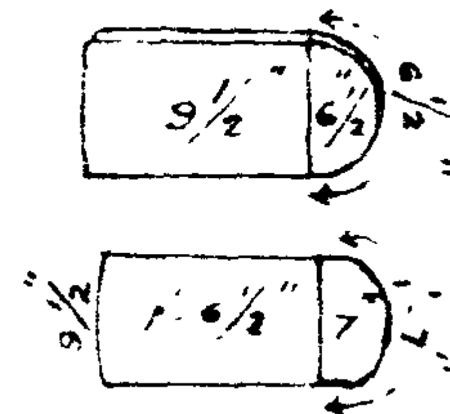
They were roughly placed in irregular layers: but though I carefully worked from the sides, I could find no architectural form, nor a kiln in which they might have been burnt. Two bricks of the semi-circular form were also discovered on the west of the well, and more might be exhumed. The most interesting relic found among the large number of bricks is a fragment of **an Aśôka pillar** (Fig. 4), at 10 feet below the present level of the ground, as also a flat piece of stone. The bricks are very large and of different forms (Fig. 5). One is curved, being limited by two concentric curves, of which the ends have been cut in the radii. One is about one foot square and 2½ inches in thickness. Some are rectangular, varying from 1 foot to 8 inches in width and from 6 inches to 3 inches in thickness, the length being generally 1′ 6″. The most interesting, however, are the semi-cylindrical bricks, the like of which I have not seen elsewhere in India. They are from 1′ 5″ to 1′ 9″ in length, and from 6″ to 7″ in depth, and from 8½″ to 10½″ in width. These semi-cylindrical bricks are of two sorts: One, the section of which is less than a semi-circle and the breadth about 10½ inches (Fig. 6).

The other class has a cross section, which is more than a semi-circle; their breadth is about 9½ inches. Of the former class, one has a corner bevelled off, as shown in the sketch (Fig. 6); half of it is broken length-wise. While on the subject of bricks, I would mention another peculiar brick with an ogee section, found in the south-west room of the *vihâra*, I exhumed at the Kallu Talâo (Fig. 7). Among the number of bricks in the deep excavations at Khârî Kûâñ I found some pieces of plaster which show cornice and other linings.

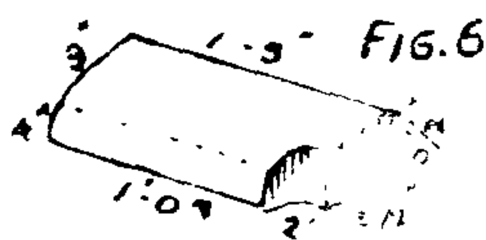


ASOKA FRAGMENT.





SPECIMEN OF BRICKS FROM KHÂRÎ KÛÂÑ, KUMRÂHAR



BRICKS FROM KHÂRÎ KÛÂÑ.

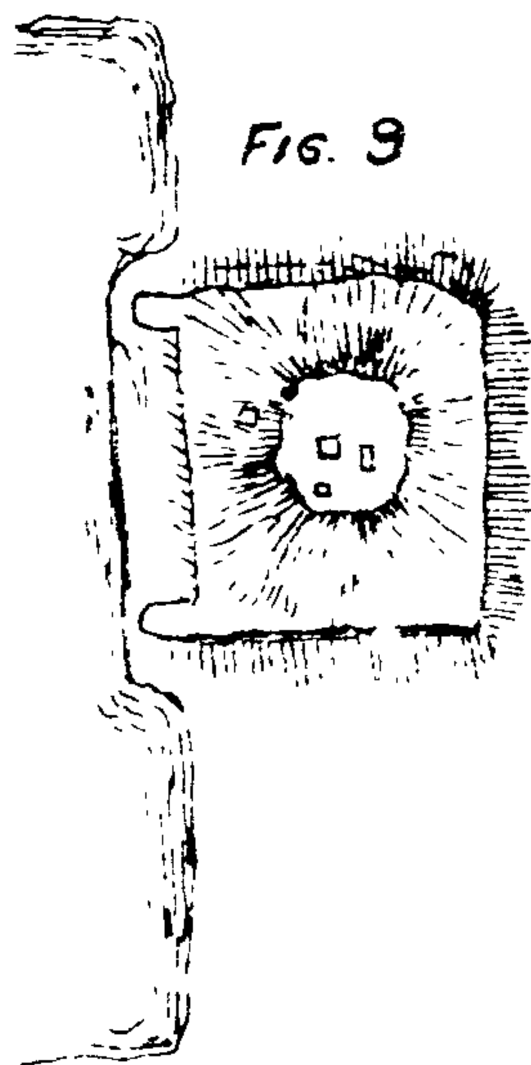


BRICK FROM KALLU TALÂO.



CORNICE PLASTER FROM KHÂRÎ KÛÂÑ.

VII.



On the west of the village of **Kumrâhar,** and in the fields, I examined all the wells, new and old, and in many of them I detected remains of walls. In a ruined one, I commenced excavations and exposed some thick walls. On the east of Kumrâhar are also extensive ruins and a big tank, now dried up. About half a mile west of Kumrâhar, and on the east bank of an ancient tank, now known by the name of **Wâriṣ 'Alî Khâñ's Tank,** is a high mound, now covered with Muhammadan graves. Thinking it to be a Bhuddhist *stûpa*, I began excavating its western face, and exposed both Muhammadan and anterior Hindu walls. It was most interesting to see the different layers of *débris*, one above the other. The excavation showed a *ghât* (flight of steps), which Wâriṣ 'Alî Khâñ repaired about hundred years ago, with two octagonal bastions at the two ends. See sketch, Fig. 9.

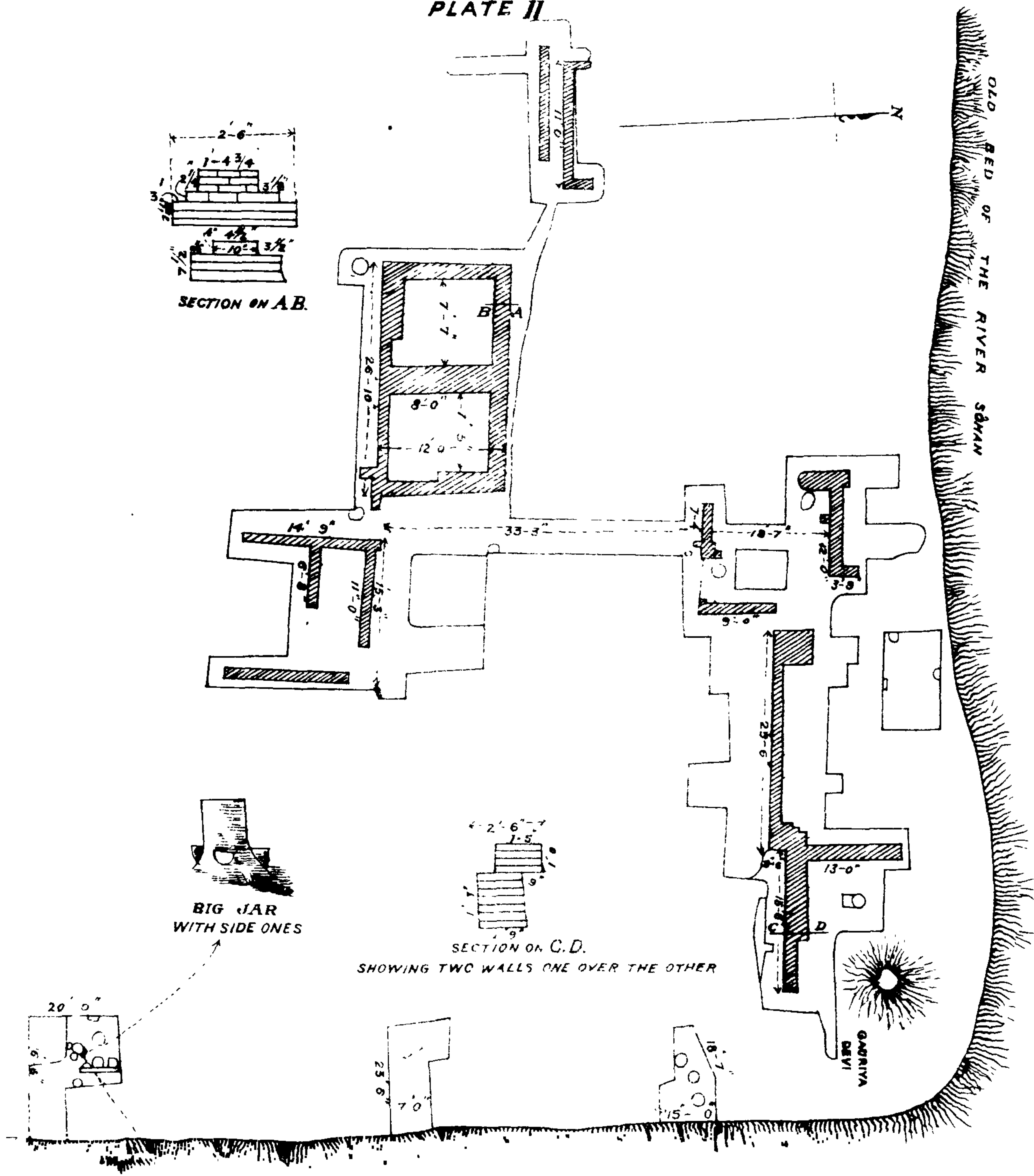
VIII.

North of this tank is the high road, to the north of which is a small brick-field. On the road-side, where the brick-makers had made a deep pit in order to obtain clay, they exposed the old bed of the channel of the Sôhan, which used to flow here in ancient times, as evidenced by the deep layer of yellowish sand — whence the Sôhan was called by Sanskrit writers Hiranya-bâhu, the golden-armed. Towards and underneath the road ditch is visible a large portion of a wall, made of large bricks. A little north of the brick-field is the railway line, and about 200 yards still further north is **the Buland Bâgh,** where Dr. Waddell locates a *vihâra*. The importance of this bit of wall will therefore be understood.

(To be continued.)

EXCAVATIONS AT PATNA, 1897

PLATE II

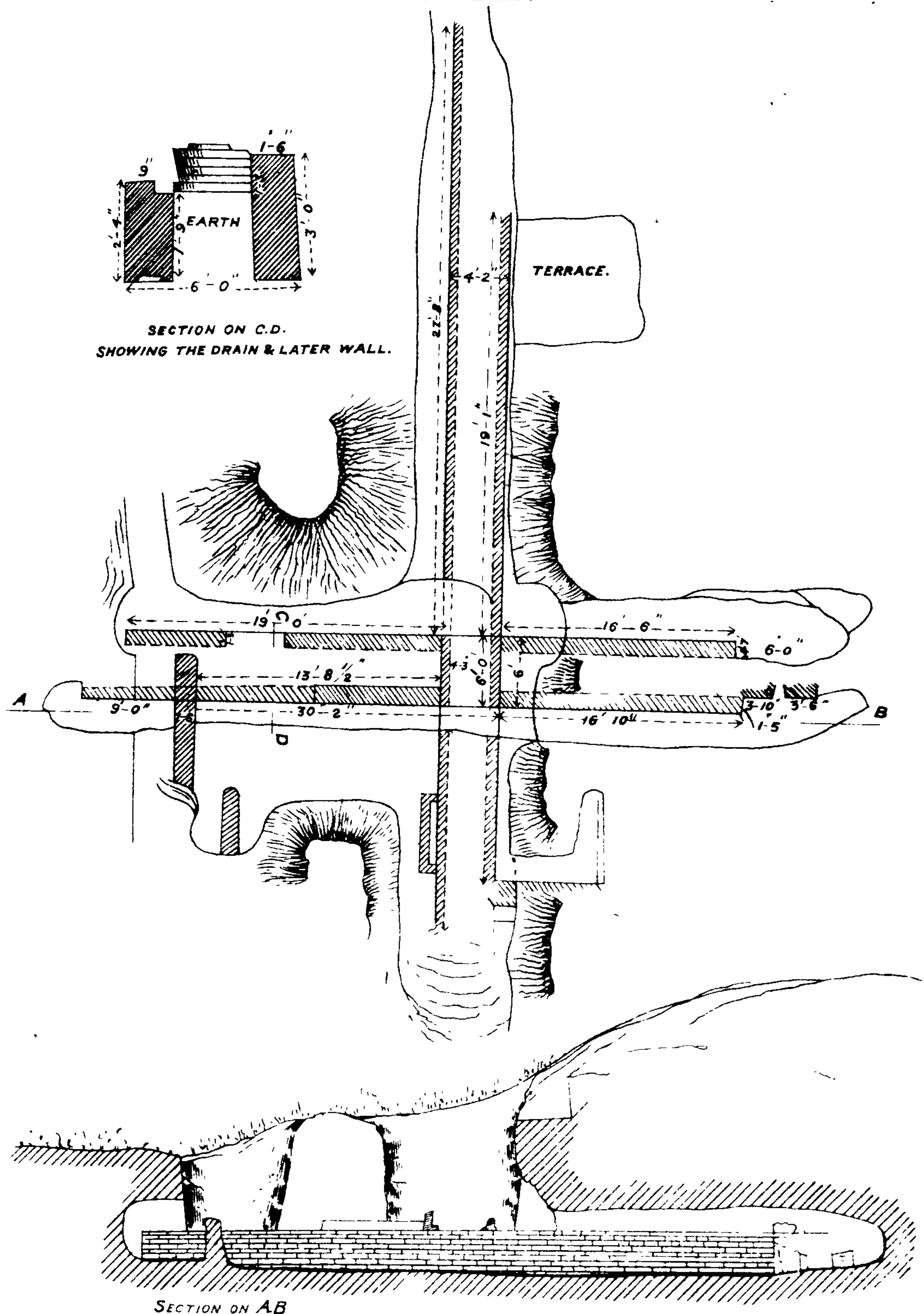


ROUGH PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS ON THE JAMUNÂ DHIH.

P. C. MUKHARJI, DEL. B.E.S. Press Litho.

EXCAVATIONS AT PATNA, 1897.

PLATE III.



SECTION ON AB

SKETCH PLAN & SECTION, SHOWING EXHUMED WALLS & DRAINS.

CHAMAN TALÂO, KUMRÂHAR.

P C MUKHARJI, DEL.

B E S PRESS Litho

ARRANGEMENT OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE PRITHIRÂJ-RÂSO.

BY ŚYÂM SUNDAR DÂS, B.A.

SINCE the publication of the **Prithirâj-râso** has been definitely undertaken by the **Nâgari-prachârini** Sabhâ of Benares, it seems desirable that the **arrangement of its chapters** be finally decided upon before proceeding further with the work. When the Asiatic Society of Bengal commenced to bring out an edition of this book, Mr. Beames published in the Society's *Journal* an arrangement of its chapters. But since that time our knowledge about **Chand's great work** has increased to some appreciable extent, and I think we are now in a position to reconsider the question of that arrangement.

In the course of the **search for Hindi Manuscripts**, which I am deputed by the Nâgarî-prachârini Sabhâ to institute under the patronage of the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and of which the Reports for 1900 and 1901 have been submitted to the local Government for consideration and publication, I have come across several manuscripts of this epic, and I give below a **tabular arrangement of the chapters as found in the different manuscripts.** For the sake of comparison I have also added the arrangement of Mr. Beames and of the author of **Prithvirâj-charitra**, a Hindî book said to give the biography of Prithirâj as based on the facts of the *Râso*. This arrangement will, I am sure, be useful to any scholar desirous of making a study of the great epic. I have put the chapters in numerical order as they seemed best to me. At the end I have also given the names of three chapters in regard to which I have certain doubts.

I need hardly state here that doubts are still entertained in some quarters as to the genuineness of Chand's epic, but it must be remembered that it has not yet been sufficiently studied to warrant any of the sweeping remarks against it that have been made in several instances. I have collected some material, which, I am sure, will facilitate the solution of this question. A portion of it has been embodied in my first *Annual Report on the Search for Hindî Manuscripts*, and the rest I propose to utilize later on, as soon as I am able to give more time and attention to it. Anyhow, I am confident the publication of my first *Report*, which, I am glad to state, is now in the hands of the printers, will bring again into prominence the question of **the genuineness of the Râso**, and I only pray that scholars may give their attention to the satisfactory solution of the problem. In any case, the publication of the *Râso*, researches in connection with it, and the subsequent discovery of new manuscripts, will, I hope, add still more to our knowledge of this, the oldest extant book in Hindî.

One fact remains to be mentioned in connection with the following tabular arrangement. I have not attempted to show the differences which occur in the nomenclature of the different chapters as contained in different manuscripts. Besides Mr. Beames' order and that given in the *Prithvirâj-charitra*, I have taken four other manuscripts as my guides. The first two are in the possession of Pandit Mohanlal Vishnu Lal Pandya (Mathurâ), the third is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the fourth belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society.

Arrangement of Chapters.

Serial Number.	Names of Chapters.	Beames' Order.	Prithvirâj-charitra.	M. V. Pandia's MS. of 1802 A. D.	M. V. Pandia's MS. of 1585 A. D.	Asiatic Society's MS.	Caulfield MS.
1	Âdi Parva	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	Dasam Parva...	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	Dillî Killî Kathâ	3	3	3	3	3	3

Serial Number.	Names of Chapters.	Beames's Order.	Prithviraj-charitra.	M.V.Pandia's MS. of 1802 A. D.	M.V.Pandia's MS. of 1585 A. D.	Asiatic Society's MS.	Caulfield MS.
4	Lohâno Ajânbâhu Samaya	4	6	4	...	4	4
5	Kânhpattî Samaya	5	4	5	4	5	5
6	Âkhetak Birbardân Kathâ	6	5	6	5	6	6
7	Nâhar Râya Kathâ	7	7	7	6	7	7
8	Mewâtî Yugal Kathâ	8	8	8	7	8	8
9	Husen Kathâ...	9	9	9	8	9	9
10	Âkhetaka Chûka Varnan	10	10	10	9	10	10
11	Chitrarekhâ Samaya...	11	11	11	10	11	11
12	Bholâ Râya Samaya...	12	12	12	11	12	12
13	Salakh juddh Samaya	13	13	13	12	13	13
14	Inchchhini Vyâh	14	14	14	13	14	14
15	Mugal juddh Prastâva	15	15	15	14	15	15
16	Pundira dâhimî Vyâh	16	16	16	15	16	16
17	Bhumi supan Prastâva	17	17	17	16	17	17
18	Dilli dân Prastâva	18	18	18	17	18	18
19	Mâdho Bhât Kathâ	19	19	19	18	19	19
20	Padmâvati Vyâh Samaya	20	24	20	...	20	20
21	Prithâ Vyâh	22	20	21	19	22	21
22	Holî Kathâ	23	22	22	...	23	23
23	Dîp Mâl Kathâ	24	23	23	...	24	24
24	Dhan Kathâ	25	21	24	20	25	22
25	Shashivratâ nêm Prastâva	26	25	25	21	26	25
26	Devagiri Samaya	27	26	26	22	27	26
27	Rewâ tat Samaya	28	27	27	23	28	27
28	Anangpâl Samaya	29	28	28	24	29	28
29	Ghaghar nadî kî larâî	30	29	29	25	30	29
30	Karnâtî pâtra Samaya	31	30	30	26	31	30
31	Pîpâ juddha Prastâva	32	31	31	27	32	31

Serial Number.	Names of Chapters.	[illegible] Order.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] A. D.	Asiatic Society's MS.	[illegible] MS.
32	Samarsî râj or Indrâwati Vyâheja	33	32	32	[illegible]	......	32
33	Indrâvatî Vyâh	33 (34)	33	33	29	33	[illegible]
34	Jait Rava juddha	34 (35)	34	34	30	34	34
35	Kângurâ juddh	35 (36)	[illegible]	35	31	35	35
36	Hansâvatî Vyâh	36 (37)	36	36	32	[illegible]	36
37	Pâhar Rai Samaya	37 (38)	37	37	33	37	37
38	Barun Kathâ	38 (39)	38	38	34	38	38
39	Soma Badh	39 (40)	39	39	35	39	39
40	Pajjûna chhogânâ Prastâva	40 (41)	40	40	36	40	40
41	Pajjûna Châlukya Prastâva	41 (42)	41	[illegible]	[illegible]	41	[illegible]
42	Chand Dwârikâ Gaman	[illegible]	42	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	42
43	Kaimâs juddha	43 (44)	43	[illegible]	39	43	43
44	Bhima Badha	44 (45)	44	44	40	44	44
45	Sanjogitâ purba Kathâ	45 (46)	45	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
46	Sanjogitâ Vinaya Mangal	45 (46)	46	46	42	46	46
47	Shuk Varnana	46 (47)	47	47	[illegible]	47	47
48	Bâlukâ Rai Samaya	47 (48)	48	48	[illegible]	[illegible]	48
49	Pang Jagya Viddhvans Prastâva	48 (49)	49	49	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
56	Sanjogitâ nem Prastâva	49 (50)	50	50	[illegible]	50	50
51	Pratham Hânsî juddha	50 (51)	51	51	[illegible]	51	[illegible]
52	Dwitîya Hânsî juddha	...	...	52	[illegible]	...	...
53	Pajjûn Mahobâ	51 (52)	52	53	49	52	[illegible]
54	Pajjûn pâtisâh juddha	52 (53)	53	54	50	53	[illegible]
55	Samant pang juddha	53 (54)	54	55	51	54	54
56	Samar pang juddha	54 (55)	55	56	52	[illegible]	[illegible]
57	Kaimâsa Badha	55 (56)	55	57	53	56	56
58	Durgâ Kedâr Samaya	56 (57)	57	58	54	57	57
59	Dilli Varnana	57 (58)	58	59	55	58	58

Serial Number.	Names of Chapters.	Beames' Order.	Prithvirâj-charitra.	M. V. Pandia's MS. of 1802 A. D.	M. V. Pandia's MS. of 1585 A. D.	Asiatic Society's MS.	Caulfield MS.
60	Jangam Kathâ	58 (59)	59	60	56	59	59
61	Shat ritu Varnana	...	60	61	57	...	60
62	Kanavajja juddha	59 (60)	61	62	58	60	61
63	Shuka Charitra	60 (61)	63	63	59	61	62
64	Âkhetak Chakh Shrâp	61 (62)	62	64	61	62	63
65	Dhîrpundîr	62 (63)	64	65	60	63	64
66	Vivâh Samaya	63 (64)	...	66	...	...	67
67	Barî Larâî	64 (65)	65+66	67	63	64	65
68	Bânbedh	65 (66)	67	68	64	65	66
69	Rayanasî	66 (67)	68	69	......	66	68
	Doubtful Chapters.						
1	Albâ Udal	21	...	...	...	21	...
2	Birbhadra	68 (69)	...	...	...	67[1]	...
3	Karhedâ Rupak	...	...	...	28	...	...

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 470.)

1795. — No. VIII.

Fort William 20th February 1795.

Read a letter and its enclosure from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Collin Shakespear Esqr., Sub Secretary.

Sir, — I have received your letter of the 19th of last Month with an order on the Treasury for Twenty Thousand Rupees to be dispatched to Port Cornwallis by the first opportunity.

I have now the pleasure of Complying with the Governor General in Council's desire by transmitting the Establishment that I fixed for the Brig Dispatch. I beg you will inform the Governor General in Council, that Vessel on her Passage from Port Cornwallis towards Chittagong to which place I before acquainted him I had sent her experienced long Calms and

[1] This name is given in the index attached to the Manuscript, but the chapter itself, being at the very end of the third volume, is missing, and seems to have been torn off by some one.

Violent Currents, till her provisions and Water was nearly expended when the Commander found it necessary to bear up for Bengal; as there was a Great quantity of the Provisions indented for not yet conveyed to the Settlement I immediately requested the Garrison Store Keeper, to load the Dispatch, and have now the pleasure to acquaint you that she is ready to sail — on board of this Vessel I have Shipped Five Thousand Rupees for the immediate use of the Settlement, and shall send the remaining part of the Cash in my hands on the **Sea Horse** and **Nautilus** both of which Vessels will soon be ready to sail with Provisions and Stores.

I also beg leave to acquaint you for the Information of the Board that **the Cornwallis Snow** is arrived from Port Cornwallis, having left that place on the 15th of last Month, and I have the pleasure to say that the Officer in command there acquaints me that the Settlers are at this Season very healthy, and that **four Convicts who had absconded, have returned of themselves in a Miserable Starving State and two of them Severely wounded by the Natives, which gives hope that this example will deter any of them from attempting so dangerous an experiment again.**

I have the honor to be &ca

(Signed) **A. Kyd, Superintendant Andamans.**

Calcutta 5th February 1795.

Establishment of the Honble Company's Brig Dispatch.

1	Commander	@	Current Rupees	375 pr Month
1	Officer	@	Ditto	100 pr Month
1	Gunner	@	Sicca Rupees	40 Ditto
4	Quarter Masters	@	Ditto	25 each
1	Serang	...	... ...	15
1	Tindal	...	... ...	12
1	Cassab	...	... ...	10
12	Lascars	...	... ...	7 each
1	Cook	...	... ...	8
2	Captain's Servants	...	... ...	8 each
1	Officer's Servant	...	... ...	8

(Signed) **A. Kyd.**

Agreed that the above Establishment fixed by the Superintendant at the Andamans, be approved, and ordered that a Copy of it be sent to the Acting Marine Pay Master for his Information.

1795. — No. IX.

20th February 1795.

Read the following Letter and its Enclosure from the Commissary of Stores.

To Edward Hay Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I herewith have the honor to forward a List of two Bills of Lading for Stores shipped on **the Sea Horse Lieutenant George Thomas Commander** for the Andaman Islands.

I have the honor to be &ca

(Signed) **William Golding** Commissary of Stores,

Fort William **19th February 1795.**

Enclosure.

[illegible] Sir John Shore Bart Governor General in Council, on the [illegible] George Thomas Commander for the Andamans; and [illegible]

[illegible] 19th February 1795.

[illegible]	in one Mangoe box		72
[illegible]			10000
[illegible]			864
[illegible]			864
Locks [illegible]			12
[illegible]			12
[illegible]			1
Locks Door Iron	in one Ditto		12
[illegible]			24
Chissels Firmer			120
Files Flat	in one Ditto		2
[illegible]			2
[illegible]		Pairs	2
[illegible]		Seers	– 5 –
Silk Sewing		Do.	– 2 –
Thread [illegible] White		Do.	– 1 –
[illegible]		Do.	– [illegible] –
[illegible]			[illegible]
[illegible]			50
Iron [illegible]	in 6 Bundles	Maunds	16. 38. 6
Oil [illegible] Casks with Iron hoops		Maunds	50. – –
Tow	in one Bale	Ditto	1. – –
Netts Fishing [illegible]	in 3 Bales		6
Nails Europe [illegible]		Maund	1. – –
Chalk	in one bag	Ditto	1. – –
Oil Coconut	in one Cask with 4 Iron hoops ...	Ditto	1. – –
Oil Linseed	in 3 ditto ditto ditto ...	Ditto	5. – –
Tarpawling Small in 4 Bales		...	20
Twine Jute in 5 Ditto		...	10. – –
[illegible] in One Mangoe Chest		...	10

Package.

Bags Gunny		4
Boxes Mangoe		3
Casks with Iron hoops		[illegible]
Chest Mangoe		1
Gunny [illegible]		20
Nails Europe [illegible]	Seers	– 1. 8
Okum	Ditto	– 8. –
Rope Jute Lashings	Skains	10
Twine [illegible]	Seers	– 1. 8

Charges Shipping Sonat Rupees 2.3.2.

(Signed) William Golding, Commissary of Stores.

Ordered that a copy of the enclosure in the above letter be sent to the Superintendant at the Andamans.

1795. — No. IX. (a)

Fort William 6th March 1795.

Read a Letter from the Superintendant at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay Esqr., Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I have to request that you will acquaint the Governor General in Council that the **Leeboard a Schooner,** belonging to the Honble. Comp., has just arrived **from Port Cornwallis,** The accompanying Letter from the Officer Commanding there will aquaint you with **the reasons that induced him to send as Prisoners the Frenchman suspected as a Spy and the Commander of the small Pegu Vessel which conveyed him there.**

From the private accounts I have had from **Lieutenants Ramsay and Stokoe** of this Circumstance it appears to me that, they had just grounds for acting as they have done, Altho' from an Examination of the Prisoners as well as from their papers that have been transmitted to me it is very doubtful whether the Frenchman made his appearance there with any evil intention, As however **Antoine Charles Cimetere,** the man in question has been distinguished during this war, by several daring enterprizes doubtful if justifiable by the rules of War ; I will beg leave to state what I have been able to collect from his Papers and from the Conversation I have had with him — Cimetere appears to have served **in the French Navy** during the whole of the last war, and **obtained the rank of Lieutenant** — on the **3rd of July 1792** He makes his appearance, as **Captain of the Ship L'Auguste Victoire fitted out at Pondicherry,** evidently for Commercial Purposes as appears by the Commission or Passport granted him by **Monsieur Defresne Commandant of Pondicherry and Messrs Mottel and Fontaine Commissaries,** which Commissions or Passport appears to me equivalent to those granted by other Governments to Trading Vessels, but by no means analogous to what is termed a Letter of Marque nor indeed could be, as it was granted in the time of profound Peace.

It appears that he navigated the Indian Seas in Commercial pursuits till the 6th May 1793 when, being obliged to **put into Coringa Bay** in very bad weather with his Ship much damaged he heard of the war, between Great Britain and France, when he immediately boarded and **Seized the Phoenix Ketch of Calcutta the property of Mr Tyler, Sailed for Bimlipatam,** Here finding the Dutch nation was also engaged in the War, and his own Ship being at the point of Sinking he **shifted his Crew with every thing of Value from her to the Phoenix on which he sailed for Pegu,** where he arrived on the 6th of July — It does not appear by any of his Papers, when he left Pegu, but by the accompanying letter from Mr Tyler, I find he sailed for **Tarray** where his Ketch was seized by the Government of that place.

Cimetere appears again at Tarray on the 15th of March 1794 **in command of a small Privateer named La Fortune ou la Mort,** with a Crew of 12 men, from whence he **sailed to Mergui,** and on the 8th of the same Month, entered the Port in their Boat in the Night, boarded and **carried off the Penang Skooner, of Prince of Wales's Island, commanded by Richard Thompson** which Vessel it would appear was **carried to the Coast of Pedier and sold** — Here I lose sight of Cimetere, till by a Journal of his own Keeping he embarks on board of **a Grab Snow at Nancowry in the Nicobars,** that was taken on her Voyage from Surat to Siam with a rich Cargo **by the French Privateer Revenge ;** On board of **this Prize** he seems to have been employed as Second Officer, and on the death of the Captain as first, — After repeated attempts in opposition to the Monsoon to make their passage to Mauritius they were obliged to bear away to Pegu and arrived **at Bassein** in the end of October.

From this time I have only to depend on his own Account, He says that, they endeavoured to Equip and Provision the Grab at this Port in order to proceed on their Voyage to Mauritius, that the Captain and him having been engaged in some Counterband Commerce were detected and **Seized**

by the Governor of Bassein who loaded them with Irons and threw them into Prison, that the Captain by bribing high, was released, but that he was left in that deplorable Situation — that however he induced his Guard by a Bribe to take off his fetters — and hearing of the sailing of a small Vessel for the Andamans with an adventure of Provisions, he contrived to make his Escape in her, determined to give himself up as a Prisoner of War to the English Government and that on his arrival at Port Cornwallis he did not endeavour to conceal that he was a Frenchman, and tried as well as he could thro' the medium of a bad Portugueze Interpreter to tell his Story as above related — on the other hand the Gentlemen at Port Cornwallis declare that he concealed his Name, Saying that he was an Italian, offering his Service in any Capacity that the Portugueze endeavoured to purchase two Brass Guns; and Gun Powder from the Drued and offered money to the Europeans for any Plan of the Harbour, which they conceived could only be for Cimetere; This gave them a Strong Suspicion of his Character, — they therefore watched him narrowly and took every means to find out who he was which they soon did, and also learning the Circumstance of the French Vessels being at Bassein, they naturally conceived that he was come as a spy, with an intention of returning immediately to give information whether it was likely they could succeed in surprizing the place — they therefore very properly seized him and his Papers, and the Portugueze who appeared to be an Accomplice and thinking that the information of a Privateer being fitting out at Bassein, of consequence for Government to be made acquainted with the Leeboard a very small and insecure Vessel was fitted out which Mr Leek the Chief Mate of the Druid with a Quarter Master of the same ship and five Lascars belonging to the Settlement, navigated to Calcutta — In support of the justness of this opinion it is remarkable that the Leeboard was chased by this Grab, near the Cocos, which has an appearance that she was Cruizing there for the return of the small Pegu Vessel with Cimetere after having made his observations, on the other hand he declares that this encounter was quite fortuitous, and that the Grab was then on her Voyage to the Mauritius, to Corroberate which; there is amongst some letters taken from the Portuguize, one (of which I subjoin a Copy) from a Captain Tayler Commanding an English Ship at Bassein to Captain Turner, where it appears that the Grab was to sail for Mauritius early in February, — which was about the time the Leeboard and her fell in, — Cimetere also declares that she was only manned with seven Europeans and ten Lascars, was not armed and in every respect unfit to be employed on an enterprize of this nature and it also is to be observed that this letter dated so late as the 20th January, takes no notice of her being fitted out as a Privateer, which one would think was an intelligence, Captain Tayler would have given. Bassein is not a Port either where a Vessel could be manned and equipped for the purposes of War; — I think it is therefore most probable that the Vessel was really on her passage to the Mauritius.

The small Pegu Vessel appears to be the property of a Mr Dawley an Englishman at Bassein whose instructions to the Master appears directing him to proceed to the Andamans and Nicobars, and from thence back to Pegu; a very common Voyage. The Master says she sails under English Colours, but as she can only have a Passport from the Pegu Government and is manned with Burmahs she must in fact be esteemed a Pegu Vessel.

As the Leeboard was built by Mr Blair of green wood and is now in a very bad state I do not think it would be safe at this Season to send her back to Port Cornwallis nor is her value near equivalent to the expence that it would occasion, I would therefore recommend that she should be delivered to the Master Attendant to be disposed of, if not wanted for any purposes of Government. Mr. Leek who undertook to conduct her to Calcutta, and the Quarter Master of the Druid will expect and deserve some compensation from Government which probably the Master attendant will be best able to fix.

Should the Governor General in Council think it proper to send back the Portuguize to his Vessel, and order her to be released, I beg leave to acquaint you that the Nautilus Brig will be ready to sail for the Andamans with Provisions and stores in a very few days; and on board of her he may be sent.

Cimetere's Papers are in my Possession, and I request I may have the Board's Instructions respecting them; should he only be considered a Prisoner of War, it does not appear that it is of consequence to withold them from him — but if he is to be considered as a spy, or his former conduct in cutting off the Phoenix Ketch and Perang Skooner is to be attended to, the Commission under which he acted and his Journals, stating the facts, are I imagine Papers of Consequence to return.

I have the honor to be &ca.

(Signed) **A. Kyd, Superintendant Andamans.**

Calcutta 4th March 1795.

P. S. — I omitted to mention that on the Vessels arrival I immediately wrote to the Town Major requesting him to take charge of the Prisoners who are now confined in Fort William.

(Signed) A. Kyd.

Enclosure.

Major Alexander Kyd, Superintendant at the Andamans, Fort William.

Sir, — I have the honor to acqnaint you for the information of the Governor General in Council that the **Druid Captain Copestakes** arrived in this Port on the 24th of last Month, in rounding the North East point of **Chatham Island She unfortunately struck upon the reef** extending off that point; the succeeding tide of flood she was got off but it was found expedient to lay her on Shore to examine the extent of her damage, which I am happy to inform you was confined to her Stem and is now nearly repaired. Of the Convicts sent on the Druid two died on board and a Man of the name of Muddeen from Burdwan sentenced for theft was not sent on board.

On the 28th of January **a Schooner came in here from Basseen nominally Commanded by a Portuguise of the name of Bonivest or Bonivese,** she had on board **Mr. Antoine Charles de Cimetere a Frenchman,** who I suspected as a spy and thought it expedient to search his Papers, amongst which I found sufficient proofs of his guilt to induce me to send him a Prisoner to Calcutta without delay I have been able to find and shall also send up as a Prisoner the Portuguize Commander and shall detain the Schooner and Crew till I receive orders from you or the Board how to dispose of them. As the Portnguize and Frenchman both declare that **Mr. Darley or Dowley** sent them here and intends following himself in a short time I wish to know whether he is to be detained and sent as a Prisoner to Calcutta should he make his appearance at this Port.

Captain Copestakes has been so obliging as to lend me his first Officer **Mr. Leet** and two Europeans to assist in navigating the Leeboard to Bengal and I venture to hope his readiness to assist on this occasion will entitle him to the approbation of the Board.

I remain with much respect &ca.

(Signed) **Thomas Ramsay Lieutenant** In temporary charge of the Settlement.

Port Cornwallis 3rd February 1795.

Enclosure No. 2.

Sir, — As it is the duty of every Englishman to give intelligence concerning interesting matters that may occur between one another, I do hereby inform you that **your Grab arrived in the Port of Bassein wearing French National Colours on the first November 1794 whereof Capt. Langlad is Commander** and has on board for a Chief Officer a Man in the name of **Monsieur Cimetere who cut Lightins and Robinsons of Pulo Penang Skooner out of the Port of Mergee and sold her on the Coast of Pedier.**

I have further to inform you that Captain Langlad and his 2nd Monsr. Cimetere have sold and disposed of upwards of (25000) Twenty five Thousand Rupees worth of the said Grab's Cargo.

The said Grab will sail for the Isle of France on the 1st or 10th February.

I wish it was in my power to give you any more intelligence in part of the said Grab it certainly should willingly be sent from

Sir your very Obedient Servant
(Signed) **John Tayler of the Ship Commerce.**

Bassein 20th January 1794.

To the Honble. Captain Turner or the Nacoda of the Grab Snow that was taken off Pulo Verella by the Revenge Privateer Pulo Penang.

Enclosure No. 3.

My Dear Sir. — **The Person you mention is the same man who carried off the Ketch Phoenix belonging to me from the road of Coring.** He proceeded with her to Bimlipatam a Dutch Settlement not knowing that Holland was engaged in the War, but on finding no Safety there, he immediately directed his course **to Pegue,** where he found protection and encouragement for a time but whether the representations I made to the Minister alarmed him or not, he sailed from thence taking with him Several of his own Nation upon another piratical Cruize of which the Minister of Pegue made some mention in one of his letters to the Governor General, I think in the words or to the effect following. "**Mr Tylers Ketch is now at Tavay,** she was cut off Coringa by a Frenchman named Cimetere, from Tavay he manned his Boat and proceeded in the night to Mergee where he cut off **a small Schooner from Penang, belonging to Captain Thomas Wolff.**"

The Governor of Tavey Stopped my Ketch and sent a party to Seize the Frenchman, but **Cimetere** and his associates got clear off with the Schooner, and as I understood had **gone to the Nicobars** since then I have not heard of him, tho' I know to a certainty that some of his party carried a Vessel to and arrived at the Mauritius.

I have also lately understood that some of the same party have been seen here, but tho' I have failed in ascertaining the fact sufficiently to enable me to identify their persons, yet I do not doubt it, and I think it may be well worth your enquiry, as it would not be so difficult to a few such fellows to surprize s[illegible] rich laden Vessel bound out of the River.

Yours very Obediently
(Signed) **Geo. Tyler.**

Monday 2nd [illegible] [illegible]95.

Major Kyd.

Agreed under the circumstances stated in Major Kyd's Letter of the 4th Instant, **that Monsieur Antoine Charles Cimetere, be detained in his present Confinement,** till further orders, and that the Governor General be requested to give the necessary Directions to the Town Major accordingly instructing him further to apply to major Kyd, for Monsieur Cimeterres papers to keep them under his Charge to be referred to if Occasion should require.

Agreed further that the Portugueze be discharged from his present Confinement, and that the Superintendant at the Andamans be instructed to send him back to that place, **by the Nautilus,** considering him at large, and to give orders for releasing his Vessell.

Ordered that Major Kyd be directed to deliver over the Leeboard to the Master Attendant, and to the Master attendant to receive Charge of the Vessel till she be sold, and that **the Vendue Master** be directed to dispose of her and her Stores at public Auction, and that reference be made to the Master Attendant with respect to the compensation that ought to be made to Mr Leek & the Quarter Master of the Drued who conducted the Schooner from the Andamans to Calcutta.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(*Continued from p. 475.*)

D

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HOBSON-JOBSON IN LITERATURE.

ALTHOUGH Yule called his celebrated *Anglo-Indian Glossary* "Hobson-Jobson," it is well known that he had no literary quotation to produce in support of what was really a soldier's and sailor's expression.

Here is one at last, however, from about the last place in which one would look for it, and used unconsciously too, in this year of Grace 1902.

The Nineteenth Century, No. 302, April 1902, p. 581: title of article "VI, 'The Hobson-Jobson,'" by Miss A. Goodrich-Freer. The whole article is written evidently without any suspicion on the part of the author or editor that there is anything particularly interesting in the title of the article or the expression used: without a hint of either of them having ever heard of a very celebrated book on Oriental subjects under the same title: in entire unconsciousness that their naïve ignorance forms the sole claim that a whole article in a first-class English Review has to the serious regard of students of Oriental subjects, in that it provides a *bonâ fide* literary quotation for a well-known colloquialism.

Passing on to the article itself we find that it commences thus:—

"'THE HOBSON-JOBSON.'

'To-morrow is the day you ought to have been at the docks,' said the Captain to our host. 'You would have seen the Hobson-Jobson.'

'And what is the Hobson-Jobson?'

'Well, it's some sort of a holiday that the Hindû [! ! ED.] sailors keep every year. This year it will be extra good, they say, because the *Jelunga* and the *Manora* and the *Mombassa*[1] all being in docks at the same time, there'll be eight or nine hundred of them for the processions and

[1] [All steamers belonging to the British India Steam Navigation Company.—ED.]

dances, and so they are extra keen about it. They've done no work for nearly a week, and they've been at their performances ever since Sunday morning.'

'But what is it? What do they do?'

'I don't know what it is, but I can tell you what they do. For weeks they have been collecting every bit of coloured paper, and rags, and tinsel, and wood, and cardboard, they could lay hands on, and they've been rigging up fancy dresses for themselves and making models—sort of pagoda things—and they've been carrying them about, and dancing and acting, these three days. But to-morrow is the great day, and everything will have to give way to it. We shall get nothing done on board ship, and the docks will have to be just given up to them. It is worth seeing, if you don't mind the noise and the dust.'

The next day, the 30th of April last, was one of those bright hot days which the early spring sometimes borrows from summer, and which of late years she has paid back with such liberal interest. On the chance of seeing a new play, not borrowed from a familiar novel, nor plagiarised from the French, we were prepared to mind nothing, and to the docks we went.

'Oh, yes, I shall just have to look in at the docks,' said one in authority to our host, 'and I'll order your lunch; but couldn't you take the ladies to see the boats some other day? It is not fit for anyone this morning. It is the Hobson-Jobson, you know.'"

Then follow 13 pages of Mazagine writing of the superior sort, in the most approved style, on a subject of which the writer evidently knows nothing personally, though she seems to think that she has made some discoveries concerning it worth placing before the public. Witness the following from p. 585 f.:—

"The accident of a north-country upbringing suggested to the present writer some possible analogy between the obvious, if not very intelligible, order of what we had seen and the mumming plays of certain districts in Yorkshire and elsewhere, the mysterious drama of 'Alexander and the King of Egypt' performed on Christmas Eve, the morris dancing of New Year's Day, the merry-makings of Handsel Monday, and the processions of Plough Monday, Shrove Tuesday, and May Day. The analogy, though accidental, is, in its degree, correct; for just as such occasions as these are the half-forgotten memories of miracle and morality plays dating from times when the stage was the book of the unlearned and religion was taught by activities of body as well as of mind, so are the mysteries of the 'Hobson-Jobson' full of deepest meaning, didactic and commemorative.

Indeed, we may go further. While Count Gobineau, formerly Minister of France in Teheran and Athens, and therefore well qualified to speak with authority in regard to Greece and Persia alike, ranks this occasion with the Greek drama in its hold upon the life of the people, Matthew Arnold finds what he considers a more fitting parallel in the Passion play of Ober-Ammergau."

After this the article gives a rough description of the ordinary performances at the Indian Muharram as gone through by the vulgar, interlarded with quotations from old books as to their meaning and origin, but she has not studied her subject much and has not apparently ever heard of Sir Lewis Pelly or one Dr. Herklots. But she can nevertheless write in a good literary style, and so her half knowledge is permitted to grace many pages of such a periodical as the *Nineteenth Century*. A typical instance of the almost contemptuous ignorance of things Indian on the part of English literary personages.

R. C. TEMPLE.

UNLUCKY AND LUCKY CHILDREN, AND SOME BIRTH SUPERSTITIONS.

One or two notes on the magical powers of the first-born child in India were given, *ante*, p. 162, and a few more are now added.

The First-born.

In the Panjab the first-born son of a wife is peculiarly uncanny, especially subject to magical influences and endowed with supernatural powers On the one hand his hair is useful in witchcraft, and on the other its possession would give a wizard power over him. He himself possesses considerable magic powers, for he can stop hail by throwing a stone backwards from, or by cutting a hail-stone with a knife, and he can stay a dust-storm by standing naked in front of it. He is also peculiarly subject to lightning, and is not allowed to go out on a rainy day. Snakes also become torpid in his presence: (fuller notes on this or similar ideas would be welcome).

A first-born child, whether a boy or a girl, should not be married in Jêṭh[1] (or, one account adds, in Mâgh), nor should the mother eat first-fruits in that month (because as she devours them, so too will the fates devour her first-born). The position of the first-born is probably due to the fact that, if a son, his father is born again in him, so that the father is supposed to die at his birth, and in certain Khatri sections, *e.g.*, the Kochhar,[2] his funeral rites are actually performed — in the fifth month of the mother's pregnancy. Probably herein lies an explanation of the *dev-káj*, or divine nuptials, a ceremony which consists in a formal remarriage[3] of the parents after the birth of their first son. The wife leaves her husband's house, and goes, not to her parents' house, but to the house of a relative, whence she is brought back like a bride. This custom prevails among the Khanna, Kapur, Malhotra, Kakar and Chopra, the highest sections of the Hindu Khatris.[4]

These ideas are an almost logical outcome of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and it inevitably results that if the first-born be a girl, she is peculiarly ill-omened.

Twins.

There appears to be no superstitions in the Panjab connected with twins (*dûlâ* or *jonkri*), but in one part of the Kangra District the child born *after* twins is called *laukha* or 'little.'

The Sequence of Births.

There is little to be added to the notes already given, but the following details may be of interest: — In Kangra a child of one sex born after *two* of the other sex is called **trelaṛ**,[5] and, with that primitive confusion of thought which makes no distinction between that which is holy and that which is accursed, we have the proverb — '*Trelaṛ rele ya sangele*,' *i. e.*, 'a *trelaṛ* either brings evil or good fortune.'

In the same district a child of one sex born after three of the other is called **cholaṛ**, and is, especially if a boy, propitious. As such he is presumably an object of jealousy to the fates, and his nose is drilled, like a girl, or he is given away to a low-caste man (a Baraṛ or a Chuhṛa), from whom the child is redeemed by the parents by paying money or grain.

The Pokhû. — (i) Of three male children born one after the other, the middle one is said to be lucky. Of three successive female children the middle one is considered unlucky.

(ii) A boy following and preceding a girl is regarded as inauspicious. A girl following and preceding a boy is believed to be lucky.

An inauspicious child is termed *bhárâ-pokhû-wâlâ*,[6] while an auspicious one is called *halka-pokhû-wâlâ*. When a woman commences to grind wheat, to spin, or to churn milk, she will not allow one or the former to stand by her, because she believes that the presence of such a child will render the work difficult or impossible. She will either send him away or ignore his presence. On the other hand, the presence of one of the latter children is considered a good omen, and women believe that their work will be easily finished if such a child be sitting by them.

Birth Superstitions.

There are some curious customs connected with births at particular times or after certain periods. For instance, a child (unlike a calf) born in the month of Bhadon is lucky, while one born in Katik is inauspicious. In the latter case it is considered sinful to keep the mother in the house, and she should be expelled from it, but instead she may be made over, temporarily, to a Brâhman and afterwards redeemed from him.

'According to the Shastras,' a wife who has no child for some years is called *sundh*; one who does not bear a child for 10 years, *kaj budhia*; and after 21 or 24 years, *sut budhia*. If then she bears a child, a fire of dried cow-dung is burnt in front of the house, and the woman is sent away out of the village to live for 40 days (a period called the *pursut*) in a thatched hut, after which Brahmans are fed and she is allowed to return.

H. A. ROSE.

1 But, according to the Math-Khatra Granth, sloka 15, of Bhardwaj Rikhi, it is only necessary to avoid marriage in Jêṭh, if *both* parties be *jêṭhas*, *i.e.*, born in Jêṭh; or, if it is not possible to avoid Jêṭh, the ceremony should not be held in the *Kirt* Nakshatra during that month.

2 According to one account a Kochhar wife in the sixth month of her pregnancy pretends to be displeased and goes away from her home. Her husband shaves his head, beard, etc., and goes after her with a few men of his brotherhood. On finding her, he entreats her to return and promises her a present of jewelry, whereupon she consents to come back home.

3 Should a wife bear 20 children (!), she must also be re-married to her husband. This ceremony of re-marriage is precisely the same as that of a first marriage, but it is performed on the roof of the house.

4 The Mahan Gadhidk Sheikhs of Jhelum also retain it. It costs about half as much as a rich marriage.

5 *Trel* = 'a third ploughing.'—Jukes, *Western Punjabi Dictionary*; *s. v.*

6 *Pokhun* in Multani = an omen or augury.—Jukes, *Western Punjabi Dictionary*; *s. v.*

INDEX.

ERRATA.

P. 66, l. 11, *for* my a Zamindâr, *read* by a Zamindâr.

P. 66, l. 6 from bottom, *for* Viśpanhtî, *read* Viśpanthî.

P. 69, l. 8, *for* Uattaribahini, *read* Uttarabahini.

P. 69, note [2], l. 3, *for* mumber, *read* number.

P. 75, l. 17, *for* Dec. 1872, *read* Dec. 1827.

P. 221, last line, *for* '**Gevrâi**', *read* '**Gevrái**'.

P. 255, line 28, *read* the '**Kaphleta**' of the Atlas and Trigonometrical Sheets, and the '**Kapletha**' of the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879), *and see p. 393 below, note 1.*

P. 256, line 6 from the bottom, *for* **Indôtthana**, *read* **Indôtthâna**.

P. 333, line 5, *read* Walêṁ, **Walâ**, or **Waḷâ**.

P. 477, 3rd line, *for* E. H. BURGESS, *read* E. K. BURGESS.

P. 492, line 12, *for* **Ḍholkâ**, *read* **Dholkâ**.

